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AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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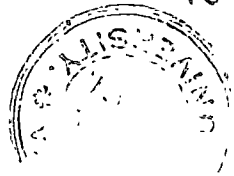
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VOLUME L
OCTOBER, 1944, TO JULY, 1945

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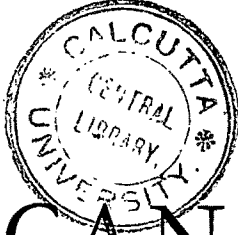
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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October, 1944

Biography of a Nation of Joiners

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER*

AT first thought it seems paradoxical that a country famed for being individualistic should provide the world's greatest example of joiners. How this came about is the object of this sketch, but the illusion of paradox may be dispelled at once. To Americans individualism has meant, not the individual's independence of other individuals, but his and their freedom from governmental restraint. Traditionally, the people have tended to minimize collective organization as represented by the state while exercising the largest possible liberty in forming their own voluntary organizations. This conception of a political authority too weak to interfere with men's ordinary pursuits actually created the necessity for self-constituted associations to do things beyond the capacity of a single person, and by reverse effect the success of such endeavors proved a continuing argument against the growth of stronger government. The tendency was reinforced by the absence of fixed social classes. As Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out in the 1830's, men in

*The author, a former president of the American Historical Association, is Francis Lee Higginson professor in Harvard University.

aristocratic countries do not have the same reason "to combine in order to act," for "Every wealthy and powerful citizen constitutes the head of a permanent and compulsory association, composed of all those who are dependent upon him, or whom he makes subservient to the execution of his designs." The "independent and feeble" citizens of a democratic nation, lacking these advantages, must "learn voluntarily to help one another."¹

The trend toward collective action began slowly in American history, but it gathered impetus as the years passed, new opportunities beckoned, and people perceived the benefits to be gained. Each fresh application of the associative principle opened the way for further ventures and at the same time helped to provide the needed experience. In the end, no department of human existence remained unaffected. Because the subject in its entirety is too vast for more than a bird's-eye view here, this discussion centers upon voluntary bodies of sizable membership, reasonably long duration, and fairly large territorial extent, and it proceeds by means of sampling rather than complete coverage. Even as so limited, the theme is inconveniently large, for it includes incorporated as well as unincorporated groups, secret societies as well as open ones, organizations for religious, economic, and political purposes as well as those seeking humanitarian, cultural, and recreational ends. By a canon of humor the term "joiner" is generally restricted to a member of fraternal orders, but the fact is that this particular proclivity, far from being a unique development, was merely a somewhat belated manifestation of a spirit which had come to penetrate nearly every aspect of American life.

I

During the first century or more of the colonial period the people displayed little aptitude for large co-operative undertakings. They had had scant experience in doing things collectively in Europe. Moreover, the population was small, towns were few, and communication was difficult. Nevertheless, in one important phase of life, that of religion, the principle of association struck quick and effective root. In a majority of the colonies the settlers found they had not escaped the restrictions of an established church by removing to America, for in New England the dominant Puritans devised their own counterpart of the Old World system and in the Southern provinces the Anglicans transplanted the system existing at home. This union of church and state went hard with nonconformists, for these early Americans took their religion more seriously than has any later generation. Fortunately,

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Henry Reeve, trans., New York, 1900), II, 115.

the field was open equally to all beliefs in the intermediate region—Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and most of New York—and there the various groups operated on a basis of free association and self-support. Even in the colonies with official churches, the dissenters insisted upon setting up their own places of worship alongside those that were public-supported, though this subjected them to a species of double taxation. The plan of voluntarism (or voluntaryism) as it was worked out in the different provinces amazed most onlookers from Europe, who could not understand why anyone should pay for the maintenance of religion when he was not obliged to. The colonists in organizing their own devotional societies instituted a system which would eventually prevail in all American denominations.

In other than spiritual concerns, however, men preferred to go their individual ways. It was not until toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when towns had grown larger and more numerous, that people ventured somewhat timidly to extend the principle of voluntary group action to other interests. Associations for local civic purposes, though not unknown earlier, now assumed far greater prominence, as the career of Philadelphia's leading citizen bears witness. Benjamin Franklin, who in so many other ways foreshadowed the modern American, qualifies further as an organizer and joiner. Besides forming the Junto, a secret club of artisans and tradesmen, he started a subscription library, an academy for the education of youth, and a volunteer company of fire fighters, and he also took part in founding a hospital and a fire-insurance company. In addition to these community organizations, he founded the American Philosophical Society, our oldest learned body, served for a time as provincial grand master of the Masons, and helped to promote a Western land company.

For various reasons the larger-scale undertakings proved far less successful than the local ones. Distances between the principal towns were still great and communications slow; most persons viewed oath-bound lodges with distrust, if not alarm; and the British government was dubious as to the wisdom of encouraging Western colonization schemes. The American Philosophical Society, which aspired to an interprovincial membership, languished for some years after its formation in 1743; and the Masonic order, introduced into the leading cities from England in the 1730's, excited public antagonism as being aristocratic in tendency and subversive of good morals. On one occasion the New York members were "complimented with Snow Balls and Dirt" while marching through the streets.² In Philadelphia popular

² Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York, 1938), p. 436.

anger over an apprentice's death in a bogus initiation caused Masonic activities to cease from 1738 to 1749.³ The land company in which Franklin was active encountered intercolonial jealousies as well as ministerial objections and delays. Nevertheless this Vandalia project, as a profit-making scheme, bespoke a more natural interest of the times, as is shown by the fact that Franklin's group was only one of many that were formed. Such undertakings had become possible as surplus capital increased in the colonial towns. Since the best coastal lands were now largely in private hands, men with money to invest looked to the untenanted tracts beyond the mountains, and a rising speculative fever caused them to league together in order to obtain governmental concessions. Beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century, various groups of provincials, some with English associates, organized such enterprises as the Ohio Company, the Mississippi Company, the Illinois Company, the Wabash Land Company, and the Transylvania Company.⁴ Though none of these actually succeeded, the widespread interest they represented foreshadowed the future extension of the associative device to a wide diversity of capitalistic purposes.

Considerably more effective were the colonists' strivings for united political action. For this the home government was unwittingly responsible, for until the British authorities in the 1760's and 1770's adopted a policy of closer imperial control, political parties had been unknown on a continental scale and tended to be temporary even in the separate provinces. Now, alarmed by common fears of parliamentary taxation and threats to their trade, the people not only formed local groups of protest but also acted in concert with similar bodies in other colonies. These interprovincial alliances constituted the first national parties in American history.

The Stamp Act emergency of 1764-66 produced a multifarious network of such agencies up and down the seaboard: merchants' committees, active in stirring legislatures to opposition; secret mechanics' organizations, which under the name of Sons of Liberty sometimes resorted to terroristic methods; and other bands of citizens who joined together to boycott British manufactures. The Stamp Act Congress brought many of the leaders together for the first time face to face. As crisis piled upon crisis, these organs were supplemented by still others, notably the so-called committees of correspondence which in New England were appointed by town meetings but elsewhere emanated usually from unofficial gatherings. When parliament embarked upon drastic coercive proceedings after the Boston Tea Party, the

³ Melvin M. Johnson, *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in America* (New York, 1924), pp. 191-92, 205.

⁴ See Shaw Livermore, *Early American Land Companies* (New York, 1939), *passim*.

patriots formed provincial congresses and conventions, and proceeded to assemble the First Continental Congress, which, though not avowedly or constitutionally a government, functioned like one, extending and reinvigorating the committee system and adopting measures of economic opposition which all persons must obey on pain of being publicly blacklisted. Through the associative process the insurgent elements thus reared a structure which, as a Tory feelingly remarked, "takes the Government out of the hands of the Governour, Council, and General Assembly; and the execution of the laws out of the hands of the Civil Magistrates and Juries."⁵ Organized now from center to circumference, the patriot party presently unsheathed the sword against the British and eventually declared America's independence. Under conditions of extreme provocation the people thus demonstrated their capacity for common action for political ends.

II

In this hesitant and halting way the colonial era saw the emergence of what was to become a dominant American trait. Prompted originally by a passion for liberty of worship, and for a long time going no further, the associative impulse began to invade more mundane undertakings as the break with England approached. Though it achieved decisive results only in the realm of public affairs, the foundations were laid for future progress in other respects as well. National independence hastened these tendencies. The philosophy of natural rights underlying the Revolution exalted the individual's capacity to act for himself; the military struggle taught men from different sections valuable lessons in practical co-operation; the mounting sense of national consciousness suggested new vistas of achievement; and Britain was powerless to interpose a restraining hand. A little later, after a decade of political instability, the adoption of the Constitution stimulated still further applications of the collective principle.

In the domain of spiritual concerns the complete divorce of church and state was now effected, first in the South and later in New England. Voluntarism thus became the practice of all devotional associations. Jefferson's famous Virginia statute of religious liberty affirmed that "the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind."⁶ Such denominations as had maintained Old World connections proceeded to sever them in order to reorganize upon a separate American basis. Moreover, many of the states enacted general laws specifically granting church groups equal opportunities

⁵ *New-York Gazetteer*, Feb. 16, 1775.

⁶ William W. Hening, comp., *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, XII, 86.

of incorporation—a foretaste of the system that the next generation would apply to business groups.⁷ A further innovation was the formation of benevolent societies, religious in inspiration but nonsectarian in personnel and direction. Profiting by British example, these creations, usually the outgrowth of local bodies, labored to awaken an interest in Christianity beyond church circles and even beyond the United States.⁸ The principal agencies were the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Tract Society (1825), and the American Home Missionary Society (1826). While each of these organizations discharged a particular function, all stood for a Biblical rather than a doctrinal approach to religion, and they preserved their independence of denominational interference by maintaining financial self-sufficiency. This concern of the devout for the spiritually neglected was a halfway house to the humanitarian reform societies of the Jacksonian period.

Meanwhile, in the economic sphere, the associative spirit flowered in a profusion of local capitalistic enterprises, notably for building toll roads and establishing banks. The first agricultural improvement societies also made their appearance, some of them statewide in extent. Distances continued to emphasize restricted projects; yet, as in the case of religious benevolence, larger ones were also undertaken. With British oversight removed, aggressive men, sometimes employing unscrupulous methods, joined forces to secure from Congress or the state legislatures extensive land grants in the Mississippi Valley. Such men as Manasseh Cutler of Massachusetts, Rufus Putnam of Connecticut, Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, and Patrick Henry of Virginia participated in some of the earlier schemes. On its own motion the Federal government, utilizing powers derived from the newly ratified Constitution, incorporated a bank of the United States under private control, with branches in the leading seaboard cities; and in 1816, five years after the charter expired, Congress set up a Second United States Bank for a twenty-year period with a much larger capitalization. As yet, however, economic undertakings of interstate or national scope were the exception rather than the rule.

The adoption of the Constitution unintentionally provided also a firmer basis for voluntary political associations. The Founding Fathers had thought

⁷ Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, 1917), II, 16-17.

⁸ [James Walker], "Associations for Benevolent Purposes," *Christian Examiner*, II (1825), 241-52. See also Oliver W. Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815* (Williamsport, 1928), and James O. Oliphant, "The American Missionary Spirit, 1828-1835," *Church History*, VII (1938), 125-37.

of parties as transitory combinations of legislators, coalescing and dissolving as new measures were considered, but the device of checks and balances would have rendered such a system difficult, if not unworkable. The requirement of electing the President, Senate, and House in three different ways entailed the danger that these organs of government would each go its separate way unless some voluntary agency unknown to the Constitution geared them together. To supply this unifying element the Federalist and Republican parties quickly took shape, the one looking to Hamilton and the other to Jefferson for inspiration. Thus were instituted those permanent groupings of voters which, as the suffrage was broadened, later generations would mold into even more powerful instruments of political action.

The various extensions of collective enterprise during this first half-century of national independence did not go unchallenged by persons and groups who feared the effects upon either their own or the public welfare. Certain of the churches resented the encroaching activities of the benevolent societies "subject to no ecclesiastical responsibility, and adopting no formula of faith by which their religious tenets may be ascertained."⁹ These adjunct bodies were also charged with drying up sources of funds which might otherwise have replenished denominational coffers. The growing rift in the Presbyterian fold over the question of voluntary associations led directly to the great schism of 1837 between the Old School and New School contingents.

Capitalistic associations aroused hostility because of the special legal advantages they enjoyed at the expense of possible competitors. Few colonial economic enterprises had been incorporated, not even the land companies. But now, enticed by new and more exciting prospects of profit, commercial groups turned increasingly to the legislatures for charters conferring such privileges as rights of way, limited liability for debts, and permanence of organization. To many persons the government's action in bestowing exclusive favors seemed to ally it with the "large monied interests" and to violate the "natural and legal rights of mankind."¹⁰ They saw no more reason for a union of business and state than of church and state. A Philadelphia pamphleteer in 1792, maintaining that wealth already wielded undue influence, continued: "Laws, it is said, cannot equalize men,—no—but ought they, for that reason, to aggravate the inequality which they cannot cure? . . . It is not the distinction of titles which constitutes an aristocracy; it is the

⁹ William W. Sweet, ed., *The Presbyterians, 1783-1840* (New York, 1936), p. 829. See his *The Story of Religions in America* (New York, 1930), pp. 368-72, for the attitude of Western Baptists.

¹⁰ Davis, *Essays*, II, 304, 305, quoting contemporary critics.

principle of partial association."¹¹ Though some critics objected to any incorporation at all, most wished to replace the practice of granting particular charters with a system of general incorporation open to all able to meet the specified conditions. In the national arena the dispute over corporate privileges centered in the struggle over chartering the First United States Bank. Behind the constitutional controversy lay deep-seated democratic objections to the establishment of a financial monopoly. The Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case (1819), while not passing upon the issue of equality of privilege, gave great impetus to the associative trend for a time by promulgating the doctrine of the freedom of charters from later alteration by sole action of the lawmaking authority.

Political associations also encountered opposition, with President Washington particularly vocal on the subject. The Democratic Societies, which sprang up in most of the states during his second administration to agitate for popular rights and carry on pro-French propaganda, kindled his fears for the maintenance of orderly government. In denouncing to Congress the "self-created societies" that had instigated the Whisky Insurrection in western Pennsylvania his words were intended to apply equally to the Democratic clubs.¹² Returning to the theme in his Farewell Address, he specifically condemned "all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities." Lest he be understood as not including political parties, he added, "In governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged."¹³

Local social and literary clubs, on the other hand, excited little criticism, and even the Masonic fraternity seemed to have lived down its earlier unpopularity, though portents of future trouble appeared in the increasing strictures on its unorthodox religious ideals by church groups.¹⁴ By contrast, a new national secret order, the Society of the Cincinnati, raised a whirlwind of wrath which the country did not soon forget. Formed in 1783 by Revolutionary officers on the basis of hereditary membership, the organization struck many as a potential military threat to the people's freedom as well as the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 440, quoting from *Five Letters to the Yeomanry of the United States*, probably by George Logan.

¹² See his *Writings*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York, 1889), XII, 454-55, 465-66.

¹³ James D. Richardson, comp., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1896-99), I, 163, 217, 219. The fullest account of the political clubs is Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies* (New York, 1942).

¹⁴ Charles McCarthy, "The Antimasonic Party," American Historical Association, *Report for 1902*, I, 542-43; David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont* (New York, 1939), pp. 90-93.

scheme of an exclusive class to perpetuate a species of un-American nobility. The press volleyed against it, Rhode Island considered disfranchising persons who joined it, and the Massachusetts legislature proclaimed it "dangerous to the peace, liberty, and safety of the Union."¹⁵ Such fears were doubtless hysterical, but the Cincinnati suffered a blight from which it did not recover until after the Civil War. Nor were the veterans of any of the intervening wars able to establish effective societies.

III

Notwithstanding the occasional dikes of resistance the associative current steadily gathered momentum during the first half century of national independence. In the next generation it seemed to many to reach flood proportions. "In truth," wrote William Ellery Channing as early as 1829,

one of the most remarkable circumstances or features of our age is the energy with which the principle of combination, or of action by joint forces, by associated numbers, is manifesting itself. . . . Those who have one great object find one another out through a vast extent of country, join their forces, settle their mode of operation, and act together with the uniformity of a disciplined army.¹⁶

Without a knowledge of these organizations, he said, one would fail to perceive the "most powerful springs" of social action. Alexis de Tocqueville, the Frenchman who visited the United States in 1831-32, quickly sensed their importance. "The power of association," he noted in his diary, "has reached its uttermost development in America," and as the luminous discussion in his published work shows, he marveled at "the extreme skill with which the inhabitants . . . succeed in proposing a common object to the exertions of a great many men, and in getting them voluntarily to pursue it."¹⁷ To posterity, of course, the accomplishments appear less impressive than to people at the time, who compared the situation with earlier America or with what they knew of Europe.

What caused this passion for joining? Channing attributed it to the "immense facility given to intercourse by modern improvements, by increased commerce and travelling, by the post-office, by the steam-boat, and

¹⁵ John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1883-1913), I, 167-76.

¹⁶ "Remarks on Associations" in W. E. Channing, *Works* (Boston, 1875), p. 139, an article which first appeared unsigned in the *Christian Examiner*, VII (1829), 105-40. Among others, Daniel Webster likewise held that the great characteristic of the age was that "public improvements are brought about by a voluntary association and combination." Quoted in U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report for 1866*, p. 525. Harriet Martineau in *Society in America* (New York, 1837), II, 299, praised the organizations for "mechanical objects" and for indoctrinating public opinion, but saw little good in those for moral self-improvement.

¹⁷ George W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938), p. 479; Tocqueville, I, 191, II, 114-15, 117-18, 127.

especially by the press,—by newspapers, periodicals, tracts, and other publications.” And to these agencies, of course, were presently added the canal, the railroad, and the telegraph. Though physical distances grew constantly longer, new means of communication made them shorter. As Channing remarked, “The grand manoeuvre to which Napoleon owed his victories—we mean the concentration of great numbers on a single point—is now placed within the reach of all parties and sects.”¹⁸ But the will to make use of these instrumentalities needs also to be accounted for, and here the explanation lies in certain other changes in American life. The rising importance of the plain people, symbolized in politics by Jackson’s election as President, dramatized social and economic injustices hitherto unrecognized, and inspired the humane, and sometimes the victims themselves, to unite for correcting them. European example, especially that of England, also played a part, for in the Old World, too, a new tenderness was being shown for the underprivileged. Moreover, as cities increased both in number and size, voluntary effort could be more easily mobilized. People of kindred interests could be quickly assembled, agitation organized, mass meetings held, committees put to work. And besides being centers of surplus enthusiasm, cities were centers of surplus capital, supplying the principal financial sinews for joint undertakings whether to reinforce or modify the existing order.

Nowhere were the results more striking than in the field of humanitarian reform. The earlier concern for bruised and neglected souls now widened to take in bruised and neglected minds and bodies. Christian altruism combined with democratic idealism to produce what seemed to the ill-disposed an inferiority complex. Typical of the new creations were the American Temperance Society (1826), the American Peace Society (1828), the General Union for Promoting the Christian Observance of the Sabbath (1828), the American Lyceum Association (1831), the American Anti-Slavery Society (1833), and the American and Foreign Sabbath Union (1842). If to these national bodies be added countless smaller ones devoted to such aims as improving penal methods, advancing the cause of public education, and redeeming “Females who have Deviated from the Paths of Virtue,” one can understand Orestes A. Brownson’s sour comment: “Matters have come to such a pass, that a peaceable man can hardly venture to eat or drink, or to go to bed or to get up, to correct his children or to kiss his wife, without obtaining the permission and direction of some moral . . . society.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Channing, p. 139.

¹⁹ Quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., *Orestes A. Brownson* (Boston, 1939), p. 80. The best general account of these early reform organizations is Alice F. Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment* (Minneapolis, 1944).

Since every reform association bespoke a minority opinion, it had to devise means to persuade or frighten the majority into adopting the desired course of action. For this purpose the crusading groups borrowed and improved upon the methods already developed by the nonsectarian benevolent societies. The procedure quickly became standardized. As described by a contemporary, the first step was to choose an "imposing" designation for the organization; next "a list of respectable names must be obtained, as members and patrons"; then "a secretary and an adequate corps of assistants must be appointed and provided for from the first fruits of collections; a band of popular lecturers must be commissioned, and sent forth as agents on the wide public; the press with its many-winged messengers, is put in operation"; finally, "subsidiary societies are multiplied over the length and breadth of the land."²⁰ In structure the reform movements resembled the Federal political system, with local units loosely linked together in state branches and these in turn sending representatives to a national body. By 1835 the 1,200,000 members of the American Temperance Society were distributed in 8,000 local affiliates with an over-all organization in every state but one.²¹ Two years later the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose constituency was in fact strictly Northern, had grown to more than a thousand local groups and seven state associations. In addition, both of these bodies (and the American Peace Society as well) maintained youth auxiliaries and separate branches for women.

To carry on their work effectively the humanitarian societies required funds as well as moral zeal. For example, the American Anti-Slavery Society between 1836 and 1840 reported an annual revenue of from \$26,000 to \$50,000, not counting the receipts of affiliates. As in the case of kindred organizations, this financial support came partly from membership dues and from collections at public gatherings, partly from large and small gifts and bequests, and partly from the sale of publications. Publication activities, however, were designed less to raise money than to supplement oral propaganda. Every reform group fathered weekly or monthly periodicals, distributed reports of its annual conventions, and issued great quantities of leaflets and pamphlets, including fiction, songbooks, almanacs, and cartoons or "pictorial representations." In the single year 1840-41 the American Temperance Union circulated 433,000 pieces of printed matter and in the three preceding years the American Anti-Slavery Society sent out 796,000. Another practice was to pelt the government with memorials. The abolitionists' persistence

²⁰ Calvin Colton, *Protestant Jesuitism* (New York, 1836), pp. 53-54.

²¹ The statistics regarding reform societies are derived from the appropriate annual reports.

in petitioning the House of Representatives led that body to adopt a "gag rule" whose repeal ex-President John Quincy Adams finally accomplished in 1844 after a historic eight-year battle.

With varying effect the reformers also enlisted the support of church, school, and stage. At one juncture more than a thousand ministers agreed to preach annual peace sermons; efforts were made to insert favorable matter in textbooks; and such plays as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ten Nights in a Bar-room* swayed countless thousands. Use was also made of symbols and ceremonials. Olive Leaf Circles attracted female foes of war, Cold Water Armies recruited children fighters against the "Demon Rum," and for nearly everybody bazaars, parades, banners, and badges mixed fun with serious purpose. So successfully did these pioneer reformers develop the techniques of propaganda that later generations have been able to contribute little beyond taking advantage of new technological devices such as the movies and the radio. The South for the most part remained immune to the agitation, fearing lest the institution of slavery perish in an assault on other social abuses.

Some reformers, impatient of gaining their ends through the slow process of persuasion, ventured to try out their ideas in experimental communities away from the haunts of men. Others, equally ardent but more practical-minded, endeavored to dragoon the unconvinced into conformity through legislative coercion. This helps to explain the interest in petitions and also the greater attention to lobbying. One wing of the abolitionists, discarding halfway measures, launched the Liberty party. The increasing resort to political methods was a natural consequence of the swift spread of manhood suffrage in the generation before the Civil War. Parties themselves were transformed by the admission to the polls of the hitherto unenfranchised. Political chieftains learned to regiment the vastly enlarged electorate and to please and influence the mass mind. As means to this end, these years marked the extension of the spoils system to the Federal government, the growth of party machines, and the introduction of national nominating conventions and of political platforms. Campaign appeals were increasingly directed at people's emotions rather than at their reason. The voter was now attracted by such partisan symbols as the log cabin (in which William Henry Harrison was alleged to reside), by torchlight processions, and by slogans like "Fifty-four-forty or fight!" It is evident that political associations learned much from the example of the humanitarian associations.

The increased democratic emphasis in politics also facilitated the adoption of the principle of impartiality in granting incorporation rights to capitalistic

associations. In the national arena President Jackson waged victorious battle against renewing the exclusive privileges of the Second United States Bank, while in the states his followers and sympathizers warred unceasingly to abolish "any and all monopolies by legislation."²² Others supported the proposal in order to assure their equality with competitors in taking advantage of the vastly expanding opportunities in transportation, manufacturing, and finance. As a result, legislature after legislature provided for establishing corporations by general law instead of by special act, a third of the states anchoring the requirement in their constitutions.²³ Though many businesses continued to operate as unchartered associations, the legal machinery now existed for that vast growth of corporate enterprise which was eventually to dominate the American scene. The practice of obtaining a charter in a lax state in order to do business in stricter ones belongs to that later time.

With far less approval from the commercial classes, indeed against their active resistance, the rapid growth of industry begot a new type of organization, the trade union, which had long been struggling for birth. Wage earners, confronted with conditions of employment that prevented decency of living, resorted to united action in self-defense. Combining here and there in local crafts, they soon established nation-wide unions in some trades, and from 1834 to 1837 they succeeded in maintaining a national labor federation. At the peak of success, in 1836, the total membership in the five principal cities approximated three hundred thousand distributed in one hundred and sixty local unions.²⁴ Though the movement suffered severe setbacks and gained only a wavering tolerance of the courts, it nevertheless exemplified the special techniques that later set it apart from all other kinds of collective undertakings: the strike, the boycott, the sympathetic strike, picketing, the closed shop, and the trade agreement. As yet, however, labor's future in the family of voluntary associations seemed far from clear.

The zeal for joining also affected professional and intellectual workers. Here the motive was less economic—though the regulation of fees was sometimes one of the objects—than to improve common standards, foster research, and disseminate knowledge through meetings and publications. These associations differed from the older American Philosophical Society in not

²² The phrase is quoted from a "Declaration of Principles" in Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), p. 39. See also Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man* (New York, 1927), pp. 50-61.

²³ Theodore G. Gronert, *The Corporation in the State Constitutional Conventions of 1835-1860* (Fayetteville, 1924). "The North is indebted for its great wealth and prosperity to the readiness with which it forms associations for all industrial and commercial purposes," wrote George Fitzhugh in *Sociology for the South* (Richmond, 1854), p. 27.

²⁴ John R. Commons and others, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), I, 424.

limiting the number of members and in pursuing more highly specialized interests. Some were the outgrowth of earlier local or state societies and "academies." After the American Statistical Association set the example in 1839, such kindred bodies appeared as the American Ethnological Society (1842), the American Medical Association (1847), the American Society of Engineers and Architects (1852), the National Education Association (1852), and the American Entomological Society (1859). In 1848 the American Association for the Advancement of Science was formed to unite investigators in all scientific fields. Only research workers in the humanities and social sciences failed to heed the call to national action, but these departments of learning were as yet only feebly staffed.

With one section of the population after another yielding to the associative contagion it is not surprising that the long-standing aversion to secret societies should collapse. But the collapse came after an unprecedented outburst of hostility against the principal oath-bound brotherhood.²⁵ The Antimasonic movement was rooted in the antagonism of country to town, where most of the lodges were to be found; in objections of the orthodox to the order's diluted Christianity; in lower-class resentment against the well-to-do, who usually composed the membership; and in fear of the boastful claims of Masons to a controlling influence in political and economic life. The spark that set off the explosion was the abduction and alleged murder in 1826 of William Morgan of Batavia, New York, who, having become dissatisfied with the fraternity, had written a book to expose its secrets. Though Morgan's disappearance was plainly the work of overzealous individuals, popular prejudice refused to make any distinction. The smoldering anger blazed up through the rural parts of the East and edged into the South and the Mississippi Valley. Lodges in wholesale numbers perished in the flames, New York state alone losing over four hundred. Churches expelled Masonic clergymen and members; legislatures instituted investigations; Vermont and at least two other states prohibited secret-society oaths; and Rhode Island required all lodges to publish their proceedings in annual reports. Astute men such as Thurlow Weed in upstate New York and Thaddeus Stevens in Pennsylvania saw an opportunity to use the movement as a rallying point for the forces opposed to Jackson. So far did these political opportunists carry the Antimasons from their original purpose that in 1832 William Wirt, the party's first and only presidential nominee, actually avoided denouncing the order. The Antimasons won only Vermont's seven electoral votes.

²⁵ This account is based largely on McCarthy, "Antimasonic Party"; Ludlum, pp. 88-89, 101-111; Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1918), pp. 337-43; Emerson Davis, *The Half Century* (Boston, 1851), pp. 163-68; and J. M. Foster, "Secret Societies and the State," *Arena*, XIX (1898), 233-34.

Though the political antagonism toward Masonry (or oath-bound societies) lived on for several years in a few states, and though as late as 1882 a National Christian Association Opposed to Secret Societies erected a monument to William Morgan at Batavia with the inscription "Murdered by the Masons," the election of 1832 marked a decisive turning point in the American attitude toward oath-bound associations. Even if the Antimasonic party had not been betrayed by its professed friends, it could have displayed little strength, for it had not correctly diagnosed the malady. What had really offended democratic sensitiveness was not the secrecy but the exclusiveness. Just as people wished to multiply economic corporations through a general system of chartering, so they desired to have enough fraternal organizations for all who cared to join.²⁶ The plain citizen sometimes wearied of his plainness and, wanting rites as well as rights, hankered for the ceremonials, grandiloquent titles, and exotic costumes of a mystic brotherhood. Moreover, the impersonality of city life put a premium on the comradeship thus afforded. Lodge membership might also help one's business or political ambitions. Add to these motives the financial advantages usually accruing from sickness and death benefits, and the proliferation of fraternal associations following the decline of the Antimasonic crusade is not hard to understand. Henceforth secrecy and degrees and regalia became an asset instead of a liability.

Within two years of Wirt's defeat the Order of Druids was introduced from England, and the United States had created the first adult secret society of its own: the Red Men, to whose ranks only palefaces were admitted.²⁷ In 1843 the Odd Fellows, who had been in America for nearly twenty-five years, cast off their dependence on the English parent body and swiftly boosted their membership from 30,000 at the time of withdrawal to 200,000 in 1860. "The American," grumbled Thoreau mindful of his Walden solitude, "has dwindled into an Odd Fellow,—one who may be known by the development of his organ of gregariousness, and a manifest lack of intellect and cheerful self-reliance."²⁸ Meanwhile the Masons accomplished a slow recovery which before the Civil War wiped out their earlier losses, and in the colleges national Greek-letter fraternities, most of them recently founded, played an increasingly important role. The great foreign influx of these years added to the variety with the Ancient Order of Hibernians, brought over by Irish

²⁶ Thus, Massachusetts *Senate Document*, no. 87 (1836), 42, speaks of the "obvious and intimate relation between the exclusive selfishness of secret, oath bound societies and the monopolies and exclusive privileges of special legislation."

²⁷ For these and the other oath-bound societies, see Albert C. Stevens, comp., *The Cyclopædia of Fraternities* (New York, 1899).

²⁸ Henry D. Thoreau, *Cape Cod and Miscellanies*, in *Complete Works* (Boston, 1929), pp. 364-65. Apparently contemporaries used the term "Odd Fellow" as synonymous with lodge member. See also Fitzhugh, pp. 44, 68.

Catholics in 1836, and with the B'nai Brith (1843) and similar bodies formed by German Jews after arriving.²⁹ The foes of immigration returned the compliment by churning up nativist and anti-Catholic sentiment through such secret societies as the Order of United Americans (1844), the United American Mechanics (1845), the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner (1849), and the Brotherhood of the Union (1850). Even the total-abstinence forces now resorted to oath-bound orders, setting afoot the Sons of Temperance (1842), the Templars of Honor (1845), and the Good Templars (1851). Within eight years the Sons numbered 6,000 lodges and 245,000 members, a larger total than that of either the Odd Fellows or the Masons.³⁰ Secret associations, though late in gaining respectability, were in America to stay.

IV

The progress in associationalism before the Civil War was a prelude to far greater advances in the years to come. All the earlier favoring conditions now operated with magnified force. Cities were bigger, more numerous, and more generally distributed throughout the land. They were also bound together by swifter communications: the improved telegraph, the expanding web of railways, the invention of the telephone, and, somewhat later, the coming of the motorcar and the radio. Newspapers not only grew in number and circulation but, themselves obeying the associative impulse, developed chains, syndicated features, and co-operative news-gathering methods, thereby further increasing the tendency to common thought and action. Moreover, a heightened sense of nationality followed the Civil War. That struggle decided that the Americans were to be one people, not two. The effect was to redouble Northern endeavors to plan far-flung undertakings, while the Southerners, no longer hampered by their "peculiar institution," soon fell into line. So thoroughly did the "habit of forming associations"—James Bryce's phrase—interpenetrate American life that it becomes possible to understand practically all the important economic and social developments merely by examining the activities of voluntary organizations.³¹

Capitalistic associations, battenning on fast-growing markets and access to cheap and abundant raw materials, assumed dinosaur proportions. Within

²⁹ The role of ethnic associations in America has never been carefully studied, though some suggestive references appear in Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York, 1921), pp. 119-44, 287-96. Most immigrant societies seem to have been nonsecret.

³⁰ John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York, 1925), p. 211.

³¹ Bryce, echoing Tocqueville, remarked, "Associations are created, extended, and worked in the United States more quickly and effectively than in any other country." *The American Commonwealth* (2-vol. ed., London, 1888), II, 239.

eight years after the peace a House investigating committee reported, "This country is fast becoming filled with gigantic corporations wielding and controlling immense aggregations of money and thereby commanding great influence and power."³² In the years ahead they strove for monopolistic dominion. By means of pools, rate agreements, interlocking directorates, trusts, mergers, holding companies, and other devices, legal or illegal, they reduced large sections of the population to a species of economic vassalage. The United States Steel Corporation, formed in 1901, combined under one ownership 228 companies scattered in 127 cities and 18 states, and possessed a capitalization nearly thirty times as great as that of the Second United States Bank. Three years later 318 consolidations (not including transportation lines and other public utilities) represented the fusing of nearly 5300 separate companies.³³

The wage earners responded by extending and strengthening their own associations. They established many new national unions, they experimented for a time with the one-big-union idea as members of the Knights of Labor, and in 1881 they joined in founding the more successful American Federation of Labor, a body which by 1900 represented 82 national unions, 16 state federations, 118 city central unions, and 550,000 individual members.³⁴ These gains were made in the teeth of determined opposition from employers' associations, legislatures, and courts. The farmers, who likewise blamed Big Business for their ills, also resorted to organization against the foe, first in the Patrons of Husbandry or Grangers, and then in the more aggressive Northern and Southern Farmers' Alliances. The latter groups established the People's party to accomplish their political demands and, by polling twenty-two electoral votes and a million popular votes in 1892, frightened the Democrats into making free silver their battle cry in the next election. Most important of all, these agrarian bodies accustomed the agricultural population to pressure-group tactics and thereby paved the way for such associations as the National Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Nonpartisan League, and the American Farm Bureau Federation in the next century. Aided by modern means of communication, the once isolated husbandman thus also became a joiner.

Meanwhile, in the crowded urban centers, humanitarians intensified their earlier efforts and discovered many new outlets for reform zeal. Representative of these multifarious interests were the American Prison Association, the National Conference of Social Work, the Women's Christian Temperance

³² Quoted in James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1892-1919), VII, 19.

³³ John Moody, *The Truth about the Trusts* (New York, 1904), p. 486.

³⁴ Lewis L. Lorwin, *The American Federation of Labor* (Washington, 1933), pp. 484, 488.

Union, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, all formed in the 1870's, and the American Red Cross Society, the National Divorce Reform League, the National Arbitration League, and the Indian Rights Association, which came along in the 1880's. In many of these bodies women were the leading spirits, but they also established special groups for their own advancement. The two nation-wide suffrage associations, founded in 1869, signified one type of activity. Less militant members of the sex congregated in local clubs for self-culture, which became so plentiful by 1889 as to warrant the creation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

With even greater energy associations were multiplied for the promotion of professional and research interests.⁸⁵ Industry's competitive demand for technological improvement as well as the ambition of universities to enlarge the sum total of human knowledge caused specialization increasingly to dominate the individual worker and the societies he established. Sometimes the organizations arose out of a process of peeling away from an older trunk. Thus the American Society of Civil Engineers, which had grown out of the Society of Engineers and Architects (1852), bore a numerous offspring after the Civil War in the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the National Association of Power Engineers, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, the American Order of Steam Engineers, the American Society of Naval Engineers, and the American Railway Engineering Association, with more to follow in the twentieth century. In some scientific branches a brand-new start was necessary, as in the case of the American Chemical Society (1876) and the American Association of Anatomists (1888). Scholars and practitioners in nonscientific fields followed suit. Soon librarians, archaeologists, modern-language specialists, historians, economists, mural painters, and musicians, not to mention other groups, were paying dues, electing national officers, and flocking to conventions with their kind.

But perhaps the most striking upsurge of voluntary associations was in the domain of leisure. Confronted with an increasing amount of idle time because of shorter hours of work and other favoring conditions, most people met the situation by banding together with others and having their use of leisure more or less arranged for them. Oath-bound brotherhoods now issued forth into what a contemporary called the "Golden Age of fraternity."⁸⁶ Between 1865 and 1880 seventy-eight beneficiary fraternal orders were

⁸⁵ For a comparative study of the methods and social role of professional and business organizations, with some attention to labor associations and farm co-operatives, see Carl F. Taussch, *Professional and Business Ethics* (New York, 1926).

⁸⁶ W. S. Harwood, "Secret Societies in the United States," *North American Review*, CLXIV (1897), 622-23.

founded; between 1880 and 1890 a hundred and twenty-four; and between 1890 and 1901 three hundred and sixty-six more.³⁷ Though many of them soon died, well over 5,000,000 names of men and women were inscribed on the rosters of 70,000 local lodges as the century closed, not including the 150,000 college youth distributed among 900 chapters of fraternities and sororities.³⁸

These secret orders did not monopolize the field, for even apart from women's clubs three other sorts of leisure-time groups made their appearance. For one thing, the Civil War stimulated both sides to establish commemorative associations of the survivors, with parallel women's societies and, in the course of time, special organizations for the veterans' sons and daughters. The largest of this numerous brood, the Grand Army of the Republic, had 350,000 members in 1887.³⁹ The centennial celebrations of Revolutionary events, starting with Concord and Lexington in 1875, were responsible for a second flock of associations. If many persons wished merely to live off the unearned increment of ancestral reputations, others felt a need to assert the old American spirit against the engulfing tide of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Among the more noteworthy of these pedigreed clans were the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the Society of Mayflower Descendants, all dating from the late eighties and early nineties. Less exclusive in appeal was the third group of organizations, those mirroring the increasing popularity of sports. Foreshadowed by the National Association of Base Ball Players (1858), the contagion now spread to nearly all other games and forms of exercise—archery, cycling, canoeing, college football, lawn tennis, croquet, polo, golf. Generally the object was either to standardize rules of play for amateurs or to put the contests on a professional and commercial basis. By these various means the American people, after a long period of hesitation and soul-searching, extended the associative principle to their hours of relaxation and rest.

V

To the vast and intricate mosaic of organizations evolved during the nineteenth century the twentieth has as yet added little new or significant. Popular alarm at the overweening power of capitalistic combinations has,

³⁷ Balthasar H. Meyer, "Fraternal Beneficiary Societies in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, VI (1901), 655-56; Walter Basye, *History and Operation of Fraternal Insurance* (Rochester, 1919), pp. 209, 211.

³⁸ Stevens, p. xv; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), pp. 209, 211.

³⁹ Noel P. Gist, *Secret Societies, a Cultural Study of Fraternalism* (Columbia, Mo., 1940), p. 38.

however, caused both the state and national governments to place increasing curbs on their freedom of action, while labor's right to organize and to pursue trade-union methods has at last been accorded full legal sanction. Secret fraternal orders reached their peak membership of over ten million in the mid-1920's, after which they began to decline, partly perhaps as a result of such competing attractions as the cheap motor car, the talking movies, and the radio.⁴⁰ A contributing factor was the rapid growth of International Rotary and similar businessmen's luncheon clubs, founded in the second decade of the century. For the younger generation a new type of association appeared in the Boy Scouts (1910). The irrepressible spirit of gregariousness sometimes broke out also in unexpected forms. Thus the period since the first World War has seen the rise of the National Horseshoe Pitchers' Association, the Guild of Former Pipe Organ Pumpers, the Circus Fans' Association of America, the American Sunbathing Association, and the Association of Department Store Santa Clauses.

Related to the associative movement is the revamping of the calendar through the device of special "weeks." According to one enumeration, the United States year consists of a hundred and thirty-five weeks instead of the traditional fifty-two—an increase that involves, of course, considerable duplication.⁴¹ Both benevolence and self-interest explain this new dimension of time. Among the designated occasions which all good citizens are expected to observe are Better Speech Week, Courtesy Week, Fire Prevention Week, Honesty Week, Thrift Week, and Walk-and-Be-Healthy Week, while the voice of the advertiser rings through Apple Week, Book Week, Canned Foods Week, Linoleum Week, and Pharmacy Week. Thus was devised a mechanism for reaching into the family circle and getting people to think and act in the same way when the ties of mutual interest would not support a dues-paying organization and the holding of national conventions. The more influential "weeks" were publicized with badges, seals, stickers, and posters. It seemed as if social inventiveness had reached its limit.

VI

"At the name of a society," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "all my repulsions play, all my quills rise and sharpen." As he saw it, men clubbed together on the principle: "I have failed, and you have failed, but perhaps together we shall not fail."⁴² The historical record shows, however, that his

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

⁴¹ *Boston Herald*, Oct. 14, 1927.

⁴² Robert M. Gay, *Emerson* (Garden City, N. Y., 1928), p. 142; Ralph W. Emerson, *Works* (Boston, 1883-87), III, 252.

uncompromising stand against the herd instinct neither persuaded his countrymen nor fairly delineated their motives and accomplishments. Out of the loins of religious voluntarism in colonial times had issued a numerous progeny, each new generation outstripping the old in the number and variety of its creations. These instrumentalities grew out of deep-felt human desires as a highly dynamic society continually disclosed fresh needs and opportunities. "From a handful of individuals we have become a nation of institutions," Henry Watterson once summarized his country's history.⁴³ It usually denoted strength rather than weakness when one man multiplied himself by uniting with others. Restating Emerson's thought with keener insight, William Ellery Channing declared, "Men, it is justly said, can do jointly what they cannot do singly."⁴⁴ It is true, of course, that the associative impulse tended to feed upon itself, sometimes leading to an infatuation that provoked the mirth of onlookers, but such excesses should not be permitted to hide the deeper significance of this powerful force in American life.

As a result of its workings, every community large or small has assumed a cellular structure, with these subdivisions of humanity intricately interlaced and overlapping. In the course of years there has evolved what Channing more than a century ago called "a sort of irregular government created within our constitutional government."⁴⁵ Day in and day out, this irregular government, by enlisting the constant participation of its members, stirs more interest and often possesses greater reality than the constitutional authority. Nor is comparison with the political state a mere figure of speech, for voluntary bodies actually exhibit many of the attributes of government. Despite the diversity among associations as to function and scope, the fact of membership usually generates a pride of belonging and a sense of devotion that endow their purposes and decisions with an obligatory character. It is as though the emotional fervor, even the bigotry, once centering in religious fellowship, has pervaded the labor union, the National Association of Manufacturers, the political party, and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Moreover, such organizations generally operate on the basis of a constitution or charter, possess both elected and appointed officials, prescribe standards of conduct, compel obedience to rules and regulations by means of fines, suspensions, and expulsions, and impose a species of taxation in the guise of dues and assessments. Their fiscal operations frequently eclipse those of govern-

⁴³ Quoted in John P. Davis, *Corporations* (New York, 1905), I, 4 n.

⁴⁴ Channing, 139.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 149. For recent observations on this aspect of associations, see Guy Stanton Ford, *On and Off the Campus* (Minneapolis, 1938), 149-151; Beardsley Ruml, *Government, Business and Values* (New York, 1943), pp. 5-29; and Charles E. Merriam, *Public and Private Government* (New Haven, 1944), pp. 3-19.

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mental units. Though this fact is most familiar in the case of business corporations, the financial aspect of religious, political, and other associations may also be considerable. An authority writing on fraternal benefit societies in 1919 cited their aggregate annual income at \$165,000,000 and placed the total amount of insurance carried on members' lives at \$9,500,000,000.⁴⁶

These irregular or unofficial governments have external as well as internal relations. It might seem that voluntary bodies could be divided between those which mind their own business and those which mind other people's business, but the distinction is unreal since all in some degree impinge upon the life about them. Recreational, no less than professional and learned, groups seek to maintain codes of ethics and levels of technical competence that indirectly affect the public at large. Capitalistic and labor organizations influence general conditions of employment and, when locked in battle, may disrupt the normal existence of a community. Moreover, nearly all associations resort at times to pressure tactics in relation to government. Though designed primarily for other purposes, the Methodist Church fronted the movement for prohibition, the League of American Wheelmen in its day induced many states to provide good roads for bicycle riders, and the G. A. R. labored successfully for higher Federal pensions. In recent times such activities have assumed increasing importance. In 1942 a total of 628 organizations maintained offices in Washington to supply arguments and witnesses for or against various types of legislation. Ten spoke for financial groups, eleven for foreign-language memberships, thirteen for lawyers' bodies, fourteen for youth or young people's interests, fifteen for minority elements, twenty-four for different phases of education, forty-two for labor, forty-two for one or another kind of political or economic creed, forty-three for veterans' or military organizations, and one hundred and eighty-two for business and manufacturing.⁴⁷ And this enumeration omits political parties, which operate the machinery that alone can gratify the desires of the pressure groups. It hardly needs to be said that these lobbying activities sometimes injure the public welfare. Only as long as all communities of interest are able to express themselves freely and adequately can the democratic process be regarded as working effectively. The problem is one of balance, just as bodily health depends upon a due equilibrium of physiological factors.

Emerson's objections to group undertakings rested largely on the view that the many cramp and diminish the single individual, stealing away his

⁴⁶ Basye, p. 16.

⁴⁷ *United States News* (Washington), July 24, 1942, p. 19. According to E. Pendleton Herring, *Group Representation before Congress* (Washington, 1929), p. 19, the total was at least 530 in 1929.

self-reliance as the price of acting in concert with others.⁴⁸ But, as Burke once observed, "All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter."⁴⁹ Moreover, nothing has been more characteristic of voluntary bodies than the proneness of dissidents to exercise what the president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors recently termed "the God-given right of every American to resign, tell why, and raise hell."⁵⁰ A process of splitting and splintering, or what sociologists like to call "schismatic differentiation," has marked the course of practically every sort of association.⁵¹ The history of religious denominations teems with instances, but hardly more so than that of humanitarian movements, labor organizations, political parties, and patriotic societies. Sometimes the cause is an attitude of dogma-eat-dogma, sometimes the rivalry of ambitious leaders, sometimes a wrangle over such questions as eligibility rules for membership or the methods of implementing accepted objectives. Oath-bound orders have been torn by similar ructions. For example, the Royal Order of Foresters was the English progenitor of at least ten American brotherhoods containing the words "Foresters" or "Forestry" in their titles.⁵² If internal strife has wasted a good deal of associational energy, it also indicates the existence of a vigorous spirit of nonconformity.

Probably a graver criticism of voluntary bodies than Emerson's is the extent to which men do things as members of an organization that they would be ashamed or afraid to do as individuals. The outstanding example is afforded by capitalistic groups, where a sense of fractional responsibility often leads a stockholder or official to sanction acts contrary to his usual standard of ethics. But business and financial corporations are impersonal institutions to a degree that most associations are not, and in recent years, as we have seen, the power of government has been increasingly invoked to keep them within their legitimate bounds. The same element of fractional responsibility enters into ephemeral organizations that are avowedly law-defying. Nearly every great national crisis has produced one or more of them: the Knights of the Golden Circle and other Copperhead societies during the Civil War; the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, and similar Southern bodies in the period of Reconstruction; the modernized Ku Klux Klan that skyrocketed into prominence after the first war with Germany; and the

⁴⁸ Emerson, I, 264-65, III, 253, and elsewhere.

⁴⁹ Edmund Burke, *Speeches and Letters on American Affairs* (London, 1908), 130-31.

⁵⁰ *Boston Globe*, July 9, 1943.

⁵¹ Merle Curti cites examples of reform associations in "The Changing Pattern of Certain Humanitarian Organizations," *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals*, CLXXIX (1935), 59-61.

⁵² Stevens, pp. 127, 223; Gist, p. 47.

jumble of Silver Shirts, Black Shirts, White Shirts, United States Fascists, Christian Fronters, and German-American Bundists who skulked in the shadows cast by the Great Depression and the ideological conflict over totalitarianism. All these were secret oath-bound companies carrying on treasonable or terroristic activities and usually having military features and aims. In every case the members profited by the public's habituation to the principle of freedom of association, but sooner or later their lawless exploits brought down upon their heads the destroying sword of constituted authority.

The career of these few, short-lived organizations stands in marked contrast to the great and continuing role in society played by the numerous secret fraternal orders. These with rare exceptions have acted as bulwarks of conservatism, their constant endeavor being to emphasize conventional moral and ethical standards, transmit existing social values, and avoid entangling alliances with political movements. Furthermore, as a writer in the *Century Magazine* once pointed out, their very existence has constituted a "great American safety-valve for these ambitions for precedence which our national life generates, fosters, and stimulates, without adequate provision for their gratification."⁵³ The burden of championing minority rights and unpopular causes has been borne by other types of association, notably humanitarian, labor, and reform bodies. These have helped to educate the public to the need for continuing change and improvement and in their aspect as pressure groups have done much to keep legislatures and political parties in step with the times.

Considering the central importance of the voluntary organization in American history there is no doubt it has provided the people with their greatest school of self-government. Rubbing minds as well as elbows, they have been trained from youth to take common counsel, choose leaders, harmonize differences, and obey the expressed will of the majority. In mastering the associative way they have mastered the democratic way.⁵⁴ Moreover, through what Professor Julius Goebel has called "the creative magic of mere association," they have learned to conduct most of the major concerns of life, spiritual, economic, political, social, cultural, and recreational.⁵⁵ To this fact James Bryce attributed the high level of executive competence he found everywhere in America—talents which he likened to those possessed by "administrative rulers, generals, diplomatists."⁵⁶ By comparison, the much

⁵³ Walter B. Hill, "The Great American Safety-Valve," *Century*, XLIV (1892), 383.

⁵⁴ For an early statement of this view, see a quotation from Charles J. Ingersoll's *A Discourse Concerning the Influence of America on the Mind* (Philadelphia, 1823) in the *North American Review*, XLII (1824), 168-69.

⁵⁵ The quoted phrase is from the introduction to Livermore, p. xv.

⁵⁶ Bryce, II, 40, 44, 239-40, 407-408, 516.

vaunted role of the New England town meeting as a seedbed of popular government seems almost negligible. The habits so engendered have armed the people to take swift and effective steps in moments of emergency. On the advancing frontier the pioneers joined together for house-raising, for protecting squatters' rights against lawful claimants, for safeguarding the community against desperadoes, and for allied purposes.⁵⁷ In times of war impromptu organizations arise as if by spontaneous generation to invigorate the national will and to supplement the government's military measures in a thousand ways. This instinctive resort to collective action is one of the strongest taproots of the nation's well-being.

It was with calculated foresight that the Axis dictators insured their rise to power by repressing or abolishing political, religious, labor, and other voluntary groups. They dared not tolerate these guardians of the people's liberties and, at the very least, regarded them, in Hobbes's phrase, as "worms within the entrails of a natural man," detracting from the absolute allegiance which they believed citizens to owe to the state. Hence joiners were among the earliest casualties of the totalitarian system. But under a reign of freedom self-constituted bodies have seldom been a divisive factor and never for long. Reaching out with interlocking membership to all parts of the country, embracing all ages, classes, creeds, and ethnic groups, they have constantly demonstrated the underlying unity that warrants diversity. They have served as a great cementing force for national integration.

⁵⁷ See Frederick J. Turner's discussion in *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 343-44.

England the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom

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WHEN did the medieval idea of the solidarity of Christian Europe as against the Turk break down? When did European statesmen and publicists "recognize" Turkey as a power lawfully constituted and hence fit for Christian states to negotiate with on equal terms? Charrière, De Maulde-la-Clavière, Nys, and Jorga, whose works are standard for the early relations of Turkey with the European states, believe that "the common corps of Christendom"¹ was more or less finally dissolved during the Reformation.² In their view, by 1600 or before, European diplomacy had become thoroughly secularized; European statesmen had got into the habit of negotiating with the infidel on the same basis as with any nominally Christian power, *i.e.*, with an eye solely to dynastic and national expediency. The medieval idea of Christian unity and the unlawfulness of alliance outside the Christian fold still figured as a "*formule de chancellerie*," but "*en fait, les États musulmans sont entrés dans le concert diplomatique des nations chrétiennes*."³ Or, as Nys, the authority on international law, puts it, "*Dès la première moitié du XVI^e siècle, se trouvait implicitement affirmée cette grande vérité que le droit des gens s'étend au delà des limites tracées par un culte déterminé*."⁴

Insofar as they touch on the above questions at all, the historians of the special English phase of the subject tend to share this view. The main facts emerging from the studies of Pears, Brown, Read, Rawlinson, Rowland, and Horniker⁵ are that the English government of the sixteenth century

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¹ Sir Thomas More's phrase which is obviously an English rendering of the Latin *Corpus Christianum*.

² Ernest Charrière's thesis (*Négociations de la France dans le Levant* [Paris, 1848-53], I, xv-xvi) is that the French monarchy was obliged to seek an alliance with the Turk and thus to abandon the idea of Christian unity in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe against Charles V. Nicholas Jorga believes (*Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* [Gotha, 1908-13], III, x, 76-77) that Christian recognition of the Turk "*als Mitglied des neuen europäischen Staatensystems*" came during the reign of Solyman. Marie A. R. De Maulde-la-Clavière (*La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel* [Paris, 1891], I, 70-91) shows that most of the Christian states were negotiating with the Turk as an equal in Machiavelli's day.

³ De Maulde-la-Clavière, I, 90.

⁴ Ernest Nys, *Les Origines de droit international* (Harlem, 1894), p. 163.

⁵ Edwin Pears, "The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte," *English Historical Review*, VIII (1893), 439-66; Horatio Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, 1581-1591, pp. xxix-xlvi; Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham* (Oxford, 1925), III, 225-30; Hugh G. Rawlinson, "The Em-

entered into regular political as well as commercial intercourse with the Porte, and deliberately sought a military alliance with the latter against Christian Spain. Pears goes so far as to say that "the idea of an alliance with the Porte [in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe] was a natural one."⁶ The only book which stresses the continuity through the Reformation of the idea of "the common corps of Christendom" is Samuel Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose*,⁷ which, however, stays within the field of English literature and drama. Chew's point of view is, on his own admission, "that of a student of English literature."

With the facts as presented by the above authorities no one can seriously take issue. Something like a "diplomatic revolution" did certainly occur in the relations between the Christian powers and the Turk during the sixteenth century. Beyond dispute is the fact that before the century was out practically all the Christian powers had established embassies at Constantinople and on occasion sought Turkish military aid against Christian rivals. But the question which still remains to be answered is whether (by contemporary political and legal standards) the new diplomacy was considered to be respectable or not. Chew has brilliantly shown that Tudor literary opinion was still dominated to a large extent by the medieval attitude toward the problem. But what of the publicists, the official clergy, and especially the statesmen who personally engaged in the new diplomatic practice?

The evidence—I shall refer mainly to English evidence in this article—reveals that the "official" attitude toward the Turk during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was not so far in advance of the literary and popular attitude as the above authorities would seem to suggest. The majority of European statesmen, though not unwilling to cut corners for the economic and political advantage of their respective countries, continued to measure the Turk by conventional standards. For them as for their predecessors the Turk was a species different *in kind* from Christian states whether Catholic or Protestant, a political pariah excluded by his very nature from membership in the family of European states. Those few emancipated statesmen who had no inhibitions whatever about relations with the Turk went out of their way to appear to be orthodox on the subject. In short, despite the growing secularization of European politics and the religious schism, the

bassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, V, 1-28; Albert L. Rowland, *England and Turkey: The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations* (Philadelphia, 1924); Arthur L. Horniker, "William Harborne and the Beginning of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations," *Journal of Modern History*, XIV (1942), 289-316.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

⁷ Published in New York, 1937.

idea of "the common corps of Christendom" continued to hold its ground to an astonishing degree in official as in other circles. The peace treaties, diplomatic correspondence, treatises on international law (such as there were), and pronouncements official or otherwise of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, all testify to this conclusion.

English peace treaties and diplomatic correspondence of the period from 1500 to 1650 reflect to a much larger extent than is commonly realized the politico-religious ideology of the Middle Ages. Despite almost constant warfare between the Christian states and the alliance of several of these with the Turk, the idea of the solidarity of Christendom as against the infidel still received expression, though to be sure less frequent expression as time went on, in the diplomatic documents. We should be mistaken, of course, if we were to suppose that diplomatic language constitutes an infallible index to the political ideology prevailing at a given moment. Only too often diplomatic language serves as a cloak for ulterior designs, or at any rate gives expression to conventional attitudes which reproduce poorly current political practice. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that diplomatic language, however stilted, does to some extent reflect the contemporary climate of political opinion. The fact that certain medieval words and phrases appear frequently in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century, and infrequently in later diplomatic documents, is not without significance.

Words and phrases such as "Christendom," "the Christian Republic," "the Christian cause," "the common enemy" are often to be met with in the peace treaties. The preamble of the Treaty of London of 1518 is an especially good case in point. Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V, desiring ardently "*Christianaeque Reipublicae amplificationem*" and exhorted thereto by Pope Leo X, agree therein to cease their hostilities and to form a perpetual league of friendship which they hope will eventually include all the Christian powers. By common action alone can they resist effectively the designs of "the common enemy," who is much too powerful for any one Christian prince to cope with. Unless concerted action is taken, the "vaunted enemy of the Catholic Faith" will overflow into "Christian territories" and utterly destroy the Christian name. It is the primary duty of Christian princes "to propagate the Faith of Christ" and to exterminate "the enemies of the Christian name."⁸ Couched in similar phraseology is the Treaty of Calais of 1532 between England and France. Henry VIII and Francis I agree therein to pool their armaments "for the defence and conservation of our Christian religion and in order to resist the efforts and damnable enterprises of the

⁸ Thomas Rymer, *Fœdæra*, XIII, 624.

Turk, the ancient common enemy and adversary of our faith."⁹ Hypocritical in part these treaties most certainly were, for to the signatories the balance of power within Christendom was of more immediate concern than the Turkish menace from without. It would be a mistake, however, to regard the reference to the latter as entirely a sham. At the very least it proves that the signatories were eager to appear as the proponents of a united Christendom.

After the break with Rome the treaties continue to reflect, though to a decreasing degree, this idea. The expression "Christian Republic" (*Respublica Christiana*) appears in the Treaties of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)¹⁰ and Troyes (1564),¹¹ in the treaty between James I and Philip III (1604),¹² and in the treaty between James and Louis XIII (1610).¹³ The phrase "the peace of the Christian world" also appears frequently,¹⁴ likewise "Christian territories."¹⁵ In these treaties the Turk is not always referred to by name, but the inference is clear. The Christian powers, between whom war is essentially civil war, must settle their differences that they may take common action against the infidel.¹⁶ As the Treaty of Vervins (1598) reads, war between Christian brothers gives "the common enemy of the Christian name" (*le commun Ennemi du nom Chrétien*) his opportunity.¹⁷

The early treatises on international law reflect a similar ideology. To Alberico Gentili, William Fulbeck, Hugo Grotius, and Richard Zouche¹⁸ the Turk was still a species different in kind from the Christian powers, if not under natural law, at any rate under divine law. Despite their attempt to divorce international law from theology—"let the theologians keep silence about a matter [the Turkish matter] which is outside of their province,"

⁹ Printed in *Archaeological Journal*, X (1853), 340-41.

¹⁰ Jean Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique*, V (1), 31.

¹¹ "*ad Dei Optimi Maximi Honorem & Gloriam, totius Reipublicae Christianae Beneficium, necnon & suorum Regnorum ac Subditorum communem Salutem Commodum & Utilitatem.*" Rymer, XV, 640.

¹² *Ibid.*, XVI, 618.

¹³ Dumont, V (2), 149.

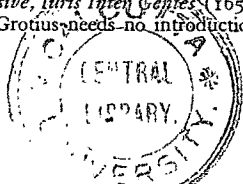
¹⁴ As, for example, in the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560): "*Orbisque Christiani Quietem ac Tranquillitatem.*" Rymer, XV, 593.

¹⁵ "*Provinces de la Chrétienté*" (Treaty of Vervins, 1598, Dumont, V(1), 561); "*Christianae Provinciae*" (treaty between James I and Philip III, Rymer, XVI, 617).

¹⁶ This is implied in the long introductory passage of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, and clearly stated in the Treaty of Vervins and the treaty between James I and the archduchess of Austria (1623; Dumont, V(2), 434).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V(1), 561.

¹⁸ Gentili (1552-1608) was an Italian Protestant refugee who lived in England the greater part of his life. He was appointed reader in civil law at Oxford, practiced law in London, and on several occasions was consulted by the English government. The two treatises which have established his reputation as a pioneer in the field of international law are his *De legationibus* (1585), a treatise on the rights and duties of ambassadors, and his *De iure belli* (1588-89). Fulbeck (1560-1603?) was a doctor of civil law, a member of Grey's Inn, and one of the outstanding legal writers of his time. Zouche (1589-1660) was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford and for a time judge of the admiralty. His *Iuris et Iudicii Feacialis, sive, Iuris Inter Gentes* (1650) is one of the most important early treatises on international law. Grotius needs no introduction.



Gentili asserts¹⁹—their thinking vis-à-vis the Turk was still strongly colored by the theological conception of Christian unity. Gentili gave it as his opinion that infidel and Christian communities alike were included in a general *societas gentium* which was bound together by *Jus Gentium* (Zouche called it "*Jus inter Gentes*"). Taking issue with the medieval lawyer Baldus, he held that the law of nations gave to the Turk as clear a title to *dominium* as to any Christian state providing he remained at peace with his neighbors—"it is God who confers jurisdiction upon them."²⁰ Thus, Christians may not justly wage war on the Turk for religion only; men's consciences may not be forced, and "those are not without the pale of this law of nature who are victims of human liability to error."²¹ Gentili further argued the legitimacy of commerce and the exchange of embassies with the infidel.²² With these somewhat latitudinarian notions Fulbeck and Zouche concurred.²³

At the same time, however, Gentili clearly assumed the existence of a narrower league of Christian states within the *societas gentium*. War against the infidel *per se* is not natural, but it is "almost natural." "With the Saracens (who are Turks) we have an irreconcilable war . . . we constantly have a legitimate reason for war against the Turk"—not, Gentili protests, because of religion but because the Turk threatens us and seizes our possessions. Were the Turk to keep the peace, we could not legitimately oppose him, "but when do the Turks act thus?"²⁴ The inference is that although the Turk shares "our common nature" and hence is not to be regarded with the same hostility as cannibals, atheists, and pirates,²⁵ yet he comes very close to being a "natural enemy" of Christendom. Furthermore, Gentili and Zouche agree that a mili-

¹⁹ *De iure belli* (The Classics of International Law, ed. James B. Scott, Oxford, 1933), II, 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 39. The orthodox medieval view was that of Wyclif who said that Christians might lawfully attack infidels because the latter were deprived of grace and hence could possess no sovereignty. This view was, however, condemned by the Council of Constance and by Las Casas and Suarez in the sixteenth century.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 41.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 401; *De legationibus* (The Classics of International Law, ed. Scott, New York, 1924), II, 90.

²³ Fulbeck follows Gentili's line of argument closely: war may not be justly waged on infidels "because they be Infidels"—"for their infidelitie doth not deprive them of these demesnes, which they have by the Law of Nations: for the earth was not given to the faithfull onelie, but to every reasonable creature." *The Pandectes of the Law of Nations* (London, 1602), p. 40. Zouche cites Grotius and Gentili as authority for his statement "that an attack can not justly be made on those who do not embrace the Christian religion, because men can not be won over to that religion by natural arguments." *Iuris et iudicii Feialis, sive, iuris inter Gentes* (The Classics of International Law, ed. Scott, Washington, 1911), II, 117.

²⁴ *De iure belli*, II, 56-57. Gentili draws the analogy of the Greeks for whom it was "almost natural" to contend with the barbarians. Fulbeck said that force may not be used against the Turk "unless the common weale may receive some dammage thereby." *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁵ Gentili approves of the war of the Spaniards against the Indians whose sins (cannibalism, "flewdeness even with beasts") are "contrary to human nature." He also approves of war against pirates since piracy is a violation of "the common law of humanity" and inimical to "the league of human society." War may also be justly waged on atheists who "do not deserve to be called men, who divest themselves of human nature." The Turk, at any rate, does not make a mockery of human nature as these do. See *De iure belli*, II, 123-25.

tary alliance "with an infidel against another infidel or against a Christian" is unlawful, especially if from such an alliance "the heathen are likely to derive great increase of strength."²⁶ Such an alliance is reprehensible, says Gentili, quoting Peter Martyr, because it would "bring against just enemies, observers of religion, custom, and the laws of war [e.g., Roman Catholic Spain whose enemy Protestant England was at the moment], those who are of a different religion . . . and very often those who are scorners of all custom and every law of war." On this ground, Gentili denounces the king of France's alliance with the Turk.²⁷ Grotius carries these opinions to their logical conclusion by calling for a general league of Christian states and a crusade.²⁸

That the English clergy also advocated Christian unity as against the Turk throughout the period in question is not perhaps surprising. Yet it was not altogether a foregone conclusion that they should have done so, for the religious schism was hardly conducive to catholic thinking. It was indeed a question in the minds of the more militant Protestants—for example, Bishop Jewel, Dean Sutcliffe, and Foxe, the martyrologist—who was "the common enemy," the Turk or the pope.²⁹ The majority of prominent churchmen, High and Low churchmen alike, clung, however, to the traditional idea of "the common corps of Christendom."³⁰ In 1565 when the Turks besieged Malta, which was defended by the Roman Catholic order of the Knights of St. John, the bishop of Salisbury (none other than Jewel, the apologist of the English church against Roman Catholicism) ordered that prayers be offered up in his diocese "for the delivery of those Christians that are now invaded by the Turk." The same year Archbishop Parker ordered that a prayer of thanksgiving be offered up in the province of Canterbury "for the delivery of the Isle of Malta." Similar prayers were enjoined the following year for the deliverance of Hungary.³¹ Foxe, for all his hatred of the pope, prayed in 1578 that Christendom be delivered from the Turk, which had swallowed up

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 401; *Iuris et Iudicii Feialis*, II, 101. Grotius, however, said that natural, if not divine, law sanctioned treaties with the infidel—"Nam id jus ita omnibus hominibus commune est, ut Religionis discrimen non admittat." *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, ed. William Whewell (Cambridge, 1853), II, 137-38.

²⁷ *De iure belli*, II, 402.

²⁸ "Illud hic addam, cum omnes Christiani unius corporis membra sint," etc. *Op. cit.*, II, 146.

²⁹ See Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 101-102, especially note. The Turk who now threatens Italy, Jewel wrote to Bullinger, March 2, 1571, "will at least bridle the ferocity of anti-christ [the pope]." *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1842), p. 239.

³⁰ For sixteenth and seventeenth century Anglican interest in Christian reunion, see my article "The Church of England and the Common Corps of Christendom," *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XVI (1944), 1-21.

³¹ *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Elizabeth* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1847), pp. 519-35. I have been unable to discover whether or not English ecclesiastics also prescribed prayers of thanksgiving for Don John of Austria's great naval victory over the Turk at Lepanto in 1571. See note 49.

a large part of Europe and threatened to swallow up more.³² Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester under Elizabeth, had no doubt that the common defense of Christendom by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike was "a good and godly enterprise."³³ Hooker denounced in no uncertain terms those who argued that the church of England should differ more from Roman Catholicism than from the Turkish religion. Despite their superstitions, the papists, Hooker said, are out brothers in the universal Christian church; by drawing near to Islam "we should be spreaders of a worse infection . . . than any we are likely to draw from papists by our conformity with them in ceremonies."³⁴ Likewise Richard Montague and George Abbot, bishop of Winchester and archbishop of Canterbury respectively under James I and Charles I, than whom two greater opposites in church doctrine could not be imagined. Montague wrote that the Turks, like the Saracens of old, "are the grand professed enemies of CHRISTIANS, *Christianity*, CHRIST, *quà tales*," i.e., of Roman Catholics and Anglicans alike who, for all their differences, together constitute the universal Christian church.³⁵ As will appear later, Abbot, though a great champion of the Protestant cause during the Thirty Years' War, could not be persuaded of the legitimacy of using Turkish arms against the Roman Catholic emperor.³⁶

In Thomas Fuller's *History of the Holy War* hostility to the infidel predominates over hostility to the papacy. Frankly hostile to the medieval crusade which he regards as a papal enterprise, the great church historian is yet mindful of a "needful work nearer hand, to resist the Turk's invasion in Europe." This can be accomplished only if Christian princes bury their dissensions and act in unison "against the general and common foe of our religion"; alas, however, although "we have just cause to hope that the fall of [the Turk's] unwieldy empire doth approach," "who is not sensible with sorrow of the dissensions . . . wherewith Christian princes at this day are rent asunder."³⁷ Fuller praises the Hospitalers for their heroic defense of Rhodes against the Turks (not until 1523 did they surrender the island "to their own honor, and shame of other Christians who sent them no succour in season") and of Malta, "the [sea] bulwark of Christendom to this day," as

³² "A Sermon of Christ Crucified" at Paul's Cross, printed in *Private Prayers during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851), pp. 462-63.

³³ *The True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion* (London, 1586), pp. 196-97. In another place in the same treatise one of Bilson's interlocutors remarks that it has availed the French kings nothing to oppose the pope. Theophilus replies that "Christendome hath gotten lesse by withstanding the Turk, and yet that doth not make his cause good." *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁴ Thomas Hooker, *Works*, ed. John Keble (Oxford, 1845), I, 441.

³⁵ *Apello Caesarem* (London, 1625), p. 152.

³⁶ See below, n. 75, 84.

³⁷ *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge, 1647), pp. 277, 285.

Hungary is "Christendom's best land bulwark."³⁸ He also lauds the French for being currently "most loyal to the cause"³⁹ and the king of Spain—"Yea, all West-Christendom oweth her quiet sleep to his constant waking, who with his galleys muzzleth the mouth of Tunis and Algiers. Yea, God in his Providence hath so ordered it, that the dominions of Catholic princes (as they term them) are the case and cover of the east and south to keep and fence the Protestant countries."⁴⁰

The lay sovereigns and diplomats were, if anything, more favorably disposed toward the Christian front against the Turk than the clergy. From their confidential utterances and correspondence, as well as from the peace treaties described above, it is impossible to doubt that the idea of "the common corps of Christendom" persisted as a fundamental assumption of European diplomacy until well into the seventeenth century. Many of the same men who negotiated with the Turk and even connived with him against fellow Christians continued to talk of "the common cause" and, what is more, to believe in it. For statesmen like Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Porte from 1621 to 1628, only extreme danger to the national or Protestant cause could justify a political alliance with the infidel. For others, like James I, such a policy was justifiable at no time. Others, like Queen Elizabeth, were undoubtedly less orthodox in their attitude but, for reasons of policy, felt obliged to represent themselves to the public gaze as champions of "the common cause."

Elizabeth seems to have had no scruples whatever about seeking Turkish help against Spain during the national crisis of the 1580's. She established the first permanent English embassy at Constantinople and corresponded directly with the Turkish government.⁴¹ What is even more significant, she apparently made no attempt to keep her negotiations with the Turk a secret.⁴² After the crisis had passed, however, she became extraordinarily sensitive to the stories about her relations with the Turk which she knew to be going the rounds on the Continent. If during the 1580's she was careless about public reaction to her policy, after 1588 she clearly went out of her way to placate public opinion. She may never have believed in "the common cause" as did James I, but once the fury of "the enterprise of England" had subsided, she certainly wished to appear to do so. It is as though she belatedly

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-37, 267.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.

⁴¹ See, for example, her letter to the Grand Vizier, Nov. 15, 1582, printed by Pears in the *English Historical Review*, VIII, n. 7.

⁴² See Johann W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa* (Hamburg, 1840-63), III, 427.

grasped the fact that European public opinion still regarded a Turkish alliance as a scandal and that not to take that fact into account would constitute a serious political blunder on her part. She determined therefore to pose as a champion of "the common cause" and thus to restore her good name throughout Christendom.

That Elizabeth was in a fair way to losing her good name over her Turkish policy is clear. Captain Norris put it mildly when he said that "some princes in Christendom, her Majesty's enemies and ill-willers, have charged her Highness to be a favourer of Turks and infidels."⁴³ Thanks chiefly to Spanish agents, no court of Europe, not even excluding the tsar's, was uninformed of the "scandalous" behavior of the queen. In 1582 the French court learned that the English planned to take possession of Malta and hand it over to the Turk.⁴⁴ A few years later the rumor was broadcast in Rome and Venice that the English ambassador at Constantinople was keeping the sultan informed of the affairs of the Italian states to the end that they might be subjected to the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ Father Parsons' *Responsio ad edictum Reginae Angliae*, which accused Elizabeth of conniving with the infidel against Christendom, appeared in 1592 and probably went the rounds of all the courts.⁴⁶ In 1597 Spanish envoys urged the senate of Lübeck to assist in bringing down those "troublers of all Christendom [the English] and the stirrers up of the bloody enemy, the Turk."⁴⁷ The emperor heard that the English were helping the Turk in the Polish war. A papal legate told the tsar that Elizabeth not only favored the Turk but was currently aiding him against Christian princes.⁴⁸

Small wonder that Elizabeth saw fit to make prompt representations to the courts of Europe flatly denying the above charges (some of which, of course, had a basis in fact) and protesting her fidelity to "the common cause."⁴⁹ Probably at her instigation, Harborne implored the Venetian am-

⁴³ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1883-1940; hereafter referred to as *Salisbury Papers*), XII, 549-51. This statement occurs in a letter which Norris wrote home in explanation of his decision to alter the position of his ships in the Mediterranean. He feared lest his ships be impressed by the Turk for service against Christians and thus damage "her Majesty's honour."

⁴⁴ Paul de Foix, French ambassador to Rome, to Henry III, cited in Zinkeisen, III, 427.

⁴⁵ *Ven. Cal.*, 1581-1591, no. 655. Barton was also said to have pledged his word that in 1590 the Turkish fleet, en route to Spain, might winter at Toulon (*ibid.*, no. 1004).

⁴⁶ It was in answer to this book that Francis Bacon penned an oration to the queen entitled *Observations on a Libel* (1592). Bacon sought therein to defend Elizabeth against Parsons' charge by representing as a piece of "dissembling" the king of Spain's talk of a crusade against the Turk (James Spedding, *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* [London, 1861-69], I, 186).

⁴⁷ *Salisbury Papers*, VII, 273.

⁴⁸ John Mirrik, agent for the Muscovy Company in Russia, to "your worship," 1595, *ibid.*, V, 521-22.

⁴⁹ This was not the first time that Elizabeth had taken the conventional line. In 1572 she had congratulated Philip II and the signory of Venice on the victory which God had given them over

bassador at Constantinople to do what he could to spike the afore-mentioned rumor then being circulated at Rome.⁵⁰ In 1593 Barton was instructed to do everything in his power to stop the impending invasion of imperial territory by the sultan "for that in divers parts of Christendom, as well amongst our friends as others, especially in Germany, there have been divers malicious and lying pamphlets published, wherein the only and chief imputation of this his intended invasion of Christendom is thrown upon us."⁵¹ At precisely the same time Elizabeth wrote directly to Rudolph II on the subject. None of the injuries inflicted on her by the king of Spain and the pope disturbed her more, she said in her letter, than the malicious rumor that "we have incited the most loathsome enemy of the Christian name to wage war on Christian princes."⁵² God is our witness, she wrote, that this is not true. Had not she, Elizabeth, recently done everything in her power to stay the war between Turkey and Poland?⁵³ She offered to arbitrate the impending war between the emperor and the Turk and expressed the wish that Christian princes might settle their differences and unite against the infidel.⁵⁴ Simultaneously, she instructed Christopher Parkins, her ambassador to the imperial court, to discuss the matter personally with the emperor. Parkins did so at once. At two audiences with the emperor he took exception to the rumor

the common enemy of Christianity at Lepanto (*Ven. Cal.*, 1558-1580, nos. 534, 538). In 1574 Lord North, Elizabeth's envoy extraordinary to France, had lamented the disunity currently prevailing in Christendom and prayed that one day the Christian powers might be united against the Turk (*ibid.*, no. 609).

⁵⁰ See *loc. cit.*, n. 74.

⁵¹ Queen Elizabeth to Barton, Apr. 22, 1593, *Salisbury Papers*, IV, 301-302. For reasons of expediency Thomas Edmonds, English agent in France, disclaimed to the French government any knowledge of Barton's mission. He told the French "that he only knew, that her majesty being formerly taxed to have been the cause of calling the Turk into Christendom, sent to the emperor to manifest her contrary proceedings; and that it might be, she desired still to make the same appear; which might be the said charge given to Mr. Barton." *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Thomas Birch (London, 1754), I, 251-52.

⁵² "Nos, Christiani nominis Hostem teterrimum, Magnum Turcarum Dominatorem, concitasse ad bellum Christianis Principibus inferendum."

⁵³ Strictly speaking, this was true. In a letter, Mar. 21, 1590, Elizabeth had instructed Barton to do everything in his power to prevent the sultan from going to war with Poland. However, the queen's motive in so doing was not the one which she gives in the above letter to the emperor. To Barton she writes that she no longer has any hope of Turkish assistance against Spain (during the last six years the sultan has promised much and done little), and that consequently England must have access to Poland for munitions. If the sultan "take away our wepens and warlike munitions," he will disable us and strengthen "our comon enymie [Spain]." Printed in part in *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602*, ed. Sir William Foster (Hakluyt Society, London, 1931), p. 279.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth to Rudolph II, Apr. 21, 1593, Rymer, XVI, 206-208. Elizabeth's language in this letter is interesting. She says that a declaration of war by the sultan would be of concern not only to the emperor and the Christian territories adjacent to the Turk but to the whole Christian republic. She expresses her grief as to the lamentable state of the Christian world and earnestly desires that the emperor, whom God has established in the highest rank of dignity, and the other princes who bear the title of Christians and Catholics may settle their quarrels, take pity on the calamities of Christendom, and be drawn together in unity.

that her majesty "is the only cause of the Wars in Christendom." The king of Spain, he said, is primarily responsible for "the present shedding of Blood between Christians [and] the daily diminishing of the Forces of Christendom." Her majesty is as zealous for "the Public Good of Christendom" and as desirous of peace and the consequent "reuniting of Christian Forces" against the Turk as the emperor.⁵⁵ In 1600 Sir Richard Lee, ambassador to Russia, was instructed to make similar representations to the tsar. Lee was to assure the tsar on the following points: Barton's accompanying the Turkish army into Hungary was "without our knowledge and liking," and "as soon as we heard of it, we reprov'd him sharply for the same"; Barton was forced to do so by the sultan's commandment, and in any event did manage en route to procure the liberty of many poor Christian captives; absolutely false is the rumor that we assisted the Turk with ordnance "graven and marked with our arms of England." Lee was to say that the queen had never harbored "the least intent to aid the Turk against Christendom, either directly or indirectly, being a professed Christian prince, as we will answer unto Almighty God."⁵⁶

James I's attitude was much more consistent than that of Elizabeth. James was reluctant to have anything more to do with the Turk than was absolutely necessary. He cordially disliked the political affiliation with the Porte which his predecessor had established and on several occasions fought shy of receiving a Turkish embassy.⁵⁷ He stated repeatedly that he maintained an English ambassador at Constantinople for purposes of trade only, and even this he had to be persuaded to do.⁵⁸ On one occasion he declared in private conversation at table that if the sultan were to attack Christendom in large numbers, he would use all the forces of his realm to oppose him, even though the attack were in support of his son-in-law, the Prince Palatine, in the latter's fight against the emperor. In the event of such an attack he asserted that he would

⁵⁵ "Negotiationes Christopheri Parkins apud Imperatorem transactae" (1594), *ibid.*, 252-56.

⁵⁶ *Salisbury Papers*, X, 170-71.

⁵⁷ In 1603 James said that the receiving of a Turkish embassy was not in keeping with the calling of a Christian prince (*Ven. Cal.*, 1603-1607, no. 169). On his relations with Mustapha, a Turkish envoy who arrived in England in 1607, see Chew, pp. 179-80.

⁵⁸ According to Mr. Thomas Wilson, James, at the very outset of his reign, "denied absolutely" even to sign commercial letters to the Turk, "saying, that for Merchants causes he would not do things unfitting a Christian Prince." Wilson to Sir Thomas Parry, June 12, 1603, printed in part in *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. Henry Ellis (1st Series, London, 1824), III, 84. "Yet," says Wilson, "haply he will be brought to it in time." Though James was in fact "brought to it in time," he made it clear that trade only was the reason for his maintenance of diplomatic relations with the Turk; as he told Sir Thomas Roe in 1621, the primary function of the English ambassador at Constantinople was to maintain the Levant trade "which was the first and only foundation of that correspondency which our crown hath hitherto held with that state." *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in His Embassy to the Ottoman Porte* (London, 1740), p. 2; hereafter referred to as *Negotiations*; see also *Ven. Cal.*, 1617-1619, no. 679.

not balk at fighting even against his own daughter, the princess Elizabeth!⁵⁹

The diplomatic correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe reveals James's determination to employ his ambassador at Constantinople for the defense of Christendom as a whole. In his original instructions James ordered Roe to use his utmost endeavors to divert the sultan from what appeared to be an imminent attack upon "our good brother the king of Poland, or some part of Hungary." Upon the first rumor of this expedition James had commanded Roe's predecessor to inform the sultan of "the jealousy that we and all other Christian princes had of such an attempt." Roe was to remind the sultan of this and to warn him that such an expedition "would engage us necessarily, though unwillingly, to take arms against him"—"there are no respects of friendship so dear unto us, as the obligation we have to defend those princes and states that be fellow-professors with us of the same Christian faith."⁶⁰ In March, 1622, Roe reported the mustering of a large piratical expedition at Constantinople which he thought James would be intersted to hear about "because your Majesty gave me weighty and vehement command to serve you in taking care of the general estate of Christendom."⁶¹ In April, Sir George Calvert, the king's secretary, instructed Roe to negotiate a peace between the Turk, the emperor, and Poland. Despite the obvious advantage which a Turkish victory would afford the king and his son-in-law, the Prince Palatine, at the present moment "yet is there . . . no prince nor private person more glad than he is, that God hath not suffered his [the sultan's] armies to be so victorious as there was once great occasion to fear." "Very welcome unto his Majesty" was Roe's advertisement of the sultan's last defeat.⁶² In December, Calvert congratulated Roe on his good offices in "the diverting of that [Turkish] storm from Christendom." Even though the emperor, who is disrespectful toward his majesty, gains most by this event, "the conscience of so

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1619-1621, no. 330. Not all the members of the Privy Council were of the same opinion as James. According to the Venetian ambassador, some favored a political alliance with the Turk because of the Levant trade (*ibid.*, 1603-1607, no. 175). James's hostility to the Turk antedated his accession to the throne of England. In 1601 he wrote to the shah of Persia complimenting the latter on his military success against the Turk and hinting at assistance at the earliest opportunity. He praises Sir Anthony Sherley who had returned to Europe from Persia in 1599 as the shah's ambassador to solicit aid against the Turk (printed in Evelyn P. Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers* [Chiswick, 1848], Appendix C; also in *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of King James the Sixth*, ed. James Maidment [Edinburgh, 1838], pp. 41-43). On the occasion of Prince Henry's baptism in 1594 a masque was staged at the Scottish court in which three Christian Knights of Malta and three Turks appeared as antagonists. James himself impersonated one of the knights (*The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Nichols [London, 1823], III, 355-56). See also below, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁰ *Negotiations*, pp. 2-3. Much of this was, of course, bombast. Roe is instructed not on any account to proceed to the point of war. England is unprepared and the distance is too great "without the help and coassistance of other princes, whose intentions in contributing to the general cause we know not."

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

good a work, as it concerns Christendom in general, is that in which his Majesty takes delight, without looking upon private ends."⁶³

James would have little to do with Roe's scheme of enlisting the services of Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War. It is true that in 1624 the king, contemplating war with the emperor, appeared to be wavering in the matter and through Calvert instructed Roe to exchange courtesies with Gabor "and to stir up his [Gabor's] friends to assist him."⁶⁴ But James never really committed himself to the scheme and up to 1624 was certainly very loath to ally himself with a prince who was known to employ Turkish forces in his campaigns. Roe frequently complains—to James's daughter, the queen of Bohemia, to Calvert, and to others—of his inability to use Gabor because of the king's squeamishness about the Turk. To the queen of Bohemia he wrote in 1623: "if his Majesty would not be offended, much more might be done; but so great is the sincerity of his Christian heart, and the care of his royal honor, that he will not use scorpions to heal with."⁶⁵ To Lord Conway he wrote after James's death that he had been balked in his diplomatic work by "the severity of his late Majesty not to have any mixture with that prince, who carried in his armies the colors and noise of Turks."⁶⁶ Charles I was more accommodating with regard to Gabor but he too scrupled at "drawing the Turk to any invasion in Christendom."⁶⁷

As may be gathered from the above remarks, Roe's own attitude toward the Turk was less clear-cut than that of James. All things considered, he would seem to be of the group which disliked treating with or making use of the Turk, but which felt that such action was at times warranted. Continental examples of what may be called the "expedient" attitude are Francis I, Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Porte from 1554 to 1562, and Father Joseph, monk-politician of the reign of Louis XIII. In the interest of national self-defense Francis I entered into close relations with the Porte, but, as Charrière says, "*presque toujours avec repugnance, et comme forcé par la nécessité*."⁶⁸ Busbecq defended the dealings of his master, the Emperor

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104–105.

⁶⁴ Calvert to Roe, May 18, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 135–36. In Calvert's letter, Apr. 11, 1622, he informs Roe that his majesty will have nothing whatever to do with Gabor (*ibid.*, p. 28).

⁶⁶ July 16, 1626, *ibid.*, p. 527.

⁶⁷ In two letters (Nov. 12, 1625, and Apr. 20, 1626) Roe is informed by Lord Conway that he may confidently proceed "to foment that diversion by Bethlem Gabor," as his majesty fully understands its advantages (*ibid.*, pp. 461, 502, 504). However, with the scruples noted above in the text. That Charles I really took his scruple seriously is apparent from Roe's correspondence with Conway in which it is frequently discussed.

⁶⁸ *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, I, xxxvi–xxxvii. Charrière's documents reveal that Francis was extremely sensitive to European criticism of his policy. He was careful not to avow publicly his early dealings with the Turk (embarked on after Charles V's smashing defeat

Ferdinand, with the Turk, but on the ground that at the moment no other policy was prudent. War with Sultan Solyman's superior forces, he believed, would involve not only Ferdinand's own subjects but "the whole of Christendom" (for which Busbecq professed a high regard) in irretrievable ruin.⁶⁹ According to Father Joseph, the Continental ambitions of the House of Habsburg justified the alliance of France with the infidel—"avant que pouvoir defendre autrui, il falloit s'asseurer soyemesme."⁷⁰ But like the others he regarded the Turkish alliance as only a temporary and odious arrangement. His ultimate ideal was a crusade against the Turk in which all the Christian states would participate.⁷¹

An early English example of the expedient attitude is that of Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1585 Walsingham instructed Harborne, envoy to the Porte, to use all his endeavors to effect a military alliance with the sultan. "Hot wars" between the king of Spain and her majesty necessitated recourse to this strategem, he said; "to divert the dangerous attempt and designs of the said King from these parts of Christendom" a Turkish attack in the Mediterranean was infinitely to be desired. Another passage in the same letter of instruction indicates, however, that Walsingham hoped for more from such a Mediterranean attack than the defeat of Spain. The attack, he said, would have the merit of setting the two "limbs of the devil" against one another, thereby enabling the true church to grow to such strength "as shall be requisite for suppression of them both." Such a war of mutual destruction would be of no small advantage "to her Majesty presently, but to all Christendom hereafter."⁷² Sir Robert Cecil was another who felt that the Turk had his uses in the national emergency but who regarded the infidel with abhorrence. In a letter to Sir George Carew in 1602 he wished the king of Spain ill success in his war against the Turk but prefaced his wish with the remark that "in Christianity I may not wish a Heathen prosperity."⁷³ Of a like mind

of the French army at Pavia in 1525) and on occasion repented his new alliance (e.g., immediately following the siege of Vienna in 1529). Not all of this can be attributed to chicanery, for there was a good deal of the knight-errant in Francis. At the time he was a candidate for the imperial throne, Francis evidently aspired to lead a crusade against the Turk and offered a plan for the partition of the Turkish Empire.

⁶⁹ *Turkish Letters*, printed in Charles T. Forster, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* (London, 1881), I, 405-11.

⁷⁰ Louis Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph Polémiste* (Paris, 1895), p. 386. Father Joseph also argued that the Turkish alliance enabled the king of France to help the suffering Christians in the Ottoman Empire (*ibid.*, p. 384; see also *Mercure François*, XI [Paris, 1626], 118-24). In 1676 Colbert justified a plan for unloosing Turkish forces on Austria on the ground of military necessity. See Robert B. Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy, 1451-1789* (New York, 1928), p. 202.

⁷¹ See below, n. 101.

⁷² Printed in Read, III, 226-28.

⁷³ *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew*, ed. John Maclean (Camden Society, London, 1864), p. 130.

was Sir Edward Barton. Hard-boiled man of the world that he was, and sent to Constantinople for the express purpose of concluding an alliance with the sultan, whom he accompanied on one of the Turkish campaigns against Christian Hungary, Barton nevertheless evinced a profound distaste for the Turk, and expressed the hope—in 1588 of all years—that the latter's empire "is in the wane."⁷⁴

But the most interesting example of this attitude is Sir Thomas Roe. As noted above, Roe, unlike his royal master, favored the negotiation of a military alliance with Bethlem Gabor against the emperor, knowing perfectly well that Gabor employed Turkish arms. In his opinion, the end, a Protestant victory in the Thirty Years' War, justified the means. "It is as well an honest rule in war, as a politic," he wrote to Archbishop Abbot, whose conscience was not easy in the matter,⁷⁵ "*Cuius finis est bonus, ipsum quoque bonum et iustum est; & iniquitas partis adversae* makes many things just in their opposition, that are not so in themselves." History tells us that in the past "great and wise states, such as we fear to scandalize, have, in their necessities, sought the Turks directly," e.g., Francis I and the Italian states.⁷⁶ Seeing that the Roman Catholic states were known to be conniving with the Turk, Roe especially saw "no cause to be scrupulous" in regard to Gabor.⁷⁷

Yet nowhere does Roe suggest that the Turk is a power like in kind to the Christian powers. For Roe, as for James I, the Turk was clearly of a different breed from the Roman Catholic as well as Protestant powers, *ipso facto* debarred from normal relations with "Christendom." He would employ Turkish aid only as a last resort, after all other means had failed. At best the Turks are "scorpions to heal with," and Turkish aid a "nauseous remedy." The advantage of the alliance with Gabor lay, in Roe's opinion, in the fact that it would divert a large part of the emperor's army to the Hungarian frontier without really endangering "one foot of Christian ground"; the armaments at Gabor's command, he argued, were inadequate for any-

⁷⁴ Letter of Sept. 13, 1588, printed by Pears in the *English Historical Review*, VIII, 457. Barton was of the opinion that the Turk worshipped lucre only and that "he is not bound by his law to maintain [a league of amity] longer than shall stand by his profit and advantage."

⁷⁵ "and some blemish it is unto his [Gabor's] action," Abbot wrote to Roe, June 23, 1624, "that hee useth the Turks and Tartars; which maketh christian princes afraid to joyne any way with him." *Negotiations*, p. 253. In another letter to Roe, Nov. 11, 1625, Abbot wrote, "What you write concerning the Spanish attempts to make peace with the Ottoman, I easily believe; they make conscience of nothing to gain their own ends." *Ibid.*, p. 460.

⁷⁶ June 9/19, 1625, *ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

⁷⁷ Roe to Calvert, Feb. 7/17, 1625, *ibid.*, p. 347. The emperor, Roe wrote to Abbot, makes peace with Gabor "without any scruple of disparagement, *dum sit utile*." See *loc. cit.*, n. 41. To Lord Conway he wrote, Sept. 22, 1626, "if examples were good arguments, a pope, a king of Aragon, a French, and all catholiques, have taught us, that it is not *crimen mortale* to use one enemy of God against another." *Ibid.*, p. 560.

thing but "chas[ing] the bull" (the emperor).⁷⁸ In 1626 Roe flatly rejected a plan of Gabor's by which the Turkish army was to invade and winter in imperial territory. The Dutch envoy, he wrote to Lord Conway, "was content to persuade the actual breech, as black enough already," but he, Roe, would not hear of it because of "His Majesty's Christian restraint" and because it "would rather hurt the affairs of Christendom, than advance them."⁷⁹ In 1627 the same Dutch envoy, whether with official backing or not is not clear, proposed to Roe that the subsidy intended for Gabor be given to the Turk to wage war directly on the emperor. Fearing an imminent imperial victory in Germany, Roe could not bring himself to dismiss the proposition altogether, but he obviously disliked the idea. To Sir Isaac Wake, the English ambassador at Venice, he wrote that if his lordship found "the necessity of our affairs to want such a nauseous remedy, to which I fear in the end Germany may be enforced," he, Roe, would connive with the Turk; on the other hand, "upon God, our good cause, and our own courage, it is both more safe and noble to depend; for I have no faith in anything *ab Oriente*."⁸⁰ To Lord Conway he wrote at the same time, "And though the *present times* do *admit scarce a possibility*; so I hope, *we are not reduced to the necessity of seeking* it, which only can *warrant* it. . . . Yet certainly, my lord, it is time to oppose all wit and strength against a bitter cup mingling for us."⁸¹

In his earlier letters, written before the political situation in Europe became so ominous, Roe made no attempt to disguise his contempt for the Turk. He spoke of his "hatred to the unworthy enemies" and only the year after his arrival in Constantinople begged to be relieved of his post—"I am as weary of the company of infidels," he wrote Lord Carew, "as they would be of hell."⁸² The same year he expressed a strong desire to see a crusade launched against "this monster." The times seemed to be particularly auspicious for such an enterprise. Contrary to popular belief, the Ottoman Empire was extremely rotten within⁸³—"this mighty monarchy hath no other walls to defend it, but the uncivil dissensions of Christian princes." If the latter could only be made to realize this, he wrote to Prince Charles, "it would

⁷⁸ Roe pointed out that Gabor waged war mainly with cavalry without much artillery, which prevented him from besieging a place of any importance, although a great force was required to resist him (*ibid.*, p. 277, 306).

⁷⁹ Roe to Lord Conway, Sept., 1626, *ibid.*, p. 559.

⁸⁰ Jan. 26, 1627, *ibid.*, p. 741; Feb. 1, 1627, *ibid.*, p. 742.

⁸¹ Feb., 1627, *ibid.*, p. 739.

⁸² May 23, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸³ Roe was not the only Englishman of the early seventeenth century who observed the decay of the Ottoman Empire. The historian Richard Knolles also commented on "the signes of a declining state." *A Briefe Discourse of the Greatnesse of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1603), p. Gggggij.

invite them to that accord and unity, the contrary whereof hath been the only greatness and cause of the increase of this monarchy; and in this theme I could be large, but I hope your Highness shall live to see, and to act part of that, which is above all other worldly ambitions."⁸⁴ To Viscount Doncaster he spoke of the crusade as "a glorious work" and indicated a wish to help promote it—"I could be content to be a part of the fuel, to make the fire that should consume them."⁸⁵ Of course, Roe had no real hope even then of the crusade's realization. The same letter to Doncaster ends on a note of profound pessimism. "*Cui bono*" this information about the sickness of the Turk, he asks. Will the Christian powers really make use of it? "Seeing that I may burn alone," why undertake to kindle the fire which would consume the infidel? It was because of his pessimism concerning Christian unity, however, and not because of any newfangled attitude toward the Turk, that after 1622 Roe began to connive with Gabor and his infidel allies.

Final proof that the idea of Christendom was not yet a dead letter in European politics is to be found in the contemporary plans for a Christian league against the Turk. At least half a dozen such plans, not to speak of innumerable pious references to the subject, were currently advanced for the serious consideration of European statesmen. To be sure, these plans were never free of ulterior motivation nor were they realized in practice. Nevertheless, to discount them as mere verbiage, as do some modern historians, would be seriously to misread the political temper of the times. Not only was the idea of the Christian republic still congenial to the thought pattern of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it received more than ordinary attention by reason of the very real threat to the security of the European states (England less so, of course, than the empire) which the Turk then constituted.

Plans for a Christian league were very much in the air during the reign of Henry VIII, both before and after the break with Rome. Between 1515 and 1530 the English government received any number of proposals from foreign sovereigns (chiefly the pope and the emperor, whose territories were directly threatened by the Turkish advance) calling for the cessation of civil war within Christendom and concerted action against the Turk. The Eng-

⁸⁴ April 28, 1622, *Negotiations*, p. 33. Roe's desire for a crusade was shared by Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to The Hague. See letter to Roe, Aug. 19/29, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 70. Mr. Rowland Woodward, who occupied a minor position in the foreign service, expressed the hope that the Christian princes would "make benefit of" the recent death of Sultan Othman II, "so much for the good of Christendome" (Woodward to Roe, July 3, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 63). Archbishop Abbot lamented the fact "that our Christian princes are so distracted in their affections and resolutions, that they do not joyne to invade the common enemy." Abbot to Roe, Nov. 20, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸⁵ June 1, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 55.

lish government's response to these proposals was largely determined by the political situation within Christendom itself at the moment. But in no instance did Henry VIII or his advisors repudiate the idea of a Christian league, which they held to be altogether desirable if circumstances permitted. In 1518, mainly as a result of Wolsey's (and to a lesser extent, Henry VIII's) enthusiastic promotion, Leo X's plan for a crusade became the public law of Europe by the Treaty of London.⁸⁶ In 1525 Henry VIII himself proposed a universal peace so that the Christian princes might turn their attention to Luther and the Turk.⁸⁷ In 1530 he made a similar proposal. In a communication to Charles V he admitted that the Turkish peril was of concern to himself as well as to other Christian princes and that concerted action was necessary. If the Turk is not crushed at once, he wrote, he will kindle an inextinguishable flame throughout Christendom. Accordingly, he sent instructions to his envoys (those already sent to ratify the peace of Cambrai) to promise such aid as might be required of him.⁸⁸ In 1544 Henry was once again urging "an universal peace in all Christendom" so that common action might be taken against the Turk, "our common enemy."⁸⁹

The leading English advocate of a Christian league after Wolsey and Henry VIII was James Stuart. While still king of Scotland, James became interested in a Christian league. In 1589 he made the following proposition to the Danish government: Scotland, Denmark, and the German Protestant princes to form a preliminary alliance; envoys then to be dispatched by these states to the three great belligerents of Europe—Spain, France, and England

⁸⁶ For the phraseology of this treaty, see above, p. 28. For a discussion of Leo X's and Wolsey's plan, see Ludwig B. Pastor, *History of the Popes* (London, 1894-1941), VII, 213-54; Charrière, I, 10-83. In a letter to the bishop of Worcester, Apr. 11, 1518, Wolsey says that the king requires no urging to the crusade (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, II(2), no. 4073). Campeggio also believed that Henry favored the expedition (*ibid.*, no. 4577). Edward Hall, the Henrician chronicler, records the festivities which attended the negotiation of the Treaty of London. One evening the English and French diplomats (Charles V did not affix his signature to the treaty until the following year) were brought into a hall in which there had been constructed an artificial rock on the top of which stood five trees. On these five trees hung the arms of the pope and emperor and the kings of England, France, and Spain "in token that al these v. potentates were joined together in one league against the enemies of Christes faith." *Chronicle*, ed. Charles Whibley (London, 1904), I, 171.

⁸⁷ Instructions to Edward Lee (envoy to Charles V), Nov., 1525, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, IV(1), no. 1798. Henry seems actually to have made a contribution for the relief of Hungary in 1526 (see *ibid.*, nos. 2243, 2260). Henry's motive in so doing was, of course, partly political.

⁸⁸ King of England's answer to proposals brought by Sieur de Mingoval (from Charles V for aid against the Turk), *Spanish Calendar*, 1529-1530, no. 248. The year before, Henry had told Charles V that he could not possibly send help against the Turk because of the great distance, his empty exchequer, and parliament's unwillingness to co-operate. He did say, however, that he would join in a crusade if the other powers did likewise (Chapuys to Charles V, Dec. 6, 1529, *ibid.*, no. 224). Norfolk told Chapuys that his master's cold response to Charles V's pleas was owing to the latter's opposition to his "divorce" (*ibid.*, no. 302, pp. 533-34).

⁸⁹ Henry VIII to Wotton, *State Papers of Henry VIII*, X, 25-26; "Council to Paget and Wotton," *ibid.*, X, 353-54.

—to negotiate a “common peace of Christendom” whose purpose it would be to prevent the further “effusion of Christian blood” and to “avert the common danger that threatens all the Christian world”; should one of the belligerents refuse these overtures, a “counterleague” to be implemented against her.⁹⁰ Now it is perfectly true that in the correspondence relating to these negotiations there is more talk of a Protestant “counterleague” against Spain than of a “common peace of Christendom,” more mention of the Spanish than of the Turkish “danger.” In 1589 James was primarily interested in establishing his claim to the English throne, to which Spain represented the main challenge, and a strong Protestant league against the latter would go far toward achieving his end. That is not to say, however, that James was insincere in urging a more general Christian league against the infidel. A contemporary’s reference to his “piety and deep regard for the Christian Commonwealth”⁹¹ was not inappropriate in view of the interest in a Christian league which James later evinced. Furthermore, it is not without significance that in 1589, the year in which he commenced the above negotiations, James composed a poem celebrating the victory of the Christians over the Turk at Lepanto. Although James makes a distinction therein between Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians,⁹² he nevertheless praises highly the valor and prowess of the former. The battle of Lepanto is fought between “the baptiz’d race” and “circumcized turbaned Turks,” and the Christian victory is “a wondrous work of God.” Don John of Austria’s navy is referred to as “the Christian host” and his cause as “the public cause.”⁹³

Ten years later James again took up the cudgels for a Christian league. This time his plan—it was really more of a vague notion than a plan—was to effect the religious unity of Christendom so shattered by the Reformation. He would draw together the moderates in the Roman Catholic and Protestant camps, and by so doing free the Christian sovereigns for united action against the Turk. The story of his secret negotiations with Clement VIII, and of his attempt to conclude an alliance with the “moderate” Roman Catholic princes of Italy is too well known to repeat here.⁹⁴ Simultaneously

⁹⁰ See “Letters Patent of James VI” (June, 1590), *Warrender Papers*, ed. Annie I. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1932), II, 131–32; and “Instructions for Colonel Stewart and John Skene” (June 9, 1590), *ibid.*, 133–41. See in this connection Helen Stafford, *James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England* (New York, 1940), pp. 124–31.

⁹¹ Nicholas Kaas, Chancellor of Denmark, to James VI, July 30, 1590, *Warrender Papers*, II, 143.

⁹² In the poem God is made to say (ll. 78–79):

All christians serves my Son though not
Aright in every thing.

⁹³ The “Lepanto” is printed in *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* (Edinburgh, 1818).

⁹⁴ See Stafford, pp. 150–54, 233–46.

with these negotiations James offered "to make common cause with" the king of Denmark and the princes of the empire "to withstand the common enemy of the Christian name."⁹⁵ James's motive in so doing was again primarily political. He clearly hoped thereby to get both Roman Catholic and Protestant backing for his claim to the throne of England; which was for him an *idée fixe*. But that he was also genuinely interested in Christian unity *per se* can scarcely be doubted.⁹⁶

As king of England James continued to talk vaguely about Christian unity and a league against the Turk. At his accession he is reported to have wished to form a league of Christian princes against the infidel and to have been willing to furnish ten thousand foot soldiers for the same.⁹⁷ In a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, English ambassador to France, also in 1603, he expressed a desire for "a general council, lawfully called" to heal the religious schism, and authorized Parry to get in touch with the papal nuncio in Paris.⁹⁸ In 1604 he declared that he personally would assume the leadership of a Christian league if the other princes would do their part.⁹⁹ In the same year he asserted both by proclamation and speech to parliament that there was no prince more eager than he to assist with a truly general council, "not only out of a particular disposition to live peaceably with all states and princes of Christendom, but because such a settled amity might by an union in religion, be established among Christian princes, as might enable us all to resist the common enemy."¹⁰⁰

The negotiations for the marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish infanta furnished the occasion for a renewal of James's peace plans. James and his minister, Francis Bacon, evidently hoped that the Spanish match might be used as the basis for a general Christian pacification and a league against the Turk. Or at least so the memorandum which Bacon submitted to the king in March, 1617, would seem to indicate. Bacon urges therein that Sir John Digby be instructed to negotiate an alliance between the kings of England and Spain which shall serve as "a beginning and seed . . . of a holy

⁹⁵ *Warrender Papers*, II, 358-59.

⁹⁶ Professor Mackie is decidedly of this opinion. See his "The Secret Diplomacy of King James VI in Italy prior to His Accession to the English Throne," *Scottish Historical Review*, XXI (1924), 270-71; also *Negotiations between King James VI. & I. and Ferdinand I. Grand Duke of Tuscany* (London, 1927), pp. xxi-xxiii.

⁹⁷ *Ven. Cal.*, 1610-1613, no. 585. Can James have been influenced by Sir Edwin Sandys whose *Europae Speculum* (published only two years before) advocated a crusade as a means of restoring Christian unity?

⁹⁸ *Salisbury Papers*, XV, 299-302. See also Stafford, pp. 247-48.

⁹⁹ *Ven. Cal.*, 1603-1607, no. 739 (p. 519).

¹⁰⁰ Proclamation printed in Mark A. Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England* (London, 1841), IV, Appendix IV; Steele, *Proclamations*, I, no. 981. Ironically, this proclamation banished all Roman Catholic priests from England. James's speech to parliament is printed in part in Tierney, IV, 10-12.

war against the Turk." Bacon suggests that the two kings set up "a tribunal, or praetorian power, to decide the controversies, which may arise amongst the princes and estates of Christendom, without effusion of Christian blood; for so much as any estate of Christendom will hardly recede from that, which the two kings shall mediate and determine." Christendom having been pacified, a Christian army and navy might then be organized which could with good chance of success "suffocate and starve Constantinople" owing to the current sickness of the Turk.¹⁰¹

That James approved Bacon's scheme is reasonably clear. In 1618 the Venetian ambassador reported that the king was again showing interest in a joint Christian undertaking against the Turk.¹⁰² Published at London the same year was a pamphlet entitled *The Peace-Maker: or, Great Britain's Blessing*, which, though probably not written by James himself, was clearly James's manifesto.¹⁰³ In this pamphlet James's hope for the restoration of peace between the Christian powers (and by inference, an alliance against the infidel) is unmistakably expressed: "If the members of a natural body, by concord assist one another; if the political members of a kingdom help one another, and by it support itself; why shall not the monarchical bodies of many kingdoms be one mutual Christendom?"¹⁰⁴ To be sure, the pamphlet represents the peace of Christendom as deriving mainly from England and England's king, rather than from a joint alliance between England and Spain. England is par excellence *insula pacis*, the land in which Noah's dove of peace has found a resting place, "the Fountain from whence [peace] springs." If the Christian peoples of Europe—the French, Italians, etc.—desire peace, they must perforce come to England, "the factory of peace,"

¹⁰¹ Spedding, VI, 158–59; see also Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603–1642* (London, 1883–84), III, 62–63. Both Bacon and Digby would have preferred a Protestant alliance, but seeing that James's heart was set on the Spanish match, they hoped to use the latter for a statesmanlike purpose.

It is interesting to note that at the same time Bacon was contemplating an anti-Turkish alliance between the foremost Catholic and Protestant powers of Europe, Father Joseph and the duke of Nevers were promoting a crusade of the Catholic powers. See Dedouves, *Le Père Joseph de Paris* (Paris, 1932), pp. 355–459; Gustave C. Fagniez, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu* (Paris, 1894), pp. 120–82. I have been unable to discover any direct connection between the two crusade projects. Probably there was none. In 1620 James refused to allow iron ordnance to be delivered to the duke of Nevers for the ships of the latter's "Ordre de la Milice chrétienne" (*Ven. Cal.*, 1619–1621, no. 244, p. 169).

Also in 1617 the duke of Sully completed the first version of his famous *Mémoires* which contains a number of references to the "Grand Design of Henry IV" against the Turk. Obviously, the crusade was an important topic of discussion in both England and France in 1617.

¹⁰² *Ven. Cal.*, 1617–1619, no. 679.

¹⁰³ According to Gardiner (III, 183) this pamphlet was mainly the work of Bishop Andrews, who probably wrote at James's instigation. James's personal motto, "*Beati pacifici*," was also the motto of the pamphlet.

¹⁰⁴ *The Peace-Maker: or, Great Brittaines Blessing. Fram'd for the continuance of that mightie Happinesse wherein this Kingdome excells manie Empires* (London, 1619), p. B^b.

and to England's "Solomon" for "Judgments." The projected alliance with Spain is, however, referred to warmly: "*Spain*, that great and long-lasting opposite, betwixt whom and *England*, the *Ocean* ran with blood not many years before . . . yet now shakes hands in friendly amity, and speaks our blessing with us, *Beati pacifici*." ¹⁰⁵

In 1622, the negotiations with Spain having been resumed after an interlude, Bacon wrote a dialogue entitled "An Advertisement Touching an Holy War," which indicates his continued interest in the Christian league. The dialogue was never finished, owing to the abrupt breaking off of the Spanish negotiations for the second time, and consequently we cannot be certain what Bacon's views were precisely. However, with the memorandum of 1617 in mind, we are probably on safe ground in assuming that Bacon (through his interlocutor Eupolis, a "Politique" or "Politicus") would have favored an alliance of the Christian powers led by England and Spain against the infidel. In other words, his view lay somewhere between that of Zebedaeus, the Roman Catholic zealot in the dialogue who advocated a crusade on purely religious grounds, and that of Pollio, the courtier who scoffed at the idea of a holy war as "the rendezvous of cracked brains." ¹⁰⁶ Perhaps Martius, the soldier, expresses Bacon's view when he says that during the past fifty years there has been "a kind of meanness in the designs and enterprises of Christendom"; let the Christian powers forget their petty wars and unite in a war on the infidel; such a war cannot fail to be of temporal as well as spiritual advantage to all the European powers. ¹⁰⁷ In September of the same year James appealed to the pope to assist in the project. He is worried, he writes to Gregory XV, by "these calamitous discords and bloodshed, which for these late years by-past have so miserably rent the Christian world." He urges the latter, "together with us," to reunite the Christian princes "in a firm and unchangeable friendship," and "as much as may be" to knit them together "in stricter obligations than before, one unto another." ¹⁰⁸

To sum up, we may state the matter thus: If it is true that the relations between the European states and the Turk underwent a perceptible change during the Reformation, it is equally true that the older relationship was by

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. B.

¹⁰⁶ In his character of Pollio Bacon reflects the skeptical point of view which must then have prevailed in some quarters. Pollio intimates that a united Christendom is nothing but wishful thinking, "except you could bray Christendom in a mortar, and mould it into a new paste, there is no possibility of an Holy War. And I was ever of opinion, that the Philosophers' Stone, and an Holy War, were but the rendezvous of cracked brains." "An Advertisement touching an Holy War," *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (London, 1858-1862), VII, 24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 18, 20, 23.

¹⁰⁸ *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. James O. Halliwell (London, 1846), II, 159-61; *Cabala* (London, 1662), p. 412.

no means so soon abandoned. For Tudor and early Stuart lawyers, churchmen, and statesmen, "the common corps of Christendom" was still very much of a reality, notwithstanding their willingness on occasion to use the Turk for dynastic and national ends. In this respect official opinion did not run much ahead of literary opinion. No contemporary English statesman or publicist would have indorsed Émeric Crucé's plan for the establishment of a world union in which the sultan of the Turks would be accorded a position equal to that of the Christian sovereigns.¹⁰⁹ Not until the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, or perhaps much later, were the European states prepared to regard the Turk as a power not unlike themselves and as worthy of inclusion in the European concert.¹¹⁰ So great was the weight of tradition, and so long did it take for the full impact of the secularization of European politics and the religious schism to be felt.

¹⁰⁹ As a matter of fact, Crucé accorded to the sultan a place of honor in his world union second only to that of the pope and above the emperor and other Christian sovereigns (*Le Nouveau Cynée*, ed. Thomas W. Balch [Philadelphia, 1909], pp. 106-108).

¹¹⁰ Carlowitz was the first general European congress in which the Turk participated. As Hammer points out, Carlowitz was also the first treaty "*in welchem die Pforte die Vermittelung europäischer Mächte anerkannte und annahm.*" *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827-35), VI, 659. Lord Paget, the English envoy to Constantinople, played an important role in mediating the peace because of William III's anxiety to free the emperor's hands for action against the French.

Wealth against Commonwealth, 1894 and 1944

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER*

THE closing years of the nineteenth century brought the American people as a nation consciously face to face with problems of which it had been uneasily aware since the Civil War. In the decade before the Spanish-American War left us fumbling toward a new orientation in world affairs, two outstanding books had surveyed the domestic scene and probed searchingly the nation's political and economic structure. Both authors, one an Englishman and the other an American with an even more penetrating mind, were friends and defenders of the best they found and fearless critics of the weaknesses they discovered. Both writers lifted national thought above the pettiness of contemporary squabbles over tariffs, pensions, free silver, and the tag ends of Reconstruction and focused attention on basic political and economic issues that were never again obscured.

The Englishman was James Bryce, whose *American Commonwealth* appeared in 1888. With objectivity and disarming friendliness he measured our institutions and political mores. Where other foreign critics had infuriated, Bryce won a hearing because we felt that at heart he was one with us in our hopes, and we heard willingly the warnings that seemed but echoes of our own unexpressed fears. Amid all the pages of praise and blame there was one passage that fell on the sensitive ear like an alarm bell in the night. A few sentences selected from this forecast of things to come are an appropriate introduction to the work of his American contemporary:

There is a part of the Atlantic where the westward speeding steam-vessel always expects to encounter fogs. On the fourth or fifth day of the voyage, while still in bright sunlight, one sees at a distance a long low dark-gray line across the bows, and is told this is the first of the fog-banks which have to be traversed. Presently the vessel is upon the cloud and rushes into its chilling embrace, not knowing what perils of icebergs may be shrouded within the encompassing gloom. So, America, in her swift onward progress, sees, looming on the horizon and now no longer distant, a time of mists and shadows, wherein dangers may lie concealed whose form and magnitude she can scarcely yet conjecture. . . . In fact the chronic evils and problems of old societies and crowded countries, such as we see them in Europe, will have reappeared on this new soil. . . . It will be the time of trial for democratic institutions.¹

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¹ *American Commonwealth* (2-vol. ed., London, 1888), II, 700-701.

Although near the close of this passage Bryce suggests that the time of reckoning lies "not more than thirty years ahead," he goes on to predict that the next few years "or even decades" will be preoccupied with popular attempts to regulate and curtail the powers of the great corporations and with even more strenuous attacks upon the "Trusts."² In 1894, six years after the publication of the *American Commonwealth*, there appeared a volume entitled *Wealth against Commonwealth*. In incisive and vigorous prose, English exposition at its best, the American author Henry Demarest Lloyd marshaled the scholarship of many years to show that the time was here and now to challenge the misuse of accumulated wealth and to break the grip of certain great corporations like Standard Oil upon the economic life of the nation. Lloyd, a man economically well-advantaged himself, was preaching no formulated socialistic doctrine. He was challenging corporate power and wealth and irresponsibility in the name of the commonwealth of democratic institutions. His work, which well merits mention in the same bracket with Bryce, was acclaimed in its day and echoed in the literature of the next decade. What Lloyd treated fully and cited by book and candle, the muck-rakers publicized in fields he did not cultivate. Those Lloyd pilloried were the originals of Theodore Roosevelt's "malefactors of great wealth." The pat phrases of later writers rattled off the armor of great corporations, but Lloyd's spear had found the weak spots and from his thrusts, weighted with scholarship, they have never freed themselves. The attack upon Lloyd and *Wealth against Commonwealth* comes in cycles. It is sharpest when, as in recent years, the papers of some of the capitalists of an earlier day are opened by families to the use of historians writing official and definitive biographies. All of them, especially those who deal with the Standard Oil coterie, must reckon with Lloyd and each has. In the name of Lloyd and of historical accuracy I propose to deal with some of these critics in as impersonal a manner as a long interest in Lloyd permits.

It may be well, however, to recall the main facts about the author of *Wealth against Commonwealth*. There can be no doubt of his fitness to undertake a study of the Standard Oil and the trusts. Trained in the law and the rules of evidence under Francis Lieber and Theodore W. Dwight in the Columbia Law School,³ he had acquired in subsequent years an extraordinary theoretical and technical equipment for such a task. After a thorough grounding in the theories of orthodox economics he had abandoned them, after

² *Ibid.*, II, 705.

³ Columbia University Alumni Office Records. Lloyd was admitted to the bar in 1869 and did not graduate with his class. For the quality of instruction see Oscar S. Straus, *Under Four Administrations* (Boston, 1922), pp. 30-31; Frederick P. Keppel, *Columbia* (New York, 1914), p. 9.

serious study, for the historical school. This was before Richard T. Ely returned from Germany to introduce the historical approach into academic circles.⁴ He was equally familiar with the philosophical and religious movements of the period, especially with Social Darwinism and the "gospel of wealth." While assistant secretary of the American Free Trade League he had learned the importance of exhaustive, meticulous research to which was attributable much of his success throughout a distinguished journalistic career. Seven years as financial, real estate, and railroad editor of the then independent and liberal Chicago *Daily Tribune* had given him an almost unequaled firsthand knowledge of business practices and railroad management at a time when the Standard Oil was perfecting its alliance with the railroads and completing its monopoly. He had employed this in making the first sustained, penetrating, and comprehensive study of corporate and speculative capitalism in America, in the course of which he paid full attention to the petroleum monopoly. Published during the course of a decade (1874-85) in the *Tribune*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *North American Review*, his findings established his reputation as a leading American authority on the combination movement, market manipulations, and railroad management.⁵

During the same period Lloyd worked for a higher standard of business ethics. He fought for public control of the railroads, discovered the labor movement, and dedicated his life to economic reform. Searching for principles that could serve as the foundation for such a program, he turned to Emerson, the philosophy and ethics of Thomas Davidson and Mazzini, the Ethical Culture movement, and Christian and Fabian Socialism. From them he distilled an ethical theory and an ideal of human brotherhood broad enough to include the working class, whose elevation must be a major object of "The New Conscience." In fact, Lloyd came to regard economic problems as fundamentally ethical in character, and the labor movement as an ethical revolt that would overthrow classical economics, democratize labor relations, end monopolistic exploitation of the masses, and vitalize the churches with a truly social gospel.⁶ To further these ends, he vainly sought

⁴ An early illustration of Lloyd's abandonment of the classical school can be seen in an editorial, "The Vanderbilt-Gould Combination," Chicago *Daily Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1879. Cf. Lloyd, "The Political Economy of Seventy-Three Million Dollars," *Atlantic Monthly*, LI (July, 1882), in *Lords of Industry* (New York, 1910), pp. 47-54; Richard T. Ely, *Ground under Our Feet* (New York, 1938), pp. 121-46.

⁵ The financial page, real estate section, and railroad columns of the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, 1874-80, its editorial page for 1878-85, occasional special articles in the same, and magazine articles republished in *Lords of Industry*, pp. 1-147, notably "The Story of a Great Monopoly" and "Lords of Industry."

⁶ "The New Conscience," *North American Review*, CXLVIII (Sept., 1888; 3d ed., London, 1893), *passim*; William M. Salter to Lloyd, Feb. 6, 1888, Lloyd Papers (A manuscript collection in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison).

the collaboration of others in the preparation of a factual, carefully documented "Bad Wealth Series." These books were to reveal with infallible accuracy the brutal, unethical methods by which great fortunes and the control of American economic life were being concentrated in the hands of ruthless monopolists. They were intended also to expose the fatal consequences of this process for free enterprise in business, for labor, for democracy itself. Lloyd believed that when presented with these facts the American people would abandon the success fantasy and pioneer in a new democracy based on brotherhood, a finer social ethics, and social control of the great corporations.⁷

Wealth against Commonwealth was the second volume in the "Bad Wealth Series," a fact that establishes its true character beyond dispute. Although it took the trust movement as its subject, it was not a formal economic treatise or simple economic history. Its first object was to make a realistic study of the pathological aspects of corporate capitalism. Furthermore, Lloyd intended to employ the results of his analysis in a formidable attack upon Social Darwinism and laissez faire economics. His ultimate purpose was to secure a hearing for a new social philosophy that should supply the theoretical basis for effective democratic action in opposition to prevailing economic trends. On the one hand, he was preoccupied with the monopoly movement as an emerging system of power. On the other, he hoped to stimulate the development of a more than countervailing democratic power which, once in the ascendancy, would harmonize and subordinate large scale economic organization to the ideals of freedom, equality, and humanity in the great society.⁸ Such purposes elevate the book from a mere muckraking tract, as some have supposed it to be,⁹ to a social document of high potentiality.

They explain, also, the peculiar organization and style of presentation that distinguish the book. With the objects that he had in view it was possible for Lloyd to concentrate on the main action, to pay but limited attention to the historical setting, and to ignore chronological sequence when convenient. His discussion of the trusts, of their methods and policies, of the Standard

⁷ Lloyd to C. B. Matthews, May 20, 1889, Lloyd Papers (Madison); Lloyd to Ethelbert Stewart, Oct. 17, 1890, Ethelbert Stewart Papers (Courtesy of Miss Margaret Winfield Stewart, Washington, D. C.).

⁸ "We must know the right before we can do the right. When it comes to know the facts the human heart can no more endure monopoly than American slavery or Roman empire. The first step to a remedy is that the people care. If they know, they will care. To help them to know and care; to stimulate new hatred of evil, new love of the good, new sympathy for the victims of power, and, by enlarging its science, to quicken the old into a new conscience, this compilation of fact has been made. Democracy is not a lie." *Wealth against Commonwealth*, pp. 535-36.

⁹ John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform* (2d ed., New York, 1933), p. 53; Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932), p. 607.

Oil as their prototype and initiator, was presented therefore in a series of dramatic episodes replete with piercing epigrams, employing antithesis in telling fashion to heighten contrasts that in turn are pointed up by striking summaries. It disregarded or took for granted the normal, legitimate aspects of competitive business and focused attention upon the methods that had produced the trusts. "Bad wealth" rather than good was the subject because, as Socrates had said to Callicles, "the greatest are usually the bad, for they have the power."¹⁰

Upon the truth of his narrative and the correctness of his conclusions rested Lloyd's hope of gaining acceptance of his system of social thought. He did his utmost, therefore, to place his factual frame of reference beyond controversy so that public attention might not be distracted from the main issues. Regarding sworn testimony, adjudicated issues, and official reports as the most reliable of all data, he based his book upon the proceedings of courts, Interstate Commerce Commission, and official investigations wherever possible. These were supplemented by use of the daily press, by counsel with such noted investigators as Simon Sterne and James T. Hudson, by information drawn firsthand from participants in the struggle against monopoly. Cognizant of the fact that the oil trust destroyed its records and guarded its secrets with almost terrifying taciturnity, Lloyd drew upon the sworn testimony of its managers, official apologies published by S. C. T. Dodd, newspaper interviews of John D. Rockefeller, and such unofficial Standard Oil organs as the *Oil City Derrick*. In describing litigation he almost invariably followed the evidence that won the case, although not neglecting to state the side of the defense. Before going to press he compared his quotations and accounts of litigation with the official records and listened to the criticism of lawyers familiar with each important case.¹¹ So far as its factual framework is concerned, therefore, the presumption is that *Wealth against Commonwealth* makes a faithful, accurate presentation of available data. Heavily documented, it was long regarded as a work of painstaking accuracy.

¹⁰ Quoted in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 506.

¹¹ Lloyd to C. B. Matthews, May 20, 1889, *loc. cit.*; Adelbert Moot to Lloyd, Apr. 16, May 15 and 25, 1894, Lloyd Papers (Courtesy of William Bross Lloyd, Winnetka, Ill.); Lloyd to Roger Sherman, May 23, 1893; Roger Sherman to Lloyd, June 5, 1893, *ibid.*; *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 7. Despite John D. Rockefeller's statement to William O. Inglis, "Conversations" (Courtesy of John D. Rockefeller, jr.), p. 903, implying that, if Lloyd had inquired at 26 Broadway, information on the Standard Oil would have been given him, this is contradicted not only by the oil monopoly's well known policy of secrecy in the nineties but also it is confirmed by the abrupt termination of the investigation of its affairs by a group of prominent clergymen that had been invited by S. C. T. Dodd to undertake such an inquiry after the publication of *Wealth against Commonwealth*. The inquiry was abandoned when the ministers concerned demanded that Lloyd be included in the investigating group, a fact that is made perfectly clear by the Lloyd Papers (Madison). This is overlooked in Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (New York, 1940), II, 341.

Scholarly interest in *Wealth against Commonwealth* has increased ever since Charles and Mary Beard associated its shattering effect upon American complacency with the milder shock administered previously by the *American Commonwealth*. Although a noted student of Populism dismissed Lloyd's work as a "famous tract"¹² the tendency among historians was for some time to emphasize its historical accuracy. In a single year, the authors of three outstanding books vied with each other not only in paying tribute to Lloyd's influence but also in emphasizing the reliability of his account of the development of the Standard Oil monopoly. To John Chamberlain, it was a "daring and first-rate" "book of facts . . . bolstered by all future investigation." John T. Flynn's widely read work on John D. Rockefeller termed Lloyd's narrative "thoroughly faithful and authentic," "a specific, an able, a serious, and a disinterested indictment" whose publication rendered a "historic service" while more than one passage in *God's Gold* corroborated Lloyd's earlier findings. Finally, the Pulitzer Prize winning biography of Grover Cleveland, published by Allan Nevins, described *Wealth against Commonwealth* as "a searching exposure, amply buttressed by detail" and paid tribute to the accuracy with which it described "the iniquities of the trusts," the history and "sordid record of business piracy" of the Standard Oil, all of which "was laid bare in more than five hundred calm, unemotional pages." "Nothing," Nevins declared, "escaped Lloyd's keen eye."¹³

The verdict of these scholars on the accuracy of *Wealth against Commonwealth* would, in all probability, have remained unchallenged had not the last of them reversed his earlier judgment. After wide investigation, in which he had been given access to the private papers of John D. Rockefeller, Allan Nevins published a biography of the great oil magnate that painted his portrait in softer, more friendly colors than had previously been exhibited and that stressed the constructive achievements of the Standard Oil. In this work, Professor Nevins asserts that the excessively harsh popular indictment of both must be attributed "particularly" to "the attacks of Henry Demarest Lloyd." Then, after tilting repeatedly in his own narrative against *Wealth against Commonwealth*, Nevins subjects it to a withering attack. As "industrial history" he declares it to be "almost utterly worthless," not to be trusted "at any point," prejudiced, one-sided, omitting the case for the Standard Oil, even dishonest. Lloyd, Nevins charges, was an incompetent investigator, a rhetorical and hysterical journalist without "high literary

¹² John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 322.

¹³ Chamberlain, p. 54; John T. Flynn, *God's Gold* (New York, 1932), pp. 253, 255-62, 327-28; Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 606-607.

gifts," dishonest though admittedly earnest and sincere.¹⁴ So detailed and sweeping is this indictment that if it stands *Wealth against Commonwealth* must be regarded as an unfounded polemic, its author classed with William Lloyd Garrison.¹⁵

To scholars interested in the career and influence of Henry Demarest Lloyd the contradiction between this last evaluation of his book and the earlier estimates of his reliability raised a historical problem of first importance. So fundamental were the issues involved that until the conflict was resolved no reappraisal of Lloyd's character and career was possible. Upon the final adjudication of the question, also, depended the survival of the now almost traditional story of the rise of the Standard Oil and its contemporary monopolies, a story that originated with Lloyd's disclosures, or the acceptance of the narrative offered in *John D. Rockefeller, The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*.

When this work appeared a rather random checking of footnote references to *Wealth against Commonwealth* uncovered some startling discrepancies between its contents and Nevins' account of them. Discovery of five or six instances of this character,¹⁶ and of Lloyd's superior accuracy when one con-

¹⁴ For the complete bill of particulars, see *John D. Rockefeller, passim*, but especially II, 331-42, 708.

¹⁵ Allan Nevins to C. M. Destler, Sept. 8, 1940.

¹⁶ According to Nevins, Lloyd invented a "fable of a prosperous oil industry in 1872 thrown into confusion and depression by the South Improvement Scheme" (*John D. Rockefeller*, I, 335, n. 47, II, 523). The account of the early history of the oil industry in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, though couched in general terms, is careful to state that the development of the Oil Region and of the refining industry was blighted increasingly after 1865 by artificial disturbances (pp. 42-44). Lloyd made no attempt to describe these in detail and began his story with the South Improvement Company on which the first official evidence was available. His papers show that he was aware of the activities of the "Eric ring" and other manipulators of oil prices and freight rates, and of their effect in undermining the profits of many producers and refiners before 1872. He was entirely correct in regarding the South Improvement Company as the climax of this development. See "Fourth Annual Petroleum Report," *Titusville Morning Herald*, Feb. 26, 1872, for evidence that oil production, the chief interest of the Oil Region, was still profitable in 1871.

Wealth against Commonwealth does not describe the agreement between the Standard Oil and the General Council of Petroleum Producers, that resulted in the great shutdown of 1887, as a crime, but rather as a shrewd move to prevent the producers from building a competing pipe line to the sea (Nevins, II, 336; Lloyd, pp. 152-59). Nevins is completely mistaken in saying that Lloyd blamed the Standard Oil for the destruction of derricks during the great producers' shutdown of this year (Nevins, II, 337, n. 17; Lloyd, p. 154). There is an extraordinary discrepancy between Nevins' account of the receivership and final sale of the assets of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company and the passage in *Wealth against Commonwealth* describing the same event, which Nevins cites as his sole authority. Lloyd's account, incidentally, is completely verified by the sources. (Nevins, II, 87; Lloyd, pp. 292-94.) Contrary to Nevins (I, 211), Lloyd was careful to show that before 1872 the refining business required only small investments and was entered by many poor men (pp. 40-41). Nevins (II, 102, n. 22) attacks a statement of Lloyd's as descriptive of the majority report of the Ohio legislative investigating committee, while Lloyd was actually summarizing the charges presented in behalf of Ohio to the United States Senate's Committee on Privileges and Elections (Lloyd, pp. 376-77) in support of the request for a senatorial investigation into the election of Henry B. Payne.

troversial point was referred to the sources used by both authors,¹⁷ cast some doubt on the validity of the sweeping attack that had been made on both Lloyd and his book. This led to a careful investigation, the object of which was to test the truth of the numerous counts in Mr. Nevins' indictment. Lloyd's qualifications, his motives in writing, the purpose and character of the book, the accuracy of its narrative when checked carefully against its sources, and the degree to which its findings were accepted by competent, contemporary scholars have all been considered. Lloyd's publications and private papers, and primary and secondary historical materials related to the petroleum industry and the trusts have been examined. An entirely independent investigation was made of the Toledo "gas war" of 1887-99 in order to evaluate the account contained in *Wealth against Commonwealth*. To make sure that the Standard Oil viewpoint was not overlooked, permission was sought and secured to make use of parts of the manuscript "John D. Rockefeller's Conversations with William O. Inglis" for this appraisal,¹⁸ subject to no restriction other than a promise of fairness and of making an accurate description of it in the text. These "Conversations" were a major source cited by Mr. Nevins in his biography. They were dictated by the elder Rockefeller after his seventy-ninth birthday (1917-18) as he listened to the reading of passages from *Wealth against Commonwealth* and Ida Tarbell's *History*. Although the oil magnate was not conducting a debate with either author, his lengthy statements contain as full a reply to the charges made by them against him and the Standard Oil as he was then able or willing to make. Their significance is increased by the fact that they were intended for his son rather than for publication. On the other hand, they were dictated without reference to documents or other primary sources. The manuscript, therefore, must be classed in the field of reminiscences, subject to the customary reservations in regard to reliability in treating incidents that had occurred from thirty to fifty years before. It should be observed, furthermore, that

¹⁷ Nevins makes a major issue out of a poorly worded statement in *Wealth against Commonwealth* (p. 383) regarding the inadequate investigative powers of the Ohio Legislature in the case of the allegedly corrupt election of Henry B. Payne to the United States Senate in 1885. Nevins asserts (II, 102, n. 23) that Ohio's authority was greater than that of the Federal Senate over "Ohio witnesses." This is an evasion. The documents that both Lloyd and Nevins relied upon state clearly that the Standard Oil men suspected of corruptly procuring Payne's election had absented themselves from Ohio during its legislative investigation and were therefore beyond its jurisdiction. The narrow scope of the resolution that had authorized the investigation, furthermore, had made it impossible for the Ohio committee to compel testimony on the general question of whether Payne had been corruptly elected. In any case, as Lloyd asserted and Nevins denies, only the Federal Senate could have compelled the attendance and testimony of the missing Standard Oil officials. *Report of the Select Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Henry B. Payne, Journal of the House of Representatives of Ohio*, Vol. 82 (1886), pp. 367-68; "Views of Mr. Hoar and Mr. Frye," 49 Congress, 1 Session, *Senate Report*, no. 1490, pp. 2, 34-35, 38-39.

¹⁸ Through the courtesy of John D. Rockefeller, jr., and of Allan Nevins.

the story told here of the origin and development of the Standard Oil is similar in theme and character to that related by the great oil monopolist, after careful coaching by his lawyers, on the witness stand in November, 1908,¹⁹ and to the short volume of published reminiscences that appeared in the following year.²⁰ All or parts of the "Conversations" that bear upon chapters VI to X, XII to XIII, XXII to XXVI, and XXIX to XXXV of *Wealth against Commonwealth* have been used in this appraisal. Excerpts from the missing sections of the manuscript, however, have been found in Nevins' *Rockefeller*.

This investigation has established beyond hope of effective denial that *Wealth against Commonwealth* was the product of six years of patient, exhaustive, and remarkably farflung investigation and research.²¹ The sources drawn upon and Lloyd's careful verification of the narrative create a presumption that the book makes a faithful, reliable presentation of the facts. To test the validity of this presumption an extensive verification was undertaken of its footnotes, undocumented statements, and quotations. Of the 648 footnotes citing source materials in the book, 420 have been checked against the sources. In 410 of the 420 notes traced, the sources bear out the statements of the text.²² In ten only, none of great import, do the citations fail to support the narrative. In addition, 241 unsupported statements were traced back to the sources. Of these 229 were completely verified, eight partially so, only four were actually incorrect. Here again the mistakes modify the narrative only to a slight degree. Scores of quotations checked in like manner were found to be accurate to an unusual extent. Since the book has been called one-sided by defenders of the Standard Oil viewpoint it should be observed that of the 649 footnotes and unsupported statements verified, at least 170 of them came from spokesmen and officials of the oil monopoly, while at least thirty more were made by railroad officials friendly to it. Many of these present the side of the Standard Oil although others, it should be observed, were admissions that Lloyd incorporated in his indictment of the oil combination.

When attention is turned to specific chapters and episodes in the book, verification yields positive results to a surprising degree. The account of the anthracite coal monopoly (chapter II) stands supported by subsequent investi-

¹⁹ *U. S. vs. Standard Oil Company of New Jersey et al.* Nevins, II, 597-98.

²⁰ *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (New York, 1909).

²¹ Nevins II, 331-32, to the contrary notwithstanding. Lloyd's quest for material bracketed the United States and reached into Canada, Great Britain, France, and Germany. A series of elaborate notebooks at Winnetka list documents sought and consulted, and scores of letters there and dozens at Madison attest to the industry with which Lloyd followed leads to material. Six years of research and writing, three or four drafts of the manuscript, and his surviving research notes all attest to Lloyd's painstaking industry and accuracy in research.

²² In some of the 410 notes traced and verified, there were errors in page references, but in each of these cases the original passage drawn upon was located with relative ease and clearly identified.

gations.²³ The criminal activities of the whiskey trust depicted in chapter III are fully supported by the sources, the description of its evolution verified by comparison with contemporary scholarship.²⁴ The account of the beef trust (chapter IV) reproduces accurately the report of the Senate investigating committee of 1893 and stands unreversed by subsequent revelations. The lengthy account of the activities of the Standard Oil, though supplemented now in great detail by later scholarship, has been verified to an extent that is amazing in light of the sweeping criticisms of Allan Nevins. Three chapters (xv-xvii) that describe the attempt of George Rice, Marietta, Ohio, refiner, to compete with the oil monopoly in the South and West are astonishingly restrained in the use they make of damaging admissions on the witness stand by the Standard Oil's wholesale distributor for the South and by railroad officials in league with him.²⁵ The five chapters that describe the Toledo "gas war" of 1887-94 have been substantiated in very large measure by the independent investigation alluded to above, a study that drew upon all pertinent material including sections of the "Inglis Conversations." Its findings have been published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio*, April, 1943,²⁶ and may be compared with *Wealth against Commonwealth* at leisure.²⁷ A most careful examination of the sources cited (chapter XIII) has verified almost line for line Lloyd's description of the collusion between John D. Archbold of Standard Oil and the attorney general of Pennsylvania in a tax suit, and Archbold's bribery of Elisha G. Patterson into betrayal of the petroleum producers while still under

²³ *Report to the President on the Anthracite Coal Strike of May-October, 1902, by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission*, 58 Congress, Special Session, *Senate Document* no. 6 (Washington, 1903), p. 255, and *passim*; William W. Ruley, "Pennsylvania Anthracite," in Edward W. Walker, *Production of Coal in 1901* (Washington, 1902), pp. 147-52; William J. Walsh, *The United Mine Workers of America as an Economic and Social Force in the Anthracite Territory* (Washington, 1931), *passim*.

²⁴ Jeremiah W. Jenks, "The Development of the Whiskey Trust," *Political Science Quarterly*, IV (1889), 296-319, reproduced in William Z. Ripley, *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations* (Boston, 1905), pp. 22-45, with supplemental note by the editor.

²⁵ F. B. Carley, of Chess, Carley, and Company, the Standard Oil exclusive distributors for the South, is the witness referred to, while the railroad agents were J. M. Culp, General Freight Agent, Louisville and Nashville Railroad, Frank Harriot, General Freight Agent, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, A. J. Massett, General Freight Agent of the (steamboat) Southern Transportation Line. *Investigation of Certain Trusts . . . by the Committee of Manufactures, House of Representatives*, 50 Congress, 1 Session, *Report* no. 3112 (Washington, 1889), testimony on the Standard Oil Trust, pp. 517-19, 524-36, 397-98, 410-11, 442-43, all of which is cited in *Wealth against Commonwealth*.

²⁶ Chester McA. Destler, "The Toledo Natural Gas Pipe-Line Controversy," pp. 76-110.

²⁷ Chapters xxxi-xxvi. Although this account of the struggle between Toledo and the natural gas subsidiaries of the Standard Oil is highly accurate, Lloyd errs in not detecting the interested motives of some champions of the municipal pipe line, in failing to recognize the highly speculative character of the city's natural gas venture, and in failing to detect the fallacious geological theories that underlay popular support of it and that led Lloyd himself to charge that the state geologist was in league with the Standard Oil.

contract to the state in the same tax suit.²⁸ The account of Standard Oil's shabby treatment of Samuel van Syckel, inventor of the process of continuous distillation as well as builder of the first successful petroleum pipe line, has also been verified adequately. Neither Mr. Nevins nor Rockefeller's "Conversations with Inglis" disputes the facts in chapter vi, which describes how the Standard Oil used rebates secured from the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad to force Scofield, Shurmer, and Teagle of Cleveland into an admittedly illegal refiners' pool in 1876.²⁹ Lloyd's account of the South Improvement Company and how it was used by the Standard Oil to gain control of the refining industry in Cleveland, his description of the building of the Tidewater Pipe Line, the struggle between it and the railroad-Standard Oil combination, and the latter's final triumph, his story of the rate war between the Pennsylvania and the northern trunk lines in 1877 that forced the former to sell the Empire Transportation Company to the Standard Oil, all stand the test of verification. So does the account of how the oil monopoly employed its own long-distance pipe lines to throttle the railroads and use them in maintaining the monopoly that it had just established with their assistance. Equally well established is the account of the railroad rate and service discriminations imposed in the eighties in the interest of Standard Oil, of the great producers' shutdown of 1887-88, of the ruthless means employed by the oil combination in stamping out competition. Miss Tarbell, John T. Flynn, and Mr. Nevins add details that fill out the narrative and alter from time to time the interpretation of men and motives. But when all allowances are made, Lloyd's pioneering report on the methods by which the oil monopoly was established and maintained remains substantially unaltered, although later authorities emphasize more the role of economy and efficiency in the rise of the Standard Oil. Lloyd's condemnation of the South Improvement scheme; the account of the refineries of the Oil Region dismantled by the oil combination; the description of the heavy concentration of its capital investments in pipe lines, of the widespread espionage directed

²⁸ Cf. Nevins, II, 61-63, for a grudging admission. Lloyd's account commits several slight errors in chronology and fails to note that the affidavits relied upon the tax "settlement" were supplied by Lewis Emery, jr., a leader of the producers in their fight against the Standard Oil. It overlooks the fact that it was customary to take tax suits before the courts on an agreed statement of the facts. Lloyd might have observed that the initial "settlement" of \$3,145,541.64, as the amount due the state, was probably exorbitant, and that recovery of more than the \$22,000 awarded by the courts to the state, if the attorney general had followed a different procedure, might have been defeated by removal of the case to the Federal courts. Of the veracity of Lloyd's indictment of Archbold, Patterson, and the attorney general, however, there can be little doubt.

²⁹ Nevins, II, 45-49; "Inglis Conversations," pp. 75-92. Cf. Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1904), II, Appendixes 42-45, for reproduction of portions of the court record of the two suits in question, and of some of the affidavits now missing from the Cuyahoga county clerk's archives.

at competitors, of the decisive role of freight-rate favors in competition between refining companies, of the brutal coercion of competitors when they resisted amicable persuasion to sell out or enter the combination, of the use of bogus independent companies, and of destructive local price-cutting, and to a limited extent the assertion that the Standard Oil marketed inferior products, were all corroborated by Nevins' *Rockefeller*.³⁰

Some of the more important cases of alleged inaccuracy in *Wealth against Commonwealth* must now be considered. On the highly controversial issue of whether the South Improvement Company ever did any business, Lloyd's well-supported assertion that it did is true under a fair definition of the phrase.³¹ Lloyd did not assert that the Standard Oil Company was simply the South Improvement Company resurrected.³² But he did establish beyond dispute a significant continuity between the two in personnel. Further continuity was shown in the repeated application of the idea of forcing a monopoly upon the refining industry by means of an alliance with the railroads. As applied by the Standard Oil this entailed not only exceptional rate and service favors but also on several occasions drawbacks on rates paid by competitors, use of the pooling device as a means to ultimate absorption of competitors, railroad assistance in espionage, and rates on oil shipments from Cleveland and Pittsburg to the seaboard equal to or lower than those given the Oil Region, to the ruin of the refining industry of the latter.³³

In dealing with Standard Oil's development Lloyd's zeal in discovering its misdeeds led him occasionally to overlook or minimize evidence that would have modified his narrative. This is true of his brief treatment of the "immediate shipment" controversy of 1879.³⁴ Here he fails to note that the

³⁰ I, 322, 325, 335, 377-78, 402 quoting Flagler, 462, 464-72, 490-91, 497-502, 503, 514-15, 518-19, 566-68, 582-97, 652, 663-64.

³¹ Lloyd, p. 59. This included, he declared, securing and organizing under a charter, collecting 20 per cent on stock subscriptions, making and executing contracts with the railroads for extraordinary rate concessions designed to force competing refiners out of business, receiving the rate increases and the sale to the members of the South Improvement Company of such competing plants at panic prices. Only when the ground is taken that "doing business" meant only shipment of oil and receipt of the rebates and drawbacks promised in the contracts with the railroads can a plausible case be made in defense of the oft repeated declaration of the participants in the scheme that it had never actually gone into effect. Even this ground may prove untenable, since there is some evidence that some oil was purchased by or in behalf of the South Improvement Company before the railroads canceled its contracts and that in at least one instance the higher freight rates were collected by the railroads from an independent shipper. Titusville *Morning Herald*, Feb. 22, 27, Mar. 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 1872; New York *Tribune*, Mar. 7, 1872; *History of the Rise and Fall of the South Improvement Company* (1872), pp. 33, 36-37, 56-57; *The Derrick's Handbook of Petroleum* (Oil City, Pa., 1898), pp. 168-69, 170, 174-76, 183; Lloyd Papers (Madison), M. N. Allen to Lloyd, Oct. 18, 23, 1899. The statement of Nevins, II, 336, in the light of the foregoing would appear to be mistaken.

³² Cf. Nevins, II, 336.

³³ Lloyd, pp. 50, 58-59, 85, 200, 206-208; Tarbell, I, 196-97; Nevins, I, 458-64, II, 73-75, for substantial agreement with Lloyd.

³⁴ Presented simply as a part of the background for the highly reliable account of the Tide-

basic problem was the lack of tankage for storage purposes that was precipitated by the tremendous increase in production of the Bradford field. This situation the Standard Oil was doing its utmost to meet by building additional tankage.³⁵ Lloyd's chivalrous attitude toward women and his distrust of John D. Rockefeller as the "gentleman pirate" of the oil industry³⁶ led him to do the oil magnate less than justice in describing the purchase of the Bachus Oil Company of Cleveland by the Standard Oil in 1878. The original affidavits used in the preparation of this account have long since disappeared from the archives of the Cuyahoga county clerk at Cleveland, Ohio. A certified copy of one affidavit in the Lloyd Papers and the reproduction of other documents by Ida Tarbell³⁷ make possible verification of this chapter (vii). These and extracts from an affidavit and a letter by John D. Rockefeller quoted in *Wealth against Commonwealth* make it apparent that, once the widowed proprietor of the Bachus Oil Company had been induced to sell out, she was shown rather large consideration. Lloyd's sympathies had led him to accept uncritically the ex parte statements of Mrs. Bachus.³⁸ He was off guard, too, when he accepted without careful checking the exaggerated rumors in the Oil Regions that told of numerous suicides, bank failures, cases of insanity, and defalcations that resulted, supposedly, from the speculative frenzy that accompanied the rise of the oil monopoly.³⁹

water Pine Line, Lloyd's facts here have been verified, but they do not give enough of the general background for a full picture of the situation.

³⁵ Lloyd, pp. 104-107. Lloyd's failure to draw upon the newspapers or to search for the Standard Oil's side of the question leads him into this error. However, the Titusville *Herald*, July 30, 1879, makes it plain that the oil monopoly was taking full advantage to profit from the situation for which the *Herald*, June 21, 23, 1879, had declared that the producer alone was responsible. Cf. *Derrick's Handbook*, pp. 314, 315, 320.

³⁶ Pencil MS. "Fanatic S. oil. J. D. Rockefeller before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Nov. 26, '87," Lloyd Papers (Winnetka).

³⁷ I, 203-206.

³⁸ "I might suggest that the Cleveland widow's wrong seemed to me the least obvious of any you described in your book. Under unrestricted Competition, she might have received even less." Charles B. Spahr of the *Outlook* to Lloyd, Oct. 13, 1895, Lloyd Papers (Madison); certified copy, Affidavit of Mrs. F. M. Bachus, Nov. 4, 1880, Standard Oil Co. vs. Wm. C. Scofield et al., *ibid.*; Tarbell, I, 203-206, which contains not only Mrs. Bachus' first affidavit but refers also to corroborating but now missing affidavits from a bookkeeper and cashier of the Bachus Company which Lloyd, apparently, had also used. Lloyd's own narrative suggests that the minority stockholders of the Bachus Company, who negotiated its sale for Mrs. Bachus, were perhaps responsible for fixing the lower sale price. Professor Nevins argues with force that she received a fair price for her property, but in interpreting the circumstances that led to the sale he prefers affidavits secured by the Standard Oil or Mr. Rockefeller in 1903-1905, twenty-five years after the event. These, though corroborative of the generous treatment Mrs. Bachus received in the settlement, can hardly be accepted as establishing the conditions that led up to it in preference to more contemporary sources. In any case, John D. Rockefeller should not have been put under the imputation of having deliberately robbed Mrs. Bachus, since he departed in her case from his policy of paying only appraisal value of works of competitors. Nevins, II, 49-51, 722; Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, pp. 96-107; "Inglish Conversations," pp. 117-19, 1329-32.

³⁹ Lloyd, pp. 43-44, 165. Compare with "The Wrecked," *Petroleum Age*, II (Dec., 1882), 413, and "Panic in the Petroleum Market," *ibid.*, II (Feb., 1883), 430.

In striking contrast with these lapses from accuracy are four chapters (xviii-xxi) in *Wealth against Commonwealth* that describe the famous Buffalo criminal conspiracy trial of May, 1887. In it three trustees of the Standard Oil Trust and the president and vice-president of the Vacuum Oil Company of New York were charged with having conspired to blow up the works of a competitor and to injure its business in other ways. Lloyd's description of it is termed "one of the most dishonest pieces of so-called history he has ever read" by Professor Nevins,⁴⁰ whose own account is based upon the incomplete transcript of testimony supplied to the House Committee of Manufacturers in 1888 by S. C. T. Dodd, chief counsel for the Standard Oil.⁴¹ Lloyd used the complete manuscript court stenographer's report, the Dodd transcript, the record of several pertinent civil suits, the contemporary press, interviews with the public prosecutors and complainant, and data derived from the then secret Trust Agreement and By-Laws of the oil monopoly.⁴² His account presents, therefore, not only the evidence offered in the conspiracy trial but also all knowledge pertinent to the issues involved. It is, in consequence, the fullest description of the case extant.⁴³ On three separate occasions this lengthy narrative has been checked carefully and minutely against the court records at Buffalo of the criminal case and against the surviving records of the civil suits of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company against the Standard Oil and its subsidiaries. It has been compared also with the contemporary Buffalo newspapers, other periodicals, and with pertinent contemporary correspondence.⁴⁴ The result of this process has been the veri-

⁴⁰ II, 336, n. 11.

⁴¹ Nevins, II, 76, n. 24, but contrast with Lloyd, p. 244, n. 1.

⁴² Possession of the complete court stenographer's report, secured from Charles B. Matthews, the complainant and president of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, gave Lloyd access to evidence against the three Standard Oil Trustees that was excluded from the printed court record by order of the court, after their directed acquittal, and to data omitted from the Dodd transcript, some of which Lloyd identifies in his footnotes. See *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 244, n. 1; p. 267, n. 1; p. 275, n. 2; p. 298, n. 1.

⁴³ Contrast with Tarbell, II, 88-110, which adheres to the criminal case alone and is founded upon the incomplete Dodd transcript; and with Nevins, II, 76-87.

⁴⁴ The complete manuscript court stenographer's report of the People of the State of New York *vs.* Everest *et al.*, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Erie County, Feb., 1886, has long since disappeared. There survive, in addition to various manuscripts, the printed *Bill of Exceptions* (Rochester, 1887) of the case and the so-called *Appeal Book* (1888) covering the appeal from the trial court by Hiram B. and Charles Everest. Both contain a fuller report of the testimony than that supplied by Dodd to the House Investigation of Trusts in 1888 and reproduced in its *Report*, pp. 801-951. The *Bill of Exceptions*, as the fullest report of the trial extant, although it did not contain all the testimony against the three trustees, has been carefully compared with Lloyd's narrative, as has been also the Dodd transcript in the *House Report on Trusts* of 1888. In addition, the only local paper that seems to have been free from involvement in the local Standard Oil subsidiaries, the *Buffalo Express*, and the pro-Standard Oil dailies, the *Buffalo Daily Courier* and the *Buffalo Commercial* have been used to piece out the missing sections of the record in the *Bill of Exceptions* (see excerpt from *Oil City Blizzard* in the *Buffalo Express*, May 17, 1887, for the business affiliations of the Buffalo dailies). Contemporary summaries of the trial in the *Petroleum Age* and the *Paint, Oil, and Drug Review*, respectively pro- and anti-

fication of Lloyd's treatment almost line for line, even to the extent of establishing a moral certainty that one or two of the Standard Oil trustees on trial were involved in at least one aspect of the conspiracy, if not others, through voluntary adoption of its benefits. As for the president and vice-president of the Vacuum Oil Company, a three quarters owned Standard Oil subsidiary, there can be no doubt that they were convicted primarily for conspiring to blow up the works of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, as Lloyd contends.⁴⁵

Standard Oil in viewpoint, have been drawn upon to supplement the official record of the trial. The Standard Oil Trust Agreement of 1882 and the By-Laws of the Trust, first published in the summer of 1888, have been compared with pertinent sections of Lloyd's account.

⁴⁵ Nevins' description of the case for the defense (II, 80-86) would be more convincing if he had not omitted the damaging admissions made by defense witnesses under cross examination again and again; if the defense had not resorted almost entirely to mudslinging tactics in the trial and refused to put either the Everests or the Trustees on the stand; if the charge of Judge Haight to the trial jury had not emphatically stated that the question of the conspiracy to blow up the refinery of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company was *the central and most important issue* of the case; if the jury had not rendered a general verdict of guilty on all counts against the Everests to which each jurymen adhered when polled at the request of the defense attorneys as soon as the verdict was returned; if the appeal by the Everests from this verdict to the higher courts had not omitted all mention of the count in the indictment that they had conspired to blow up their competitors' works as would surely have been done if the evidence on this, the most important part of the case, had been defective (*Appeal Book*, pp. 14-15); if as soon as the trial was concluded attempts had not been made to prepare the public mind for statements from the grand jury to the effect that the three trustees had never been properly indicted, which would undoubtedly have resulted in the production of affidavits from some of the grand jurors if the falsity of the charge had not been promptly exposed by a judge of the Supreme Court (*Buffalo Express*, May 19, 21, 1887); if this did not give added support to the assertion of District Attorney Quinby that the affidavits from six trial jurors, presented to Judge Haight prior to the sentencing of the Everests, by the latter's lawyers, had been secured with money (Tarbell, II, 106; Lloyd, p. 286); if Judge Haight in imposing a fine instead of imprisonment on the Everests had not given as the decisive reason for this action the fact that the convicted Everests were also being sued civilly for large punitive damages by reason of the same overt acts that had convicted them in the criminal suit, and that it was the duty of the criminal court under the rules of law to impose in the circumstances only a nominal penalty and thus prevent punishment for the same offense. (MS. Opinion, "Hon. Albert Haight, Justice, The People, &c. vs. Hiram B. Everest and Charles M. Everest, May 8, 1888." Erie County Clerk's Office, *Proceedings and Actions*); if the district attorney just before the imposition of sentence on the Everests had not reminded Judge Haight that the act under which conviction had been secured contemplated the destruction of the works and business of a rival company (*Buffalo Express*, May 7, 1888).

Lloyd, rather than Nevins, follows the evidence that won the case. Lloyd (pp. 279-84) exposes thoroughly the collapse of the case of the defense in the trial and the tampering by defense attorneys with witnesses which the prosecuting attorney had first exposed before the jury by forcing admissions under cross examination from the witnesses concerned. The charge of blackmail raised against Matthews by the defense during the trial and now by Nevins was fully considered by the jury. It was never proved, and if it had been, was irrelevant to say the least. This accusation was raised again and again by the Standard Oil and its defenders against competitors who defeated them in the courts, notably against Scofield, Shurmer and Teagle, and George Rice, charges that are repeated in Nevins' biography.

Charles B. Matthews to Lloyd, Oct. 12, 1886, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka), states that the district attorney, after just securing the indictment upon which the Everests and Standard Oil trustees were to be tried, had stated to him that the oral testimony taken by the grand jury, together with the affidavits and other documents then on file were ample to convict all five defendants. This would seem to dispose of Nevins' charge (II, 84) that Matthews had induced the prosecuting attorney to indict the three trustees "without a shred of evidence that would bear examination in court."

The only other section of *Wealth against Commonwealth* under attack is that which (chapter xxvii) criticizes the United States Senate for refusing to investigate the election of Henry B. Payne. This passage is a carefully documented summary of the reasons offered by the state of Ohio to justify an investigation on the ground that the election had been secured corruptly by officials of the Standard Oil, and of the action taken by the Senate.⁴⁶ As such it has stood up extremely well under careful checking against the sources, with one exception. Lloyd's contention that the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections erred in reporting against an investigation would have been strengthened had he analyzed also the reasons given by the Republican senators Logan, Teller, and Evarts for opposing the investigation instead of ignoring them and leaving himself open to the charge of having deliberately suppressed the fact of their opposition in order to make his case.⁴⁷ However, Lloyd used and cited Albert H. Walker's careful analysis of the entire question, which exploded the arguments and exposed the presumed motives of the three senators in question,⁴⁸ and felt, no doubt, that it would

So far as other specific charges by Nevins against Lloyd's account of the trial are concerned it may be stated: that although Albert A. Miller's character was completely destroyed before he testified in the criminal suit, his testimony was hardly as worthless as charged. Otherwise, the Vacuum Oil officials, with apparent knowledge and consent of 26 Broadway, would hardly have secreted him in Boston and then for several years in California, and attempted finally to get him out of the country. Miller's testimony, incidentally, stood up well under cross examination, and he adhered to the same story before both grand and trial juries. Lloyd in the light of the evidence given by attorney George Truesdale of Rochester, N. Y., the key witness for the prosecution, was fully justified in saying that the Everests had "coolly debated with lawyers the policy of blowing up a competitor's works" (pp. 248-49), although "a lawyer" instead of "lawyers" would have been more exact (*Bill of Exceptions*, pp. 197-99). The Everests though technically president and vice-president of the Vacuum Oil Company, were in reality "employees of the trust" as Lloyd said, since the evidence presented in the trial showed that they simply executed orders from 26 Broadway, where seventy-five per cent of the stock in the Vacuum Oil Company was held by the Standard Oil Trust. Lloyd, on page 252, was referring undoubtedly to the "explosion" that blew off the safety valve of the overheated still since on pages 250-51 he had described carefully how the larger explosion intended to destroy the works of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company had failed to occur (Compare Nevins, II, 336, n. 11).

If further comment were necessary it might be observed that if C. B. Matthews had abandoned his civil suit for \$250,000 damages and had concentrated on the criminal action, the case for the people in the latter would have been considerably strengthened and might have led to the conviction of one or more trustees since under the rules of law the judge had to exclude from the criminal case some evidence of importance secured in the civil suits. This, in any case, would probably have resulted in a prison sentence for the Everests, since the judge ruled as he did in imposing fines instead. Adelbert Moot to C. B. Matthews, Apr. 20, 1893, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka), contains a considered condemnation by a competent attorney of Judge Haight's action in the trial in directing the jury to render a verdict of not guilty against the three trustees. Ida M. Tarbell's account of how H. H. Rogers tried to win her without avail to the Standard Oil interpretation of the case is well told in "Would Miss Tarbell see Mr. Rogers?" *Harpers*, CLXXVIII (Jan. 1939), pp. 142-44, and also in her autobiography.

⁴⁶ And not a collection of unfounded "inuendoes and accusations" against Payne as a "tool" of the Standard Oil as charged in Nevins, II, 336.

⁴⁷ Nevins, II, 102, n. 24.

⁴⁸ *The Payne Bribery Case and the United States Senate* (Hartford, 1886), *passim*. Walker shows, for example, that Logan and Teller had secured their own elections under circumstances that may very well have made them opposed to establishing a precedent for senatorial investigations into elections in which bribery was charged.

be pointless to waste space on this aspect of the question. That Payne did not himself ask for an investigation by the Senate but actually opposed it,⁴⁹ that the Standard Oil men charged with securing his election corruptly had kept out of Ohio during that state's limited investigation, that Ohio legislators more than sufficient in number to have decided the election were seriously implicated by evidence offered in support of Ohio's request for an investigation, together with evidence of continued Standard Oil control of the legislature that had elected Payne and the expressed convictions of informed leaders of both political parties in Ohio that the election had been corruptly secured by the Standard Oil was more than sufficient to justify the treatment contained in *Wealth against Commonwealth*.⁵⁰

Save for the exceptions noted, the accuracy of *Wealth against Commonwealth's* factual basis may be regarded as beyond dispute. Lloyd's deductions from the facts that he presented and the degree to which they were accepted by competent, contemporary scholars must now be examined. He was led at times into errors of judgment owing to the unavailability of inside information on the policies, organization, and economies of the Standard Oil. This accounts for the excessive emphasis that he placed upon railroad rate favors and the piratical methods employed by it and its imitators as sources of the economic power and wealth of the great combinations and their founders. It explains, partially, his statement that the oil monopoly had contributed little or nothing to the technology of the petroleum industry and his charge that it was actually opposed to technical improvements. Yet, with the possible exception of the Frasch process of purifying the Lima oils he was correct in stating that the basic processes and devices in use in the industry in 1894 came from pioneers and inventors outside of the combination.⁵¹ On the

⁴⁹ Which Nevins, II, 102, mistakenly denies. Compare *Congressional Record*, 49 Congress, 1 Session, pp. 3861, 4706-7, 7313-14.

⁵⁰ Cf. Flynn, pp. 255-57. The admission by Nevins, II, 103-104, that it is clear that money was spent, probably corruptly, and "with inexcusable lavishness by the Payne managers" would seem to clinch Lloyd's main contention. He may be forgiven, perhaps, for failing to discover the distinction between Oliver H. Payne, the treasurer of the oil trust, and Oliver H. Payne, the son of Henry B. Payne, and for failing to learn in which capacity Oliver H. Payne was acting when he secured the election of his father to the United States Senate with the active support of subordinates in the Standard Oil. Interesting confirmation of the position taken by Lloyd that the oil monopoly was heavily involved in Ohio politics is found in a contemporary statement (Dec. 14, 1887) of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, who may be regarded as well informed on the hidden forces at work within both major parties: "The Standard Oil monopoly . . . attempted to seize political power and usurp [*sic*] the functions of the State. It elected Hoadley Governor, elected Payne Senator when the great mass of the Democrats hated him, and nine out of every ten wanted either Thurman [Pendleton] or Ward; and attempted by outrageous frauds to steal the Senatorship held by Sherman." Curtis W. Garrison, ed., "Conversations with Hayes: A Biographer's Notes," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (Dec., 1938), 379-80.

⁵¹ Cf. Stephen F. Peckham, "Production, Technology, and Uses of Petroleum and Its Products," *Twentieth Census of the United States*, 1880, X (Washington, 1884), for the authoritative work on technology in petroleum that Lloyd relied upon. Both of Frasch's inven-

other hand Lloyd's own investigation established his contention that "the smokeless rebate," or railroad rate and service discriminations, was the chief weapon⁵² employed in the creation of industrial monopoly in late nineteenth century America.⁵³ This conclusion was accepted by economists of the historical and welfare schools, such as John A. Hobson and Richard T. Ely,⁵⁴ who were not bewitched by the evolutionary hypothesis. It received full corroboration, in the case of the Standard Oil, from the Commissioner of Corporations in 1906,⁵⁵ and more recently from the account in Nevins' *Rockefeller*.

Lloyd's description of the evolution of monopolistic combination from the "corner," through the pool, trust, and holding company to the merger, and of the extension of its sphere of action from the national to the international field, has been accepted by virtually all students.⁵⁶ His assertion that this development by 1893 had resulted in the monopolization or attempts to monopolize most necessities of life in America has been cited in Ida Tarbell's more recent survey.⁵⁷ His analysis of monopoly price practices, made with the assistance of Byron W. Holt and E. Benjamin Andrews, discovered not only the greater rigidity of monopoly over competitive prices during periods of depression but it led him to assert that little if any of the reduction in costs that had characterized the oil industry since 1882 had been passed on to consumers by the Standard Oil save during sporadic periods of competition.

tions (Nevins, II, 7-8) had been perfected or initiated while he was not in the employ of the Standard Oil, and the technical contributions made by the oil monopoly before 1894 seem to have been in the perfection and improvement of basic inventions or discoveries made by others, such as in distillation, tank cars, pipe lines, tank steamers, lamps, paraffin production, and the utilization of by-products.

⁵² Chap. xxxiii, and particularly p. 492.

⁵³ In Europe, he confessed, other weapons were used, and he stated, furthermore, that if transportation discriminations were unavailable in America other devices and practices would be employed by the monopolists (p. 492). Sheer weight of capital resources he recognized as a factor of key importance in the Standard Oil's success in Europe. For a contrary view regarding the importance of railroad discrimination see "Inglis Conversations," p. 687.

⁵⁴ Hobson to Lloyd, Feb. 22, 1895, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka); Ely to Lloyd, Mar. 23, 1898, *ibid.*; John A. Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (London, 1894), p. 133.

⁵⁵ *Report on the Transportation of Petroleum* (Washington, May 2, 1906), pp. xx-xxvii, 1, and *passim*. This report traces in detail the extraordinary rate favors and service discriminations that the Standard Oil enjoyed throughout the United States and declared, in the words of the Commissioner: "In almost every section of the country that company has been found to enjoy some unfair advantages over its competitors, and some of these discriminations affect enormous areas."

"Not only has this resulted in great direct pecuniary advantage in transportation cost to the Standard, but it has had the far more important effect of giving that company practically unassailable monopolistic control of the oil market throughout large sections of the country." *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hobson, pp. 128-30; Ripley, pp. ix-x; Ida M. Tarbell, *The Nationalization of Business, 1878-1898* (New York, 1936), chap. v.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Lloyd, pp. 4-5, 537-44.

These conclusions have been confirmed by subsequent investigations.⁵⁸ John A. Hobson's contemporary but independent researches confirmed Lloyd's deduction that the oil trust's monopoly price policy entailed curtailment of production below the competitive level.⁵⁹ That exorbitant profits were reaped by the Standard Oil from such a price policy is a conclusion in which Lloyd has the support of Allan Nevins.⁶⁰ The further deduction that the great American fortunes of his day came chiefly from monopoly was confirmed by a contemporary study published by John R. Commons.⁶¹ The graphic description of the farflung investments and gigantic economic power of the Standard Oil group of millionaires, although admittedly incomplete, has been confirmed by such an investigator as Harold Faulkner.⁶² Lloyd concluded, as did Thorstein Veblen a few years later, that American capitalism, so dominated and conducted as described in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, was still in the hawk stage, predatory and speculative.

While presenting an almost impregnable array of facts and the most penetrating analysis of monopoly capitalism yet made in America, Lloyd launched a devastating attack upon its philosophical and ethical foundations. He was convinced that the monopoly movement was receiving great impetus from the extreme individualism and materialism of the age. He advocated, therefore, no return to free competition nor simple trust busting to cope with what he termed the "greatest social, political, and moral fact" of his day. The great combinations, he declared, had been sired by competition. Orthodox economics, with its reliance on individual self-interest as a guarantee of social welfare, had proved to be nothing but "a temporary formula for a passing problem." Monopoly was merely competitive business "at the end of its journey," rewarding the "fittest" with the power of life and death over the necessities of life, to be wielded by the same "self-interest" that had wrested this power from the public.⁶³

Lloyd knew, also, that for many a pragmatic American the business "success" of the Standard Oil had demonstrated the economic soundness of large scale organization.⁶⁴ He saw, too, that the "gospel of wealth," whose ostenta-

⁵⁸ Lloyd, pp. 430-31; Tarbell, *History*, II, chap. xvi; Nevins, I, 671-72; J. W. Jenks to Lloyd, June 11, 1896, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka); J. W. Jenks, "Industrial Combinations and Prices," Industrial Commission, *Preliminary Report* (Washington, 1900), I, 48-53; "Digest of Evidence," *ibid.*, I, 125.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-66.

⁶⁰ Nevins, I, 672-73; Lloyd, pp. 431, 457.

⁶¹ *Distribution of Wealth* (New York, 1893), *passim*.

⁶² Lloyd, pp. 460-61; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914* (New York, 1931), pp. 43-44; Nevins, II, 359-426.

⁶³ Pp. 6, 494.

⁶⁴ This was the boast of S. C. T. Dodd in his book on *Combinations*. John D. Rockefeller stated to Inglis that the Standard Oil pioneered alone, with limited help from Western Union, in establishing the feasibility of the great combination in industry.

tious piety and ever more widely advertised philanthropies Rockefeller practiced, cast a halo of sanctity about all that the oil monopoly did. Furthermore, it was clear that the official apology presented for Standard Oil by John D. Archbold and S. C. T. Dodd appealed to an urban reading public that was bewitched by the stereotypes of Social Darwinism.⁶⁵ By reason of some uncanny insight Lloyd inferred, apparently, that Rockefeller himself secretly invoked the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer to justify his great raids upon the free enterprise system,⁶⁶ just as he seemed to find in the doctrine of stewardship divine sanction for his swollen fortune. Careful reading makes it clear that the pitiless exposure in *Wealth against Commonwealth* of the cruel and illicit methods employed by the oil monopolists was motivated by a desire to strike down all the philosophical supports⁶⁷ that the "Captains of Industry" relied upon to secure popular acceptance of the corporate business system. This is indicated by scores of allusions and illustrations in the book which Lloyd utilized to point up the grim contrast between the policies of monopoly and the philosophy and claims to public service professed by its adherents, between the religious philanthropies and prayer meeting attendance of the oil magnates and the Sabbath-breaking violation of the law by their natural gas subsidiary at Fostoria, Ohio.⁶⁸ In this manner Lloyd sought to destroy the popular belief that the trusts were the product of an evolutionary process in the true sense, that they or their wealthy managers represented the "survival of the fittest," or that their great wealth was the reward for either superior efficiency or greater moral worth. Thus in pillorying Rockefeller and the Standard Oil, *Wealth against Commonwealth* exposed the falsity of the "Gospel of Wealth of the Gilded Age,"⁶⁹ and the

⁶⁵ Namely, that the oil trust was the product of superior efficiency and business methods; that the charges against it came from the less efficient competitors; or were motivated by jealousy of the "success" of its founders; and that the inevitable rise of the large scale organization, itself a product of the evolutionary process, was accompanied by an inevitable reduction in the price of its products to the consumer.

⁶⁶ At least, his "Conversations with Inglis," pp. 97, 111-12, 736-37, offer Social Darwinism repeatedly as the ultimate justification of the history of the Standard Oil.

⁶⁷ Orthodox economics, Utilitarianism, Social Darwinism, the "gospel of wealth." Lloyd, chap. xxxiv. Cf. Lloyd to Thomas Davidson, Jan. 30, 1891, Thomas Davidson Papers (Courtesy of the late Charles M. Bakewell, New Haven, Conn.).

⁶⁸ Also by Lloyd's avowed purpose in writing the book. But see *Wealth against Commonwealth*, pp. 15, 21, 68, 127, 161, 165, 215, 341-49.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), chaps. xiii-xiv, to learn how accurately Lloyd aimed his barbed shafts at the central doctrines of Social Darwinism and the "gospel of wealth."

It is clear from the "Conversations with Inglis" that the elder Rockefeller was sincere in his philanthropies and that he made no attempt to shield his business career and public acts behind either a reputation for piety or religious philanthropy. See especially page 1161, where, referring to Lloyd's quotation (p. 342) from the *National Baptist*, Rockefeller stated flatly that the oil men "have got to stand the test" of Milton's reply to the pleas urged in behalf of Charles I.

social evil wrought by application of Darwinian principles to business. It demonstrated, also, how between the greatest oil magnate and Henry Demarest Lloyd the difference at bottom lay in the philosophy with which each confronted the problems of a business civilization.

Finally, Lloyd declared that the trust movement was developing in direct antagonism to the democratic heritage of America. The combination movement, he asserted, was destroying liberty. While it was closing one economic province after another to all but the privileged few, it was subject to the law that governed tyranny everywhere as it reached out to control the bench, manipulate legislatures, shackle the press, and pervert pulpit and classroom to its own purposes. Under this impulse America was moving toward an authoritarian system that recognized no moral standards and was evolving through industrial feudalism toward the rule of a single, "corporate Caesar." By elevating "barbarians from below . . . into seats of power kings do not know" in America and Europe monopoly capitalism was destroying civilization itself as the process of perfecting the race through promoting human welfare in an atmosphere of liberty.⁷⁰ Thus, whether judged by its methods, or ultimate consequences, or in the light of its philosophical defenses, the trust movement was a veritable Frankenstein.

Before democracy could subdue such a monster it must be equipped with ideological weapons adequate to the task in hand. Their fashioning was the work of the last chapters of Lloyd's book. For raw material he took three basic concepts: the widening community, the idea of civilization, and the Golden Rule. These he combined with a profound faith in humanity and a moving appeal to the democratic spirit of America. His fundamental postulate was the Golden Rule, the "irresistible power of brotherhood" whose "progressive sway" in "human affairs is the sole message of history" "as secular as sacred." This principle was the "applied means" that enabled men to live in society. It was the "original of every political constitution" and by its operation widened progressively the scope of social action.⁷¹ By an almost Hegelian dialectic Lloyd declared that the struggle between the individual and society, and their harmonizing was the progressive "line of conflict" that marked the path of progress.

Society thus passes from conflict to harmony, and on to another conflict. Civilization is the unceasing accretion of these social solutions. We fight out to an equilibrium, as in the abolition of human slavery; then upon this new level thus built up we enter upon the struggle for a new equilibrium, as now in the labor movement.⁷²

⁷⁰ Pp. 2, 297-98, 344-45, 500, 510-11, 531.

⁷¹ Pp. 503-505.

⁷² P. 506.

As yet civilization, "the process of making men citizens in their relations to each other" had "reached only those forms of common effort which, because most general and most vital, first demanded its harmonizing touch."⁷³ Now under the impulse of the "new morality" of universal brotherhood democracy must perfect the new institutions and controls essential to subordinating industrial power and property to the general welfare. Institutions of wealth, monopoly itself, would thereby be molded into the co-operative commonwealth by liberty and the civilizing process of brotherly love. "The word of the day is that we are about to civilize industry," since "to be safe liberty must be complete on its industrial as well as on its political and religious side. This is the American principle." By applying the co-operative methods of the post-office and public school to monopoly, Americans would move upward to "a private life of a new beauty [as] commoners, travellers to Altruria."⁷⁴ Thus, as Albert Schweitzer was to plead twenty-five years later in his "philosophy of civilization,"⁷⁵ the development of a finer social ethics would enable civilization to master the machine age.

For the "Progressive mind" then shaping up in America during the "mauve decade" such a philosophy had a profound significance. It helped to develop the new theoretical approach essential to grappling with the economic, social, and political problems of the day.⁷⁶ Lloyd's plea for social justice, his elevation of human welfare above rugged individualism and wealth-making, his demand that democracy move forward to control and socialize monopoly, his declaration that civilization and democracy both depend upon developing a more adequate social ethics all struck responsive chords. Viewed from such perspective, the publication of *Wealth against Commonwealth* in 1894 was an event of first importance in American intellectual history. Its influence was decisive in awakening S. S. McClure, Ida M. Tarbell, and Charles Edward Russell to the journalistic possibilities of the literature of exposure.⁷⁷ At the same time the book confirmed the validity of a new method of analysis in which Lloyd's magazine articles had pioneered in the eighties, a method that subjected social and economic theories to the acid, pragmatic test, and

⁷³ "... the family . . . the club . . . the church . . . union . . . for self-defence" and the post-office (p. 497).

⁷⁴ Pp. 505, 517, 526, 534.

⁷⁵ Albert Schweitzer, *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization, The Philosophy of Civilization*, Pt. I (London, 1923), pp. viii-xiii, and *passim*; Albert Schweitzer, *Civilization and Ethics, The Philosophy of Civilization*, Pt. II (London, 1923), *passim*. Cf. Charles A. Beard, *The American Spirit* (New York, 1942), pp. 438-42, for a lengthier presentation of Lloyd's doctrine of civilization.

⁷⁶ Alpheus T. Mason, *Brandeis and the Modern State*, (Washington, 1936), p. 118.

⁷⁷ Lloyd Papers (Madison), S. S. McClure to Lloyd, Apr. 8, June 16, 1894; Ida M. Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work* (New York, 1939), p. 204; Russell's introduction to Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd* (New York, 1912), I, vi-viii.

which has become in the twentieth century an important part of the apparatus of both journalism and scholarship.⁷⁸ Allan Nevins has shown how, as a polemic, *Wealth against Commonwealth* created and perpetuated the stereotypes of an awakened anti-monopolist spirit.⁷⁹ This was a contribution of no mean importance in a day when thoughtful men and embattled farmers alike feared that monopolies would "take the place of Government of the people."⁸⁰ Its constructive influence was such, however, that Lloyd's book must be viewed as a catalytic and directive influence of first importance upon the confused, angry, intellectual currents of the decade. The profound influence that it exerted upon the thought of Louis D. Brandeis, who was groping for a new and constructive approach to contemporary problems,⁸¹ the inspiration that it gave Samuel M. Jones of Toledo to embark upon his "Golden Rule" career as a manufacturer and municipal reformer,⁸² the encouragement that it gave to Florence Kelley, Jane Addams, and Ethelbert Stewart⁸³ to pioneer in the interest of the consumer, social ethics, and labor are concrete indexes of this effect. So is the strong appeal that *Wealth against Commonwealth* made to the Brotherhood of the Kingdom and other leaders among the clergy in the social gospel and Christian Socialist movements,⁸⁴ the unique position that it gained for Lloyd in the Populist movement, and the editorial support that he received for his views in a notable series of daily newspapers in Boston, New York, and the Middle West.⁸⁵ Among the urban middle class, where views as radical as Lloyd's had long been anathema, *Wealth against Commonwealth* was of prime importance in shocking professional men, intellectuals, liberal clergy, and intelligent readers into a realistic attitude toward contemporary social and economic problems, and in opening minds to reform proposals that involved an enlargement of governmental powers. This is more than indicated by the powerful endorsement and continued support that Lloyd and his book received from such molders of middle class

⁷⁸ Here, of course, Lloyd was working in the same field and in friendly collaboration with Ely, John R. Commons, and Edward W. Bemis, who were all in constant correspondence with him in the nineties.

⁷⁹ II, 341.

⁸⁰ Garrison, p. 379, quoting ex-President Hayes; Hicks, pp. 78-80, 439-43.

⁸¹ Mason, p. 27; Alfred Lief, *Brandeis* (New York, 1936), p. 64.

⁸² *The Conservator*, Dec. 1903, pp. 151-52, quoting S. M. Jones's address at the Memorial Meeting in the Chicago Auditorium held in Lloyd's honor after his sudden death.

⁸³ All were personal friends and subject to Lloyd's continued influence.

⁸⁴ Numerous letters from George A. Gates, George D. Herron, B. Fay Mills, Leighton Williams, W. D. P. Bliss in the Lloyd Papers (Madison and Winnetka), establish this beyond question. Cf. James Dombrowski, *Early Days of Christian Socialism in America* (New York, 1936), pp. 121-24; Charles H. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 131-32, 179, 196.

⁸⁵ Especially the *Springfield Republican*, *Boston Globe*, *Boston Herald*, *Boston Transcript*; *New York World*, *New York Journal*, *New York Evening Post*; *Chicago Chronicle*, *Chicago Herald*.

opinion as the *Outlook*, the *Review of Reviews*, and the *New England Magazine*, and from the Congregational clergy in East and Middle West.⁸⁶ Of almost equal significance, *Wealth against Commonwealth* played a significant role in popularizing and disseminating the non-Marxian, socialist ideas whose spread among workers, farmers, and the lower middle class was such an important phenomenon in the period.⁸⁷ By linking them with the traditional antimonopolism, democratic faith, humanitarianism, and belief in civilization and progress, Lloyd made a unique contribution to the development of the "Progressive Mind." Finally, the book established him as the outstanding publicist and champion of social democracy at the turn of the century, one who used his impeccable social standing and great reputation to bridge the gulf between wage earner and middle class and thus to pioneer in a new statesmanship.

⁸⁶ This is well established by Lloyd's correspondence with the editors of these periodicals, with clergy in many Protestant denominations, and by calls upon Lloyd for articles by the *Independent*, *Outlook*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and by numerous invitations to lecture before religious gatherings.

⁸⁷ This was supplemented, of course, by Lloyd's personal friendship with Thomas J. Morgan, Victor Berger, Eugene V. Debs, and A. M. Simons, with organizers of the co-operative movement, and by his influence on the leaders of the Christian Socialist movement. Lloyd had circulated Fabian literature and arranged for lectures by members of the Fabian Society at the World Labor Congress, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. His book was frequently quoted and his views supported by such socialist journals as the *Coming Nation* (Ruskin, Tenn.) and the *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kan.).

Teaching of American History in Great Britain

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ARRANGEMENTS for instructing British students about the history and institutions of the United States are, unfortunately but quite naturally, far less comprehensive than our facilities for interpreting British history and culture. There are, for example, only three endowed chairs of American history and institutions in United Kingdom universities and one of these has just been established.

The oldest and perhaps the best-known chair is the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford, which is reserved for distinguished historians from the United States. Plans are on foot to establish a readership in American history at Oxford in order to give continuity to the study, but financial support for this project has not yet been found.

The University of Cambridge endowed a chair of American history and institutions in 1943, which will also be reserved for American scholars, but the first occupant has not been designated. However, Professor H. S. Commager and Professor Frank Dobie have both served as visiting lecturers in American history at Cambridge during the war.

The University of London administers an endowment from the Commonwealth Fund, most of the income from which is used to meet the salaries of a professor and reader of American history and to provide traveling allowances to enable one or the other to visit the United States each year. These posts are filled by British specialists; but the balance of the income was used before the war to pay the honorarium and traveling expenses of a distinguished American historian who was invited each spring term to deliver a series of six or eight lectures on American history. These lectures will be revived after the war if the income from the endowment remains adequate.

St. Andrews University has a lectureship in American history, endowed by Edward Harkness of New York; and Sheffield maintains an unendowed lectureship in American history. Interest in American history is reported to be lively also at Bristol, Aberystwyth, and Glasgow, but no chairs or reader-

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ships are maintained in these universities. Queen's University at Belfast will have a one-term lectureship in American history and literature after the war if American forces stationed in North Ireland succeed in their self-imposed task of trying to raise an endowment of £5,000. One third of this sum has already been subscribed. Manchester University at one time had a chair in American history but it no longer exists, although the university may create a department of American studies if it secures sufficient endowment from American or British sources to supplement the funds which it feels able to provide for that purpose.

Manchester University and other British universities and teacher training colleges provide occasional lectures on United States history in connection with European history courses, and American institutions are sometimes described in economics¹ or comparative government courses. The Watson Chair of History, Literature, and Institutions, administered by the Sulgrave Manor Board, chooses a lecturer annually, alternatively from Great Britain and the United States, to deliver at one or more British universities a course of six lectures about American history or institutions. These lectures are afterwards published in book form.

With one exception, nowhere in Britain are students required to answer questions on American history in their final examinations. The exception is the Army Staff College at Camberley, where a minimum of two questions on American history must be answered.

Most British primary and secondary curricula² included compulsory work in history and geography before the war, but instruction centered largely on Great Britain, the empire, and the Continent. There were very few questions on United States history in examinations for certificates; and treatment, where it was attempted, was usually cursory and incidental to instruction in British or Continental history. Virtually no primary schools and very few secondary schools³ gave connected or comprehensive surveys of American history. Facilities for teacher training, except at the universities with chairs or lectureships in the subject, were also extremely limited, as compared with opportunities for the study of English, Continental, medieval, and ancient history. There was general recognition that syllabuses should include more information about the United States, the empire, and other regions, but few revisions were made.

¹ American economics is especially noted in lectures at Liverpool and the London School of Economics.

² A bill now before parliament will, if enacted, recast, extend, and centralize the British-Welsh system.

³ Winchester and Eton taught some American history in courses which all pupils were required to take. Eton used Muzzey's *History of the United States* as the textbook.

Public interest in the subject of America mounted after the collapse of France, when political, military, and economic relationships became increasingly intimate. It manifested itself at public meetings, in the press, and in a general feeling that the schools should try to provide more information about the United States. Ambassador Winant encouraged the authorities to capitalize on this sentiment, and, early in 1941, they directed the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department to take appropriate action to improve the teaching of American history. The officials concerned took action on two major lines. First, memorandums were issued urging teachers to give more attention to the United States in the classroom and to prepare themselves to do so by reading books from selected lists. Secondly, efforts were made to provide additional facilities for teacher training in United States history. The effectiveness of these activities was increased by the work of inspectors of the central agencies, who were always ready to advise colleagues and schools on methods of improving instruction.

Other agencies, public and private, also helped to lay the groundwork for better instruction and to provide opportunities for self-education. The National Central Library published a list of books on the United States suitable for British public libraries; British publishers (particularly the Clarendon Press) produced a spate of works on the United States; several local education authorities held Anglo-American youth conferences; and many private organizations sponsored lectures on Anglo-American relations or various aspects of American civilization. In addition, many Americans resident in Great Britain were invited to lecture to British troops and factory workers on American history, government, and education.

His majesty's senior chief inspector of schools in England and Wales and the local liaison officer of the Scottish Education Department feel that these wartime activities should be evaluated by reference to the exceptional difficulties which confronted teachers and school administrators. In the first place, the war slashed staffs of the central supervisory agencies and the local education authorities. This burdened remaining employees with additional routine work and left little time for considering new instructional methods or revising syllabuses. Secondly, the war awakened interest in the history of the empire and other Allied countries and thus limited the time which could be devoted either to teacher training or to classroom instruction about the United States. Thirdly, the war brought a host of new problems to teachers, such as the evacuation of city children to country districts and the need to increase public feeding in the schools. Finally, teacher training programs had to be restricted because of difficulties of traveling and providing accommodations at conferences or seminars.

The following comments on the character of the wartime program and the success which it has achieved must be viewed in the light of those difficulties. They have been drawn from documents furnished by the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, from interviews with officials of these agencies, and from a conference with a small group of teachers of history in English secondary schools.

Both the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department issued memorandums urging teachers to increase and improve instruction in United States history and to prepare themselves for this task by self-education. Officials of the board admit that their memorandums did not always achieve the desired effect; but they feel they were reasonably successful because library books about America have been in greater demand and because a fair percentage of the teachers who attended short courses were already well informed about the United States. Scottish authorities state that their memorandum aroused widespread interest among teachers and pupils; that most secondary schools and some teachers in primary schools are giving more classroom time to United States history; and that many teachers have been reading books on the select list. They also assert that examiners have widened the scope of their questions on American history.

The Board of Education conducted seventeen short teacher training courses on United States history. They were attended by over three thousand teachers and were received favorably both by local authorities and the teachers participating. They have undoubtedly improved and increased the teaching of American history in many English and Welsh secondary schools.

No special regional short courses were given in Scotland, but history teachers in training colleges have all introduced lectures dealing specifically with America, and college libraries have increased their American sections. In addition, special lectures on the United States have been arranged in nearly all colleges. Short courses on the United States for teachers in service were offered at three out of four training centers in 1942 and 1943.

Publishers, local education authorities, and other public and private bodies have helped inform the British public about the United States and its history by publishing during the past three years a wide range of informative material, including bibliographical aids, and by arranging lectures and conferences. The public is reading many more American books and books about America. Nevertheless, British schools lack adequate supplies of good textbooks and works of reference on United States history.

Teachers find it very hard to strike an appropriate balance between the claims of United States history and the histories of other Allied nations and

the empire. The time now accorded American history in schools which have followed recommendations of the central authorities probably cannot be increased without giving it an emphasis which would be regarded as disproportionate.

No compulsory questions and relatively few elective questions on history are included in examinations for school certificates, although the tendency is to increase the number of elective questions. It is generally agreed that this will give the subject much more importance in the eyes of students.

Prospective history teachers are still not required to take courses in United States history in training colleges or universities, and relatively few elective courses are offered. One small but representative group of British teachers expressed no concern about this situation, for they felt that they could make up for the lack of formal instruction by private study and reading. The director of the American University Union describes this feeling as "dangerous but prevalent . . . characteristic of the whole country, and compounded of indifference and indolence."

Several final conclusions may be drawn from the preceding comments:

There has been an appreciable improvement in teacher training in United States history during the past three years, a marked increase in the amount of time given to United States history in secondary schools and public forums, and a definite improvement in the facilities school and public libraries offer to students of United States history.

There seems to be little possibility of further increasing the time devoted to instruction in United States history in primary and secondary schools because of claims of other nations and because time for instruction in the social sciences is limited.

For the most part, the wartime teacher training programs in United States history are of a temporary character, and this induces a feeling of pessimism about the qualifications of new teachers and about those of teachers who did not participate in them. However, the Board of Education plans to offer additional short courses in the history of the English-speaking peoples, and lectures on the United States are now included in long-term history courses given by Scottish teacher training colleges.

Reference has been made previously to the fact that two endowed chairs of American history in British universities are reserved for American scholars and that the University of London and the Sulgrave Manor Board administer endowments which enabled them, before the war, to invite distinguished American historians to deliver series of lectures in Great Britain. The George Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford, which is open to American

scholars in any branch of teaching or research but which is filled only part of the time because the endowment is inadequate, is the only other endowed chair reserved exclusively for United States scholars.⁴ Americans are rarely invited to fill chairs elsewhere, and the only noteworthy exception before the war occurred in consequence of the Carnegie Endowment having voted all the funds needed to pay the salaries and expenses of six American visiting professors. During the war two American scholars have been invited to lecture at Cambridge.

Only one permanent arrangement for the reciprocal exchange of faculty members between British and American universities is known to exist. The Imperial College of Science and Technology announced recently that it had arranged with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to maintain after the war a regular interchange both of staff and of graduate students. Arrangements are now being concluded for faculty exchanges between twenty-four paired British and American universities or university colleges, but definite plans have not been announced. Eventually it is hoped that students will also be exchanged by the universities and colleges concerned.

Occasional unilateral or reciprocal exchanges of faculty members or research specialists took place before the war between universities, research institutions, or university hospitals, but the number of persons involved in such arrangements is believed to have been very small. On the other hand, the great American foundations sent British research specialists to the United States and American specialists to Great Britain in fairly large numbers; and the Leverhulme Trust announced recently that it is now prepared to make grants to British specialists for study in the United States. During the war there has been an exchange of research specialists on an even larger scale through the mediums of official agencies such as OSRD, OWI, and their British counterparts, but only the Rockefeller Foundation has continued to operate in Great Britain and its activities have been curtailed.

Nine United States-United Kingdom student exchange arrangements at the university level existed before the war, but only four of these provided for reciprocal exchanges. The Mellon Exchange Fellowships, which are sustained by an endowment created by the late Andrew Mellon, permitted an annual exchange between Clare College, Cambridge, and Yale University. The Henry Fellowships, which are also endowed, supported annual exchanges of four postgraduate students of Oxford and Cambridge with an equivalent number from Harvard and Yale. An exchange of one student each year

⁴ If the current project to establish a lectureship in American studies at Belfast matures, another endowed chair will be reserved for American scholars.

between the University of St. Andrews and Union College of Schenectady, New York, was conducted between 1935 and 1939 on the basis of an agreement which has been suspended but not canceled by the war; and an annual student exchange between Southampton and a Middle Western university was initiated in 1937 and operated until the war intervened.

The Commonwealth Fund of New York, which was established in 1918, has been making grants since 1925 to British subjects to permit them to study and travel in the United States. Between 1925 and 1939 a total of 361 graduates of United Kingdom universities held its Ordinary Fellowships. Forty-eight persons of British descent holding positions overseas under the British government, the government of India, Dominion, colony, protectorate, or mandated governments held Overseas Service Fellowships between 1929 and 1939; and nine persons holding positions in the United Kingdom Civil Service received appointments to study in the United States between 1937 and 1939. In 1939, twenty-four Ordinary Fellowships, five Service Fellowships, and three Home Service Fellowships were offered.

The best-known scholarships available to American university students for study in Great Britain are those granted by the Rhodes Trust. Thirty-two Rhodes Scholars are elected annually from the United States and are accepted by various colleges at Oxford University. Election confers the stipend for two years but an extension is sometimes granted for a third year of study elsewhere. Candidates must be university students between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five and unmarried.

The Kellett Fellowships, which are administered by the dean of Columbia College, are tenable for two years by graduates of Columbia. They were instituted in 1933, and two students were appointed annually up to 1939. Kellett Fellows are received by Oriel College at Oxford and Clare College, Cambridge.

The Fiske and Lionel Harvard Fellowships are tenable by Harvard graduates, who are received, respectively, by Trinity and Emmanuel Colleges at Cambridge.

A scheme to facilitate reciprocal exchanges of teachers between British and American primary, secondary, and technical schools was drafted in 1922 by the Education Committee of the English-Speaking Union and subsequently a joint committee was organized to arrange British participation. Between 1926 and 1940, 134 reciprocal exchanges were arranged for women teachers, and eleven further appointments were completed but not carried through because of the war. Thirteen appointments for men teachers were arranged up to 1942. The interchanges were for one year and covered both

positions and salaries. The overwhelming proportion of the British schools involved were secondary schools and the American schools were mostly public high schools.

During the between-wars decades, the English-Speaking Union of Great Britain, and the English-Speaking Union of the United States, also founded and administered a number of traveling scholarships tenable by British and American elementary, secondary, and technical school teachers and by certain categories of technicians. Holders of the scholarships received cash grants and arrangements were made for them to spend at least a month abroad, staying at different places in the homes of members of the English-Speaking Union. Between 1923 and 1942, when the arrangements were temporarily discontinued because of exchange and transport difficulties, 155 British subjects were thus enabled to visit the United States and 221 citizens of the United States visited Great Britain.

Exchanges of primary, secondary, and technical school teachers, other than those effected under the arrangements just described, were relatively infrequent before the war, although reciprocal exchanges between private schools took place occasionally, and many American teachers visited Britain as tourists at their own expense.

The only important prewar scheme for facilitating reciprocal exchanges of American and British schoolboys was initiated by Father Sill of Kent School in 1928. It enabled boys from a number of British public schools to spend a year free of cost at American private schools and vice versa. The scheme was administered in England by a special committee of the English-Speaking Union and in the United States by the International School Boy Fellowship. Between 1928 and 1940, 212 British boys visited America under the scheme and thirty-five⁵ American boys visited British schools. While no other reciprocal arrangements were operative before the war, a small number of American students, in addition to those exchanged, normally attended British primary and secondary schools, usually those of the fee-charging type. Such students, on the whole, were probably not very representative because most of them came from wealthy Anglophile families.

Since 1939 about ten thousand British primary and secondary school children have found hospitality in the United States, and the thought has been voiced here that more exchanges of young students should be organized after

⁵ This figure is much smaller than the British figure because arrangements for sending British boys to the United States came into operation several years before an agreement on reciprocity was reached, and because the visits of twenty-two American boys for the 1939-1940 term were canceled, although nineteen British boys went to the United States as late as the autumn of 1940.

Division of Veterans' Administration, the National Archives,³ throw much light on the family background of the notable colonizer and religious leader. The first of the pension papers is dated October 2, 1832, and contains John Young's request in New York state (he was then sixty-nine years old) to obtain the benefit of the Federal pension act of June 7, 1832, because of three periods of service in the Revolutionary War.⁴ Following this is his application for a continuation of the pension at his new address in Ohio. In 1861 Hannah Young filed a claim for a pension as the widow of the Revolutionary War veteran John Young.

The documents are significant because they reveal a bit of family background for some curious reason not referred to in the biographies of Brigham Young. They show that in 1832 the whole family was converted to the Mormon church and trailed the prophet Joseph Smith to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835. Two years later the family broke up: John Young followed Smith to Missouri; his wife returned with her children to New York state.

It so happened that 1837 saw many defections from the church. The Mormon bank failed disastrously and Joseph Smith was forced to flee with his Mormon colony to Missouri to escape the wrath of his creditors. And in this year were heard the first whisperings of polygamy. Perhaps the most interesting of these documents is the one implying that John Young, the father of Brigham, who must have been between seventy-five and seventy-seven years of age, practiced polygamy. If this is true, then he began even earlier than his famous son, who claims to have known nothing about polygamy until 1841.

The documents show also a rather terrifying span of pension dates, with Hannah Young claiming in 1861 the pension earned by her husband some eighty years earlier. And ironically Brigham, at the zenith of his bizarre and trail-blazing career, because of his dubitable merits in the eyes of New York justice, gravely endangered the pension claims of the stepmother who seems to have played such a minor role in his life.⁵

STATE OF NEW YORK Monroe County

On this 2nd day of October A.D. 1832 personally appeared in open

³ The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Miss Dorothy Hill, Division of Veterans' Administration Archives, the National Archives, who first called to his attention the existence of the records.

⁴ Werner in his *Brigham Young* (p. 4) refers to John Young's service through four engagements under George Washington. On his own statement Young never participated in any battles. His successive enlistments were for six months, three months, and six weeks. All of his discharge papers were missing because he "gave them all to his master John Jones who as this deponent was informed took them to Boston and turned them in to pay his taxes with."

⁵ See below p. 89.

Court, before the Court of Common pleas, now sitting John Young a resident of Mendon in the County of Monroe and State of New York, aged sixty-nine years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath, make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7, 1832. That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers, and served as herein stated 1st That in the month of June 1780, day he does not recollect he enlisted as a soldier in the Army of the Revolution at Hopkinton in Middlesex County in the State of Massachusetts, under recruiting officers whose names he does not recollect into the 4th Massachusetts Brigade of Musketry and rendezvoused at Springfield the next July and was marched from thence to West Point by the way of Litchfield and Fishkill. Don't recollect the name of the officers that marched him to West Point but at West Point General Larnard commanded said 4th Massachusetts Brigade in which he served Col. Bailey the Regiment and Maj. Maxfield the Company; from West Point he marched under the above named officers to Kingsbury, creped over into New Jersey and was stationed at Orange town at the time Maj. Andre was hung, then marched to Liberty Pole, thence to Tantoway where he resided till he was marched to West Point for Winter quarter. There, after having served six months the time for which he enlisted, he was discharged. The above service was rendered in the Continental line commanded by Gen'l. Washington.⁶

2. That he again enlisted in the Militia of Massachusetts in the month of August, (thinks) about the 10th of the month) 1781, at Hopkinton afore-said in said County of Middlesex in Massachusetts. Capt. Howard and Lieut. Loren commanded the Company; Commander of the Regiment he does not recollect. Rendezvoused at Springfield as before and marched to West Point by the same rout. From West Point marched to Peekskill; from there unattached party to Crotons Bridge for the purpose of reconnoitering the line, where he took the yellow fever and lay in the hospital at Peekskill till he was able to go to the Camp. The army of the Militia was then stationed at Peekskill hollow, which he joined, and was taken in a detached party commanded by Capt. Samuel Toy to Fishkill where he remained until the term of three months the time for which he had enlisted, had expired and was discharged by said Capt. Toy.⁷

3rd. That in the month of March 1782 (day not recollected) at the same place where he enlisted for the other campains, he again enlisted, under Capt. James Millen and Maj. Chamberlin (he believes) for six weeks to go

⁶ Written in the margin of the original is "period 6 mo."

⁷ Written in the margin of the original is the notation "period 3 mos."

to Rade Island to repair Fort Butte he went there served out the time and took his discharge. That he was not in any battles, has no documentary evidence and that he knows of no person who can testify to his service.⁸

1st Interrogatory Says that he was born in Hopkinton, County of Middlesex in the state of Massachusetts on the seventh day of March 1763.

2nd Interrogatory Says there is a record of his age as he expects and believes in Hopkinton where he was born.

3rd Interrogatory Says he lived in said Hopkinton when he was called into the service and continued to live there after the Revolutionary War till 1801 when he moved to Sherburn in the County of Chenango and State of New York where he lived ten or twelve years then moved to Genoa in the County of Cayuga and State of New York, lived there four years then moved to Ryrone in the County of Stuten, State of New York, lived there 10 years, then moved to said Mendon where he still resides.

4th Interrogatory Says he was an enlisted soldier.

5th Interrogatory Says he has stated in his declaration the names of the Regular officers so far as he recollects and does not recollect any important circumstances in relation to his service not mentioned in his declaration.

6th Interrogatory Says he was regularly discharged from each of his three enlistments 1st by Lieut. Col. Ezra Bedlam, 2nd by Capt. Samuel Toy, and 3rd thinks he was discharged by Maj. Chamberlin, that he gave them all to his master John Jones who, at this deponent was informed, took them to Boston and turned them in to pay his taxes with.

7th Interrogatory. Says Milton Sheldon and Ason DeWolf residing in his neighborhood know him and can testify as to his character for veracity and their belief of his services as a soldier of the Revolution, and that there is no clergyman residing in his neighbourhood who has been acquainted with this deponent any length of time. And

He hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any State.

JOHN YOUNG

Sworn to, and subscribed the day and year aforesaid.

L. ADAMS *Clerk*

We Milton Sheldon and Anson DeWolf residing in the town of Mendon, County of Monroe do hereby certify, that we are well acquainted with John Young who has subscribed and sworn to the above declaration:—and we

⁸ Written in the margin of the original is the notation "period 6 weeks."

believe him to be sixty nine years of age; that he is reputed and bellived in the neighbourhood where he resides, to have been a Soldier of the Revolution and that we concur in that opinion of his neighbours.

Sworn, and subscribed the day and year aforesaid

MILTON SHELDON
ANSON DEWOLF

L. ADAMS *Clerk*

And the said Court do hereby declare their opinion after the investigation of the matter, and after putting the interrogatories prescribed by the War department, that the above mentioned applicant was a revolutionary soldier and served as he states. And the court further certifies: that they are satisfied that there is no clergyman residing in the neighborhood of the above applicant and that Milton Sheldon and Anson DeWolf who have signed the above certificate are residents in the town of Mendon in the County of Monroe and are credible persons and that there statements are entitled to credit.⁹

(Sgd) GILES ORIN
JOSEPH SIBLEY
SAML. CASTLE
*Judges of the County Court
for Monroe County*

THE STATE OF OHIO Geauga County

On this thirteenth day of April 1835, before me, the subscriber, an acting Justice of the Peace in and for said County personally appeared John Young who, on his oath, declares, that he is the same person who formerly served in a company commanded by Lieutenant Robert Muzzy, in the 4th Brigade Second Regiment (commanded by Colonel Bailey) of Massachusetts state troops, called at that time (1780) "the new levies"—in the service of the United States. That his name was placed on the pension Roll of the State of New York, from whence he removed in June 1833 to Kirtland in the County of Geauga and State of Ohio where he now resides and intends to remain, and wishes his pension to be there payable in future; and that his reason for removing to the State of Ohio, was that he had children residing there with whom he wished to spend his remaining days—That he drew his pension up to the 4th of March 1833, in the City of New York and that he has not

⁹ The pension claim of John Young was approved May 6, 1833, to begin March 4, 1831, at the rate of \$34.65 per annum, paid semi-annually "during his natural life."

drawn his pension since that time. & wishes his transfer to be so made that he may draw from that time, there being 2 years pension due him on the 4th of March last

Sworn & subscribed to, before me the day and year aforesaid.

JOHN YOUNG

ARIAL HANSON *Justice peace*

STATE OF NEWYORK County of Mendon

On this 30th Day of July A.D. 1861 Before me a Justice of the Peace in and for said county, Personally Appeared Hannah Young, age 81 years a Resident of Cammeltown in the County of Steuben & State of Newyork who being duly sworn according to Law doth on her Oath make the following declaration in order to Obtain the Benefit of the Provisions made by the act of Congress Passed on the 3d of February 1853 granting Pensions to Widows of Persons who Served during the Revolutionary War. that She is the Widow of John Young Deceased who was a Private in the war of the Revolution and that her said Husband was a Pensioner of the United States She thinks under the Act of June 7th A.D. 1832 but the amount she cannot State. She further states that at the Time of his application for a Pension he Resided in the Town of Mendon, Monroe County State of Newyork also that he Lived at the same Place for Some 5 or 6 years after he Obtained his Pension and then they Moved from there to the Town of Kirtland Geauga County, Ohio & he Drew his Pension while he Lived there for some 3 or 4 years he went from there to Illinois and Died there But the Name of the Place or the Date of his Death she cannot State.¹⁰ She further States that She was married to the said John Young in the Town of Tyrone in the state of Newyork on or about the 20th of August A.D. 1815 by one William Harnan a Justice of the Peace and that her name before her Marriage was Hannah Dennis that She was not married to John Young untill after the Second Day of January A.D. 1800 but at the time above stated that there is no Public or Private Records of her Marriage and that She cannot file herewith his certificate of Discharge and

¹⁰ Joseph Smith noted the death of Young in his own journal on October 12, 1839, as follows: "This day President Brigham Young's father, John Young, Sen., died at Quincy, Adams County, Illinois. He was in his seventy-seventh year, and a soldier of the Revolution. He was also a firm believer in the everlasting Gospel of Jesus Christ; and fell asleep under the influence of that faith that buoyed up his soul, in the pangs of death, to a glorious hope of immortality; fully testifying to all, that the religion he enjoyed in life was able to support him in death. He was driven from Missouri with the Saints in the latter part of last year. He died a martyr to the religion of Jesus, for his death was caused by his sufferings in the cruel persecution." Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, 1908), IV, 14.

that further that She is still his widow. She is now 81 years Old and her memory does not Enable her to state the circumstances more fully than above stated.

She hereby appoints S. R. Powell of Willoughby Ohio, her True and Lawful Attorney with Power of Substitution to Prosecute this her claim for a Pension to Receive the certificate when Issued and to do all other acts necessary and Proper in the Premises.

HANNAH YOUNG LS
her mark X

Witness JOHN KISHPAUGH

On this 30th Day of July A.D. 1861 Personally Appeared before me a Justice of the Peace in and for said county Elijah Bond and Phebe Bond who are to me well known and who are credible witnesses and who being by me duly sworn Deposes and says that they are each well acquainted with Mrs. Hannah Young the above applicant for a Pension that they have known her for 50 years last Past that they were well acquainted with John Young her late Husband having known him for some 35 years before his Death that they the said John Young & Hannah Young Lived together as husband and wife in the same Neighborhood that said Deponents Resided in for some years and they were reputed so to be that Deponents never herd the fact of their Marriage Disputed or questioned that the said John Young was a Pensioner while he Lived in the town of Mendon Monroe county Newyork & also in Kirtland Geauga county Ohio & that he went to Illinois and Died somewhere about the year 1840 or 41 and the said Hannah Young has been Since that time and still is his widow as said Deponents verily Believe and that her Said Husband was the Identical man mentioned as a Pensioner in his application above and further that they wer Present and saw Hannah Young Execute the foregoing affidavit by Signing her name to the foregoing Declaration and making Oath to the same in due form of Law and that they Deponents do Reside in said county aforesaid

ELIJAH BOUND
his mark X
PHEBE BOUND
her mark X

Sworn to and Subscribed before me this 30th Day of July A.D. 1861

JOHN KISHPAUGH *Justice of the Peace*

Brief in the case of Hannah Young, widow of John Young, a Private in the revolution

Steuben County and STATE OF NEW YORK

act 3rd February 1853

CLAIM, ("original," or "for increase.")

PROOF EXHIBITED, (if original.)

Is it documentary, traditionary, or supported by rolls? If either, state the substance.

John Young was a pensioner under the act of 7th June 1832 at the rate of \$34.65 per ann. and the vouchers in the 3d Auditors office show that the last payment was made in the year 1836.

No record proof, public or private of the marriage, and no testimony of witnesses present at the ceremony. Marriage occurred in the State of New York, at a time when there was no law requiring a public record to be kept.

The marriage relation proven by the testimony of *seven* witnesses, certified to be respectable and credible, who knew the parties for many years, in two different towns in which they resided who state that the parties lived together irreproachably as husband and wife, and that no doubt was ever entertained of their sanctity and present widowhood proven by abundant and satisfactory testimony.

As John Young, the pensioner was the father of Brigham Young, the *Mormon*, who is reputed to have a greater number of *wives* than the laws of the State of New York allow, and as the pensioner himself adopted the illegal practices of his son, and joined the mormons in Ohio in 1835, and then started to go with them to Nauvoo in Ill. but died on the way, the rules have been more stringently applied in this case than in others, in requiring such proof (in the absence of record evidence) of the relation of husband & wife as should place the act beyond a doubt; not only that the parties held that relation before Mormonism existed but that it was never doubted that the ceremony of marriage by legal process had taken place and that the parties had lived together in that relation virtuously, blamelessly & exclusively. I think the proof shows that they did!

Allowed at the rate of \$34.65 per annum to begin on the 3d February 1853.¹¹

L. M. DRURY *Ex^r Clerk*

Certificate to S. R. Powell Esq., Bath, New York.

¹¹ The certificate of pension was issued May 28, 1862.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA County of Potter

On this 24th day of March A.D. 1862 Personally Appeared Before me a Justice of the Peace within and for the County & State first above mentioned Edward Young age 38 years last July a resident of Burtville McKean County who being Cautioned and then Sworn according to Law States that he is the Son of John Young Diseased who was a Pensioner of the State of New York and Ohio and when he first obtained his Pension he Lived in Livingston or Monroe County New York after he had Drawn his Pension Some years at this Place he Moved to Kirtland Geauga County Ohio and there he Received his Pension he thinks for the years 1834-35-36- he further States that in the month of April A.D. 1837 himself and his mother Hannah Young, left Kirtland Ohio on a visit to the State of New York and the Same Season while they were in the State of New York his Father John Young Left Kirtland Ohio with the Mormons for Missouri and they were not Allowed to Settle there then they Started for Nauvoo Illinois and while on their way in the State of Illinois his Father Died but the time or Place of his Death he Cannot State only in the Year 1837 he further States that he has always been owned and acknowledged as the Son of John and Hannah Young he further States that his Mother Hannah Young now resides in Campbell Town Steuben County New York

In Testimony whereof he has on the day and year first above written hereunto Signed his Name and affixed his Seal

EDWARD YOUNG (L. S.)

Sworn to Subscribed and acknowledged before me on the day and Year first above written and I hereby Certify that I am well acquainted with Edward Young now Present and Believe the Statements to above are Correct and True

HARRIS LYMAN (J. P.)

PENNSYLVANIA County of Potter

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* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * *

General History

THE CONDITION OF MAN. By *Lewis Mumford*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1944. Pp. x, 467. \$5.00.)

To write a book exposing the disorders of society and from the exposition to deduce remedies implies on the part of the author the opinion that the possession and right ordering of knowledge are themselves remedies; accordingly, logic demands that these figure among the remedies advocated in the book. Biological considerations confirm that it is by knowledge primarily that man meets the problems of his existence, for his distinguishing and dominating trait as a species is his largely developed mind, and there is no doubt that dominating biological traits play the part of supreme arbitrating cause in the fortunes of a species.

In Mr. Mumford's book "personality" is the central concept. It is described in Freudian terms, and covers the entire biological character of man including the higher consciousness, physiologically based in cortical development, and all other aspects and functions of mind as well as the simpler traits more fully shared by other animals. (A few of the shibboleths of the personalist philosophy occur, and R. T. Flewelling's latest book appears in the bibliography, but the system of the personalists is entirely absent.) Since Mr. Mumford's remedies for the disorders of society are given in terms of personality and personality includes mind, the requirements of logic are here met, although in an obscure and involved manner, as will appear below.

The book, excluding the last two chapters, traces personality shortly through the history of the Jews, of Greece and Rome, and at greater length through the history of Western society. Thought is the main theme, but other events, chiefly economic, are brought in, and there are short separate sections on sex life, presumably intended to have some connection with the Freudian description of personality. The argument emerges that neither medieval Christian philosophy nor modern Cartesian philosophy and its derivatives (somewhat strangely, capitalism, and not Cartesian thought, is represented as basic in modern times, and also as the "chief heresy" of the Middle Ages) were consistent with a satisfactory, growing society, the former because it repressed empirical criticism and sex, the latter because they tended to repress art and qualitative thought and were also negative toward sex. From this it is said to follow that thought must allow for the total personality, the whole man, and the last two chapters advocate and prophesy an intellectual and social system which will do so.

The argument is not, perhaps, an utter failure. The overthrow of medieval Christian thought and the social institutions concomitant with it, by reason of

their ultimate hostility to empirical criticism, is a fact and commonplace knowledge; it may also be granted that Cartesian dualism and the materialism derived from it have, together with the various institutions and the quantitative science that go with them, proved unfavorable toward the aesthetic development of the mind—a perception we owe chiefly to Professor A. N. Whitehead. But Mr. Mumford's *argument*, as distinct from the disconnected information he mixes with it, takes no account of the prosperous centuries of growth experienced by Western society under both the medieval Christian and the Cartesian dispensations. Out of the intentions of the argument and the disconnected material considered together (but not so considered by Mr. Mumford) there does accrue support for a view of history as in some part—quite an important part—a dialectical process. To that impression Mr. Mumford contributes further, apparently unconsciously, in his concluding chapter, for he there prophesies a collective social system to replace the present system where it is individualistic. He may be right in thinking that that new system will offer wider scope for active expression of the many-sided human personality than have earlier systems in the history of Western society, but this is not because systems affording narrower and more partial expression do not promote growth, for manifestly they do so abundantly. Indeed, the known history of other civilized societies, including the Greco-Roman which is within Mr. Mumford's purview here, suggests that the broader systems which supervene at the end of the history of a society are accompanied by less growth and finally by decline. (See Vico, Toynbee, even Spengler, all three of whom get somewhere near the truth on this matter.) The reason for the broad scope offered personality in later social and philosophical systems is to be found in the development of thought, of which Mr. Mumford, rather bedeviled by horror of Hitler, tends to lose sight in his concluding chapters. It is because the thought of later systems is later, because all philosophies attempt to accomplish totality—the Cartesian attempted this no less than others—and later philosophies, profiting by the errors of earlier ones, usually have more success in the attempt; and totality for expression of human personality is merely an aspect of world totality.

As to sex, there is not a shred of evidence, either in Mr. Mumford's book, or, so far as I know, anywhere else, that the overthrow of medieval Catholicism was in any way due to repression of sex; or that the present discredit of some aspects of Cartesian-derived thought has anything to do with its alleged hostility to sex. When, therefore, Mr. Mumford announces the post-medieval period under the chapter heading "The Uprising of the Libido," we may be pardoned for suspecting that the libido has always been about equally unsuppressed. Certainly Mr. Mumford produces no evidence to the contrary. Indeed he scarcely attempts to produce even argument to show that the more primitive biological urges are organically and determinatively associated in the causation of the major processes of history. His sections on sex life stand apart from his argument, connected with the rest of the book merely verbally in that Freudian jargon is used throughout. The

jargon itself adds nothing that could not have been expressed in ordinary language, for the concepts it carries are mere subjective constructs having objective validity only for the operations of psychoanalysis. Mr. Mumford has not psychoanalyzed history.

The place of sex and other primitive urges in history would appear to be as follows. They constitute a single group among many groups of lesser causes; the groups are immensely varied and include all manner of natural phenomena from the "actions" of chemical substances up to the highly complicated equilibrating and disequilibrating processes that inform the physical, biological, and bio-physical "balances" and "imbalances" of nature. A great many of these operate partly within the human physical organism. Conspicuous besides sex urges are climatological processes, balances of flora and fauna, mutations accumulating and dissipating through heredity, the process of the endocrine glands within the human organism, and so forth. All of these forces together, in association with the human consciousness—and, in periods of human progress, under domination of the consciousness—constitute the total causation of history. It is a reasonable, if difficult, proceeding to attempt to interpret history in terms of the operation of all these causes. It is also a reasonable, and somewhat less difficult, proceeding to attempt to abstract the action of the dominant, the human consciousness, and to illuminate the course of general history by reference to the course of thought—in fact, this is about the one real illumination available to us in the present state of knowledge. It is quite absurd, however, to pick out some particular group of the lesser causes, all of them extremely obscure, and attempt to use it as well as the dominant cause; the result is sure to be exaggeration and will probably be gross error.

This book utterly lacks philosophical rigor. Yet its weak argument often embodies important half-truths; and, paradoxically, the weakness of the argument is itself a virtue, for there is little constructive speciousness or factitious evidence. Mr. Mumford is honest. The book is full of ingenious and penetrating comments, some of them probably true, upon particular historical phenomena—for example, faith and reason, protestantism, nationalism, Marxism. But, as a serious essay interpreting the present in the light of history, it does not exist. For the sake of its fragmentary merit, Mr. Mumford might perhaps think it through again, and write another essay.

Atlanta University

RUSHTON COULBORN

THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM: A STUDY IN ITS ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND. By *Hans Kohn*, Sydenham Clark Parsons Professor of History in Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 735. \$7.50.)

THIS book by Professor Hans Kohn is not only what the author says in his preface "perhaps the first detailed history of nationalism in any language" but it

is also an eminently scholarly presentation of this vast and controversial subject, a worthy counterpart to the authoritative *Histoire de l'Internationalisme* by Christian L. Lange. Here is a broad knowledge of details combined with a large view of universal development and supported by a wealth of literary references, and the whole often brilliantly written. Even an adept linguist may sometimes feel staggered by all the quotations offered without translation in Latin and Greek, French and German, Italian and Spanish, Dutch and Polish. But we must assume the blame ourselves, not put it on the learned author.

He introduces his theme with a discussion, in a truly historical spirit, of the different elements of modern nationalism. He is well aware of its complexity, and therefore he does not venture a simple definition. He stresses, however, its political implications, its direction towards organized expression of a mass mind through the state. It is the history of this political nationalism that Professor Kohn has made it his task to tell. This theme is what gives his work its scope—and its limitations.

The present book is the first volume of the work he has planned, and it is in a way only the introduction to the history of the age of nationalism which, according to his conception, begins with the French Revolution. The true theme of this volume is the mental preparation for nationalism in the century preceding the Revolution, and the hero of it is the English people, first in England, then in America. He traces the gradual development of ideas into national concepts, within the framework of general intellectual life, as connected with the spirit of the age. This is done with a fine discrimination that makes these chapters a highly valuable contribution to the whole intellectual history of the eighteenth century.

The first result of this development, one that meant a new epoch in modern history, he finds in the establishment of a nation, the first in the modern sense of the word, in America. Even students of American history, I suppose, will find something new, instructive, and inspiring, in Kohn's interpretation of the spirit of the American Revolution and of the relationship of the rebel patriots to their national government. Personally I think he exaggerates the idea of the nonexistence of any American nationality before the Revolution. After all, even in colonial times, the people of the British colonies called themselves "Americans," in the South as well as in the North, to distinguish themselves from the English in the old country. But, certainly, Kohn's paradox that only through their fight for universal ideas did they become a nation apart contains an essential truth.

The lack of political ideas in the contemporary German nationalism, in contrast to the national political will developed in the free English-speaking nations, is demonstrated in a long chapter. There is a strong, almost merciless penetration in his analysis of the German "nationalists" of the eighteenth century, and fundamentally Kohn is right. Here we have one of the facts most important to the explanation of German history in our own days. But again he exaggerates: The a-political attitude of the German intellectuals was not so unique at that time,

even compared with the French champions of enlightenment before the Revolution. And when Kohn, for instance, declares that "the Storm and Stress had no political will" (p. 352), he ignores the early words of both Goethe and Schiller. His rather polemical picture of German nationalism is blurred somewhat when, in a note (p. 684), he opposes the modern glorificators of Arminius to the medieval Germans who were indifferent to him. They were, he says, too closely united with the Roman Empire to feel any sympathy for such a rebel, while the truth is that they did not hear about Arminius before the discovery of the Tacitus manuscripts at the end of the fourteenth century.

Following the chapter on Germany is a long and rather heterogeneous chapter on the beginnings of nationalism in no less than seventeen different nations or nationalities of minor importance. It abounds in detailed information, mostly, though not always, correct as to facts and dates, but in most cases not sufficient to convey a more than superficial idea of the movement going on and the forces behind it. Obviously it is the weakest part of the book, and not so well written by far as the rest of it. Curiously enough, the author, while treating the early nationalism in Wales and Ireland, omits entirely that of Scotland, although the movement there gave a unique stimulus to nationalism in many countries.

Objections of another order may be directed against the chapters preceding the main part of the book. I feel only admiration for the chapter on nationalism in ancient Palestine and Greece. Although the author admits that the two very different types of nationalism in those countries both missed the political outlook which, in his definition, should be a feature of true nationalism, he is right in including them because of their influence upon modern national ideas. He seems arbitrary in asserting (p. 30) that, in ancient times, only Jews and Greeks developed pronounced national traits of character; he himself happens once to speak of "the genius of Latium." Anyhow, both Judaism and Hellenism ended in universalism, and the Romans created the first lasting universal empire in the Western world.

In the Middle Ages, Professor Kohn recognizes no true nationalism by reason of the definition he has postulated. He asserts that the idea of a universal church and empire dominated all medieval thought. I would think that, from his own point of view of the essentially political import of nationalism, he ought to have given more consideration to the establishment of individual kingdoms in direct opposition to the empire. The political development of Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth century, a period almost completely neglected by Kohn, was truly decisive for the growth of nations and nationalism. During that period we can observe expressions of national sentiments and efforts that are much more than mere individual ideas. It can be shown in several cases that these expressions embodied traditions of a popular character. There is a line running continuously from this medieval nationalism to the modern form.

Kohn will not accept as nationalism a movement that is not truly popular, in

which, as he says, "the people does not coöperate." Therefore he rejects as true elements of the movement everything that originated simply from above, from the government. That, he says, is "statism, not nationalism." He will not call it nationalism unless it conforms with modern ideas of nationality, distinguished by a language of its own. That is, in my opinion, a failure to appreciate important forces of development in this field. It leads him to declare—contrary to essential facts—that the Reformation stifled nationalism, that mercantilism was merely a scheme imposed from above, that the efforts to impose a language common to all the lands of a king were nothing but practical measures.

Thus Kohn's work is not free from objections. But the most important of them are voluntarily provoked by his own conception of the task he has undertaken. His work invites opposition and discussion because it is not merely the history of an idea. It is in itself fruitful of ideas.

As to facts, the book bears the mark of good scholarship. I note here two errors that have a certain bearing on the reasoning of the author. A couple of times (pp. 151, 189) he refers to the principle *cujus regio ejus religio* as established by the Westphalian Peace of 1648, while it was confirmed as early as 1555 by the Peace of Augsburg and was virtually proclaimed already by the Speyer Diet of 1529. The word "patriot," in the sense of a man fighting for the liberty of his fatherland, does not originate in the eighteenth century; it was first used, as far as I know, by the Netherlands who rebelled against Spain in the sixteenth century.

Washington, D. C.

HALVDAN KOHT

A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Volume VI, THE GREAT CENTURY IN NORTHERN AFRICA AND ASIA, A.D. 1800—A.D. 1914. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. ix, 502. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Latourette's, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, a.d. 1800—a.d. 1914*, is his third volume dealing with this chronological period. It covers Northern Africa and Asia and is, therefore, the most challenging that has appeared so far. Herein he presents the attempt of Christianity to conquer the other great historic religions of mankind and admits its relative failure. In actual number many men in India, Southeastern Asia, China, and Japan became Christians, but the percentage of converts in the whole population was relatively small. In Japan the percentage of Christians was probably greater in the year 1600, before the expulsion of the Christians, than it is today.

The people of Northern Africa and of Asia, even when they became politically subject to the Occident, have nevertheless preserved their cultural independence. They have paid a willing tribute to all those elements of Western civilization which

they could adapt to their needs. Christianity was often respected because it was the religion of engineers, medical men, and military and business entrepreneurs. The tendency was to select from Christian culture those contributions which would strengthen native cultures.

With these generalizations in mind, the reader can survey the great achievements of Christianity in the nineteenth century in the Continental domains under consideration. The expansion of Christianity was primarily due to its vitality in Western Europe, particularly in Great Britain. The United States, too, had great missionary centers and, as the century went on, the American people became a leading missionary power, in furnishing both money and men. On the home fronts, the new feature was the organization of many missionary societies, independent of the state. The joint stock company was the pattern in missionary activity as well as in business. A religious corporation set up a network for the collection of money, the recruitment of personnel, and the management of the missionaries. The men sent forth to foreign areas established churches, schools, medical centers, and communications among themselves and native supporters. While this method had been used both by Roman Catholics and Protestants before the nineteenth century, it reached its heyday of effectiveness in "The Great Century." The disestablishment of a state church in a country, therefore, did not disorganize missionary endeavor, as all this enterprise was basically a voluntary activity of the individual churches. The dissenting churches of Great Britain were as active as the Anglican. The Protestant churches were confronted by overlapping jurisdictions, a problem not yet solved. There is some evidence that native peoples will, in time, themselves unify Christian faiths whose divisions, often hereditary in nature, are meaningless to nations which have no historical connection with the strife of past centuries.

The author raises questions that are gathering in the reader's mind, answers them as far as he can within the limits of certainty, probability, or possibility, or concludes frankly that the evidence is not clear. The chief distinction of Latourette's work is this clarity of presentation of intricate problems covering a vast subject. In fact this series of volumes is a new history of civilization.

A survey of the culture of each region is given so that the necessary geographical, economic, racial, and political data are available. It is difficult to choose an illustration. Perhaps Northern Africa and the Near East together will serve. Its early Christianization, its Mohammedan conquest, its partition among the European powers, the success and limitations of missionary activity there in modern times are all set forth within the compass of sixty pages. Beyond the field of usual treatment is the material on the expansion of Russian Orthodox Christianity into Siberia, China, and Japan. This branch of Christianity met with the same sort of successes and failures as did the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. Successful in winning primitive peoples, it failed in attempts to convert Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucianists, and Shintoists. Great missionaries were to be found

among the Russian Orthodox as among other divisions of the Christian crusaders. Ivan Kasatkin, better known under the name of Nicolai, was strikingly successful in Japan.

The impatient reader may first wish to read the chapter of "Summary and Anticipation," where narration is submerged in analyses. Here the work of the six volumes is seen in perspective, and the reader new to the work can in small space find the main threads that he needs to know. His own ideas will be confirmed or challenged. Brevity in itself here gives a fresh point of view.

Most amazing of all is the author's mastery of a vast literature in many languages. Citations indicate the immense amount of work he has done for the reader and direct him to the sources. Librarians will find the references in the notes and the bibliography of greatest value. The publisher is to be congratulated, particularly in these times, for the publication of a monumental series of volumes, so important to the humanities, and at such a low cost. The final volume will be eagerly awaited.

University of California at Los Angeles

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN: THE STORY OF RUSSIA AND AMERICA, 1781-1943. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 279. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Dulles has written a book which combines the timeliness of good journalism with the objectivity and perspective of good history. At a moment when the whole problem of the peace settlement as well as the successful conclusion of the war itself hinges on the co-operation of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, he has illuminated two sides of this fateful triangle with the clear light of the past. He has done this, moreover, with an understanding of his subject that is both sympathetic and critical. He realizes that Teheran is but a way station on a road that could lead to great destinations for both the Russian and the American people; yet he is never blind to the obstructions that have cluttered this road and still ominously impede progress upon it. From the voluminous and controversial literature dealing with the Soviet Union, *The Road to Teheran* stands out for its clarity, its honesty, and, incidentally, for its exemplification of the value of history as a guide to contemporary problems and events.

Mr. Dulles makes no more ambitious claim for his work than that it is "an attempt to record the salient features in the past history of Russian-American relations as they may influence or affect the efforts that are being made today to discover an enduring basis for understanding between Russia and America." He expressly disclaims definitiveness and acknowledges that he has written from an American point of view and American sources. It seems to this reviewer that, within these limitations, Mr. Dulles has accomplished his purpose admirably. He has drawn together in a compact narrative of 261 pages facts and opinions that

were heretofore scattered in special studies, biographies, diaries, and state papers. His bibliography reveals few oversights. Until Russian and other pertinent sources become available, his survey will stand as an original contribution, instructive to scholars for its perspective and to laymen for both its perspective and its detail.

The basic pattern of Russo-American relations is defined in the author's first chapter entitled, somewhat editorially, "The Common Cause." This is a pattern of common, often identical, national interests superimposed upon ideologies and political systems that "have always been at opposite poles." Up to and including the present, the common national interests have invariably prevailed over the conflicting ideologies, a tendency for which geography is perhaps more responsible than statesmanship. Nevertheless, Mr. Dulles records with due recognition of ulterior motives, Russia's acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine, her moral support of the Union during the Civil War, her sale of Alaska, her common cause with the United States against Germany until November, 1917, in the first World War and again, after Hitler's treacherous attack, in the second. These are facts, end results, that superseded the diplomatic rivalries in the Far East—themselves mitigated by a recurrent identity of interest vis-à-vis Japan—and the ideological wrangles that grew out of the Bolshevik revolution, abated in 1933, and reached a new peak with the purges, the Russo-Finnish War, the neutrality pact with Japan, and the short-lived Molotov treaty with Hitler. Mr. Dulles' impartial survey gives us sound reasons to hope that the road from Teheran may continue to surmount these ideological barriers and a sober appreciation of the engineering problems involved. These problems, it would seem, were only stated, not solved, in the Moscow and Teheran Conferences of 1943 that cap the climax of his narrative.

Yale University

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD

INTERVENTION AT ARCHANGEL: THE STORY OF ALLIED INTERVENTION AND RUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN NORTH RUSSIA, 1918-1920. By *Leonid I. Strakhovsky*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 336. \$3.00.)

THE present volume, a sequel to the same author's book on *The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia* (1937), is the first serious attempt to tell the story of the Allied intervention at Archangel, both in its military and political aspects. As in his earlier volume, Dr. Strakhovsky properly stresses the importance of the military motives behind the intervention, at least in its original stages—a factor which has been too often neglected by the writers on the subject. Based on a thorough knowledge of available literature and printed documents as well as on some unpublished sources and personal experience, Dr. Strakhovsky's study gives a detailed account of the activities of the Allied diplomats and military commanders in North Russia and of their relations with

the Russian anti-Bolshevik forces in that region. It is a sad story of miscalculations, illusions, political and military errors, and of mutual distrust and misunderstanding between the principal participants in the venture. Despite the abundant documentation and the painstaking analysis of some minute details, the author has succeeded in telling his story in a lively and interesting fashion, especially as it approaches its tragic denouement. In short, his book is the work of a trained historian and an experienced writer, and it should be recognized as a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with the complicated and confused history of Soviet Russia in her earlier years, and in particular of her relations with the outside world.

On the whole, the author tries to remain within the bounds of historical objectivity, but he does not conceal his personal sympathies and antipathies as far as Russian politics of the period are concerned. This is, of course, a highly controversial field, and in some respects my reading of events differs from the author's. He is highly critical of the Russian anti-Bolshevik government at Archangel headed by the veteran socialist Nicholas Chaikovsky, and he seems to prefer its more conservative opponents. In itself, it is a perfectly legitimate attitude, and I would not quarrel with it if it were not for the fact that in places Dr. Strakhovsky attributes to the acts of the Chaikovsky group purely personal or narrowly partisan motives when, as I see it, such accusations are not warranted by the evidence. Neither am I convinced by references to statements made by French rightists like Ambassador Noulens and G. Welter or by such an obviously prejudiced witness as Chaikovsky's political enemy, Commander Chaplin. Apart from this, it seems to me that the author tends to exaggerate the importance of the shortcomings of the Chaikovsky government for the ultimate failure of the anti-Bolshevik struggle in North Russia.

This brings us to his conclusions. With most of them I feel myself in complete agreement. I think Dr. Strakhovsky is right when he claims that the purely military purpose of the Allied intervention "was eminently successful since it checked German designs to use the Northern Russian ports as submarine bases and prevented a large amount of war supplies . . . from falling into German hands." In my opinion, he is equally right when he asserts that "as support to the North Russian counter-revolution it proved to be an utter failure," and when he ascribes this failure to two main causes: the indecisive policy of the interventionist powers and the lack of real support from the Russian masses. But it seems to me that the author somewhat contradicts himself when he goes on to say that "the greatest tragedy lay in the fact that the Allied governments refused to deal with anyone who was not a bona fide democrat or even socialist, while the Russian officers, representing the real active element in the struggle, were overwhelmingly monarchistic." To begin with, one can question the factual accuracy of this assertion as neither in Archangel nor elsewhere were the Allies so very consistent in supporting the democratic elements as against the "monarchistic

officers." And furthermore, one wonders whether the reverse policy could have brought any happier result, in view of the fundamental factors in the situation indicated by Dr. Strakhovsky himself. After all, wherever the democrats and socialists were replaced by the military, these "men of action" and protagonists of "strong authority" did not fare any better than their "impractical and doctrinaire" predecessors.

Harvard University

MICHAEL KARPOVICH

GOD, MAMMON, AND THE JAPANESE: DR. HORACE N. ALLEN AND KOREAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1884-1905. By *Fred Harvey Harrington*, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, University of Arkansas. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1944. Pp. x, 362. \$3.75.)

God, Mammon, and the Japanese, despite its lurid though correct title, is a sober, scholarly study of American relations with Korea, with special attention to the period, about a dozen years after 1890, in which Dr. Horace N. Allen was a potent factor in shaping American policy in Seoul. The primary historical source of the study is the Allen Papers in the New York Public Library. Without wholly ignoring what lies directly adjacent to the field of his special interest, Professor Harrington has so narrowly defined his theme as to make it biography first and history second. The specialist will find a thorough exploitation of a little-used historical source and the filling in of what has been a gap in our detailed knowledge of the unhappy peninsula of Korea. The general reader, though finding the book quite readable, will be at a disadvantage in that the picture is mostly foreground. In reading *God, Mammon, and the Japanese* one can almost slide by the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, hardly aware that the little, unlovely, and often rather shocking intrigues in Seoul were expressions of a vast and momentous struggle for power in northeastern Asia, which involved all of the great powers of the modern world and which matured in the present gigantic world war.

Dr. Allen began his career as a Presbyterian medical missionary in China. Never quite at ease with his missionary colleagues, he was selected to open the first protestant mission in Korea in 1884. Without professional competition, he was, from the first, often the man of the hour both in the imperial palace and among the foreigners who rushed into the newly opened hermit nation. The emperor furnished him with a hospital which was operated under quasi-missionary auspices, and in the diplomatic and consular community he was often in urgent demand. Seoul was not an attractive post for deserving Republicans, who came and went in diplomatic capacities without ever knowing why they were there. Save for W. W. Rockhill, who was hurriedly sent in from Peking for a brief emergency, no competent American diplomat was in charge in Seoul until

Dr. Allen was replaced as minister in 1905. Dr. Allen, after a brief introduction to diplomatic life as the American secretary of the first Korean mission in Washington, was appointed secretary of the American legation in Seoul in 1890. Seven years later he was made minister. He was rather roughly removed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905, just before the legation was closed. Allen's rise in the diplomatic service seems to have been due to the support of the missions, which did not like him but which profited greatly by his services; to the fact that he came from Ohio and sought the support of Mark Hanna and MacKinley; to his industrious assistance to the few American traders and business adventurers who came to Seoul needing, literally, a friend at court; and to his own never failing ambition. Superficially Dr. Allen's career resembled that of Dr. Peter Parker and that of S. Wells Williams in China, but Dr. Allen was not a linguist, he never mastered the language, and in other important respects also he was unlike Parker and Williams. Indeed, he was more like his distant kinsman, Ethan Allen, in always knowing what he wanted and how to get it. Dr. Allen's reputation, which among his contemporaries was generally good, is now slightly tarnished by his own written records, which Professor Harrington has used so thoroughly.

It would require more than a concluding paragraph in this review to place the narrative in its broad setting. Commodore Shufelt in 1882 had made with Korea the first modern treaty in emulation of the Perry treaty with Japan. Until just before the close of the century, when W. W. Rockhill, from his post in the Pan American Union, became advisor to John Hay and Theodore Roosevelt, it is quite clear that the American government was imperfectly informed and indifferent to what went on in Seoul. In the nineties American adventurers and shoestring operators flocked into the Far East and sought diplomatic assistance. Denby in Peking gave them some support and in Seoul Dr. Allen, with less experience of the world and less discrimination, did the same and even did not see any impropriety in accepting "presents" from those whom he supported. Meanwhile Korea was being used as a pawn in a gigantic struggle for political and strategic power. Her hopelessly corrupt government leaned first one way and then another and persisted in thinking that the United States both could and would rescue it from a wreck not wholly of its own making. Amid the indecisions in the foreign offices of Europe Japan alone had a perfectly clear objective, and the American government sought and preserved only amateur standing. Dr. Allen, always inadequate, tried, as Professor Harrington suggests in the title of his book, to serve every interest which applied to him, including even the Japanese, and to please his masters in Washington. It was a mauve decade.

Professor Harrington has written an important chapter in the history of the Western powers in eastern Asia, and for those who would understand the Korean problem an indispensable book.

Hague, New York

TYLER DENNETT

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY: ITS HISTORY AND STRUCTURE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Salo Wittmayer Baron*, Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions on the Miller Foundation, Columbia University. Three volumes. [The Morris Loeb Series.] (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1942. Pp. xii, 374; 366; 572. \$2.50 per volume, \$7.50 per set.)

For many years the world has been awaiting a comprehensive, historical, and sociological analysis of the evolution of the Jewish community. At last a great scholar, generally acknowledged as the most learned modern historian of Jewish life, has finally presented this critical perspective of nearly four thousand years of Jewish communal history, with its center of focus in the European community of the Middle Ages and early modern times.

The democratic ideals and forms of the "Atlantic community" cannot be understood without an insight into the ancient Jewish communal heritage that began even before the Babylonian exile some twenty-five hundred years ago. The regional independence of many little walled towns around their own sources of water in ancient Palestine made a strong royalty impossible. When the Philistines invaded the highlands, the separate tribes united to form a monarchy, which, however, never followed the absolutist path of the neighboring countries. This was due not only to the power of the invading Aramean and Assyrian empires but also to the old antimonarchical spirit of the people that is evident in the story of Samuel, the judge who helped both to choose kings and to condemn them. The book of Deuteronomy reveals the acceptance by the king of constitutional limitations to the power of the monarchy, whereby the rights of the people are preserved. Despite the patent emphasis upon the central sacrificial shrine in Jerusalem, the basic loyalties of the people were to the local community, whose elders at the gates were its elected judges and whose shrines served for worship every Sabbath and festival of the year, except for the three festivals to be spent at the temple in Jerusalem. There was a loosely-knit federation of economically self-sufficient, self-governing townships but never a unified centralized state.

The neighboring empires, throughout the milleniums, have swept the Jew into their orbit but have never erased his self-governing tradition. The Persian Empire, stretching from India to Ethiopia, encouraged autonomous, theocratic, self-governing communities. The Jew may have idealized the Holy City and the ancient Temple but he belonged to his "edah," his local autonomous congregation. Here he met for worship and communal action. When the Roman Empire succeeded to the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, Judaism became *religio licita*, and there was both liberty of conscience and communal autonomy. The synagogue was not only the Jew's sanctuary but his tribunal and his treasury, his meeting place for thought and action. When Rome became Christian a new distinction was made between the "Church," Israel in spirit, and the "Synagogue," stubborn Israel in the flesh, a contrast that appealed to the old prejudice of the Roman

legions against the Jew, the one who for long centuries had refused to appease the new order of Rome. Beginning with the code of Theodosius we see the legal attempts to destroy the equality of the Jew and the appeal of Judaism. In spite, and to a degree because, of this persecution the Jewish community of the Middle Ages created new forms of religious self-government that provided the ferment out of which was to come the American and French revolutions and the democratic horizon of the modern world.

Professor Baron's superb volumes are the last word in careful scholarship. They will be the key for generations of new students of the history of Western social institutions. One prays that he will now find the time to prepare two other parallel studies in this field: the mutual influence of the social ideas and institutions of the Jew and his neighbors. Thus we could see more clearly the common originality as well as the common origins of the world's tradition that has led and will lead mankind out of bondage toward the highroads of justice and peace for all the children of men.

Washington, D. C.

NORMAN GERSTENFELD

THE JEWS AND MEDICINE: ESSAYS. By *Harry Friedenwald*, Professor Emeritus of Ophthalmology, University of Maryland. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University, First Series: Monographs, Volumes II and III.] Volumes I and II. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. xxiv, 390; ix, 391-817. \$7.50.)

THIS scholarly collection of studies consists of forty-nine essays, thirty-seven of which have been published previously at intervals since 1917. With this edition the older essays have been brought up to date and integrated with new material that constitutes a fourth of the whole work.

As pointed out in the interesting preface by Henry E. Sigerist, Dr. Friedenwald began his career as an ophthalmologist under Julius Hirschberg, chief of the Berlin clinic, whose nine-volume *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* the young neophyte was later to characterize as "not only the most comprehensive and detailed history of ophthalmology" but as "unequalled in any other field of medical history." Something of the latter's encyclopedic character appears in Friedenwald's two volumes, but he modestly states that he desires to prepare what may be regarded as "only an introduction" to a comprehensive history of the relation of the Jews to medicine.

The essays may be grouped under six headings: The practice of medicine among the Jews; ancient and medieval Jewish physicians; Jews and the early universities; biographical sketches (chiefly from the 15th to 17th centuries); Jewish hospitals, diseases of the Jews, ophthalmological notes of Jewish interest; and chronicles covering the history of Jewish physicians in Italy, Spain, Portugal and southeastern France. As may be inferred from the last heading, Dr. Frieden-

wald deals chiefly with the physicians of Sephardic origin, although he does not say so. One may well raise the question as to whether conditions in northern Europe during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance would have permitted the development of a comparable group of physicians among the Ashkenazim.

Apparently, in the southern countries, particularly in Italy, there was a continuous line of Jewish medical practitioners who in spite of successive prohibitory decrees (beginning with that of the Oecumenical Council of 692) continued to minister to indigent Christians, to monks, popes, and princes. This popularity of Jewish physicians has been attributed not only to their scientific thoroughness and devotion but also to the scarcity of able Christian physicians, witness the reservations made at church councils, "That it is permissible to seek treatment from a Jewish physician when there is no other physician to be had and there is *excellens aliquis medicus in Judaeis*." In reading the five chapters on Amatus (covering some of his 700 case histories), one might postulate that the methods of treatment which grew out of the Jewish concepts of hygiene might also have found favor—namely, "the caution to avoid doing harm, the preference of external treatment over internal medication, the choice of laxatives 'most like foods,' and . . . the stress upon a carefully regulated diet and a well ordered life."

Thus it happened that Jewish physicians came to enjoy special privileges, in spite of the general persecutions of the Jews by church and state, although they did not always escape confiscation of property, exile, and the auto-da-fé. Friedenwald lists over six hundred physicians of Sephardic origin, who attained eminence in their profession. Curiously enough, however, one recognizes very few in this list who made historic contributions to medical science, as the anatomist Laurentius did. Yet this was a period of great intellectual ferment. Could it have been that these distinguished practitioners remained under the authority of Arabo-Galenic learning, on the one hand, and the circumscribing influence of the Talmudic codes on the other?

In conclusion, one may say that Dr. Friedenwald has admirably fulfilled the purpose of recording "the conditions under which Jewish physicians followed their profession during the long period of the history of their people." To scholarly mastery of an extensive bibliography he has brought not only the peculiar wisdom of a lover of books but the saving grace of one who has labored patiently and kindly with his fellow man.

University of Minnesota

EDWARD A. BOYDEN

Ancient and Medieval History

THE LAW OF GRECO-ROMAN EGYPT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAPYRI, 332 B.C.-640 A.D. By *Raphael Taubenschlag*, Research Professor in Ancient Civilization, Columbia University, Professor of Roman Law, University of Cracow. (New York: Herald Square Press. 1944. Pp. xv, 488. \$12.50.)

It is now thirty-two years since Ludwig Mitteis in the *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, published by himself and Ulrick Wilcken, made the first attempt to present a systematic, and for the time fairly comprehensive, treatment of the major institutions of the law current in Egypt under Greek and Roman rule. Since that date the publication and interpretation of new papyrus documents had resulted in the accumulation of such a great quantity of juristic material that a new and more complete presentation of the subject had become not only possible but highly imperative. And when the European situation brought about a temporary slackening in papyrological research, the time for such a reappraisal seemed particularly opportune. For these reasons the work under review is particularly welcome, and it is eminently fitting that it should have come from the pen of the distinguished Polish scholar, now in residence in this country, whose previous publications in this field have marked him out as the logical person to undertake this task of systematization and interpretation.

The subject of the law of Greco-Roman Egypt is one which should arouse interest in much wider circles than those directly concerned with the problem of papyrological research or the history of legal institutions. It illuminates, in a way that is possible for no other quarter of the Mediterranean world, one very significant aspect of Greek and Roman imperialism, namely, the result of the impact of European social and legal practices supported by dominant political force upon the older culture world of the Near East.

In his opening chapter Professor Taubenschlag discusses the interrelation of the three legal systems (Egyptian, Greek, and Roman) operative in Egypt as a Ptolemaic kingdom and a Roman province, showing the sources of each and the spheres in which they obtained validity. He accepts the view that the native Egyptian law was codified by the Ptolemies, and argues for a second, partial codification by the Romans early in the second century A.D. Chapters II, III, and IV deal, respectively, with private law, penal law, and procedure and execution. In each a simple and logical arrangement has been adopted. In so far as is possible, under each topic, the author sets forth the native law, the Greek law, and then the Roman law, with the modifications introduced into each by legislation, judicial decisions, and other influences up to the close of the Byzantine epoch in Egypt. The result is that, in so far as available evidence permits, we have a clear

picture of the law actually in force in successive periods for the several elements of the population of the country.

The exposition of the law is supported by a wealth of footnotes which reveal the author's mastery of the sources of the current literature of the field and greatly enhance the usefulness of the volume. There is also a table of sources cited, as well as a subject index of English, Latin, and Greek terms. Deservedly, this book takes its place among those indispensable for students of the Greco-Roman period of Egyptian history. The appearance of the author's promised volume on the constitutional and administrative law of the same period will be eagerly awaited.

University of Michigan

A. E. R. BOAK

AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE OF REAL PROPERTY IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD. By *Angelo Segrè*, Professor of Economic History, University of Trieste. (New York: Paul Bassiner, Publisher, 1268 Amsterdam Ave. 1943. Pp. 143. \$1.50.)

PROFESSOR Segrè is a distinguished Italian jurist, formerly professor of economic history in the University of Trieste, Italy. He was one of the victims of the Fascist regime and has for some time resided in New York. This brief study is the first he has prepared in English in a field in which his achievements in his native language have been of great and acknowledged merit.

The external form is unfortunate. The publisher is evidently a private person who has issued this study in mimeographed form. It will consequently scarcely rank as a book that can be permanently accessioned in most libraries.

The title chosen is somewhat inaccurate. The book does not really deal with the "nature of real property in the classical world." It is rather a closely argued presentation of a special thesis about the effect of a *katagraphe* in the law we find in the Greco-Egyptian papyri. It is true that in part III, section 10, the author discusses Bonfante's theory of the way in which the Roman and Greek notions of unqualified ownership were gradually modified until ownership became under the later absolute monarchy little more than a precarious tenure. But the limits of Professor Segrè's essay prevent anything like a full discussion of the problem and scholars interested in the field will be disappointed if they expect anything more than a presentation of some very technical and special questions in the law of Roman Egypt.

The *katagraphe* is so like the deed of Anglo-American law, that if Professor Segrè were versed in that law, some of his difficulties would disappear. At the same time, the special difficulties which confront scholars in this field, to wit, the relation of this method of conveyance to those of the Roman law, those of the Egyptian native law and those commonly found in the Hellenistic world, prevent us from reaching a final conclusion until further material and more

complete analysis secure something like agreement among those who are engaged in these researches.

At the present time, this agreement is far from being attained. It is noteworthy that none of the technical terms, *katagraphe*, *ananeosis*, *synchoreisis*, and others, with which the law of the papyri operate, found any currency in the later Roman law of the East even when it had become wholly Greek in language. Whether they had an influence on the Byzantine system and through that system helped form those feudal concepts of property in land which still dominate Anglo-American law and profoundly affect even Continental law, will doubtless become clearer when the historians of this period are able to make a synthesis of the vast labors which the papyri have called forth.

There is no lack of material in English on Greek public and criminal law. The researches of Robert Bonner and George Calhoun, to name only two, have substantially increased our knowledge of this field. But there is a great dearth of studies in English on the Greek law of property. Professor Segrè's essay, revised and reprinted as it doubtless will be, is a welcome addition to available material, even for those who find themselves unable to accept all his conclusions.

University of California

MAX RADIN

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By *F. M. Stenton*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Reading. [The Oxford History of England, edited by G. N. Clark.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 748. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Stenton's work on this period is well known through his writings, which extend over almost a generation and include volumes on William the Conqueror, Norman feudalism, and the Danelaw, as well as his writing on Anglo-Saxon place names and pieces of original interpretation of the early history. The completion of this history, by an authority who himself links with the present the age of Round, Liebermann, Maitland, and Vinogradoff, in a period not rewritten in any large part in recent years, except by R. H. Hodgkin, is a major historical achievement, long awaited, which will make the newer learning on a long stretch of English history available to the student.

The writer has fulfilled brilliantly, in both his own original work and interpretation and his use of recent scholarship, the expectations which have long centered in this volume. The bibliography, as in other volumes of the Oxford history, is an outstanding and valuable feature. To realize this, one has only to note the survey of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and their related annals. The portions of the volume devoted to institutions, culture, and social life show keen insight, much learning, and often convincing detail. The account of the English church of the tenth century contains an excellent review of the restoration of monasticism, and for the eleventh discards the view of Boehmer that the history

is one of decline. The influence of early Celtic learning in England is carefully noted; that of Ireland is shown mainly upon handwriting, but otherwise is not so important as often represented. The evidence of English trade, especially with the continent from the time of King Offa, is skilfully reviewed. The *bretwaldaship* is regarded as something personal to individual kings. A marked division between the English north of the Humber and the South English is seen to appear in the earlier writings. The chronology improved by the studies of the last generation of scholars is usefully employed. The quality of the work of W. H. Stevenson is held to have a significance for standards of technique comparable with that of Haverfield. Professor Stenton would reject no charter merely because it is starred by Kemble.

In his interpretation of obscure early history the author is often at his best. He rejects hypercriticism of details in the story of the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the fifth century and holds in masterly fashion that the tradition preserved in the time of Alfred in no less than four independent versions is genuine and could not have originated under conditions of the early historic period. Moreover, he accepts the tradition which makes the Angles the most northerly of the immigrants from the continent, as also Jolliffe's view, supported by the evidence of archaeology and social and land systems, that the Jutes had been neighbors of the Franks and migrated to Britain from the mouths of the Rhine. This Frankish affiliation seems to explain the marriage of Bertha to Ethelbert of Kent and the coming of the first Christian bishop to England. The Euthiones, a Jutish people, were subjects of Frankish kings in the sixth century.

The author's view of early English society presents essential diversity from that presented by Kemble and Stubbs. The *-ingas* of the early settlements are shown by the study of place names to have been not groups of kinsmen but communities which were usually named for places, natural features, or leaders, and originally covered many families. The *maegth* was not a clan. No law text indicates that the family group was a body which owned land. The village formed the basis of social organization, the typical *ceorl* living in economic association with others of his kind. This is shown in the assessment of public burdens, especially food rents. A common field system is found in the law of King Ine, though open fields are never found in the north or the northwest, on the Welsh borders or in Devon. In early East Anglia compact blocks of land seem to have been the rule. The *fyrð* or militia service was required of *ceorls* to the last days of Anglo-Saxon rule, though Professor Stenton holds that the army was formed by *comites* and their retainers, even the housecarles usually ranking as thegns. He differs once more from recent criticism in holding that the shires of the laws of Ine were the units of local government, as later known; he accepts the tenets of Liebermann that the hundred superseded the more ancient *regio* only in the tenth century; and believes with Miss Cam that a main influence in this was the grouping of manors for the administration of the king's food rent. Moreover, he

holds that the borough court mentioned in the law of Edgar was an actual town institution. He stresses the usages of the Danelaw, and believes that accusation by senior thegns is one root of the jury in England. Evidence is assembled concerning the household organization of the preconquest kings. Even the existence of a royal treasury at Winchester is one deduction. There is no hint except in military and judicial matters that English administration was less effective than Norman. The theory of old English monarchy held by the king's clerks was that of divine right, but the *witan* kept alive the principle that the king must govern under advice.

Professor Stenton widens one's knowledge concerning the *Domesday Book* and the introduction of feudalism in England, adding a fair amount of information about the early baronial families. The king's order of 1076 or 1077, directing proceedings to compel sheriffs to restore lands taken from bishops and abbots, shows a notable measure of control. The author follows consistently his own dictum that the adjective "feudal" is not to be employed to describe any aspect of old English society. His distinction between Norman council and court in England is hard to apply, because, at least within a very few years after 1087, either word might describe a function of both forms of the king's *curia*. The term *Commune Concilium*, used rather unfortunately to designate the national assembly of the postconquest era, is of dubious authenticity, especially in view of McKechnie's correction of the text of section 14 of Magna Charta and the careful study of the question presented by Professor A. B. White as early as 1919 in this journal.

University of California

WILLIAM A. MORRIS

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES. Volume V, 1943. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1943. Pp. 333.)

IN this volume several studies are continued from Volume IV (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX, 90). J. T. Muckle's thorough list of "Greek Works Translated into Latin before 1350" is completed. I agree with his conjecture that "more works of the Greek Fathers were translated than is yet known," for I am acquainted with a thirteenth century Latin version of a fragment of Heraclitus that is preserved, it seems, only in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, of which no Latin translation is at present known (*Speculum*, XII, 346-9). Another continuation is R. J. Scollard's "List of Photographic Reproductions, etc." Finally, the edition of Oresme's *Livre du ciel et du monde* (edited by Menut and Denomy) is completed with a critical introduction which contains a shrewd estimate of Oresme's place in the history of science and a useful summary of his commentary on Aristotle's treatise. The whole work should speedily appear in book form and receive a careful review by an expert in medieval science.

As for new studies, again theology and philosophy hold the field. V. L. Kennedy stresses the uniqueness in thirteenth century literature, and gives a sum-

mary, of "The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres"—a treatise on church offices and the seven sacraments. As usual Jacques Maritain is present, this time with an article on the meaning of the *esse* and *essentia* of God, and with the hardly necessary conclusion that these concepts cannot be perfectly understood ("Sur la doctrine de l'Aséité divine"). More interesting and significant is a lengthy study of the doctrine of providence in Stoicism and Neo-Platonism by M. M. Marcia ("The Logos as a Basis for a Doctrine of Providence"). Greek influences on Islamic philosophy in the tenth century are studied by Emil L. Fackenheim ("The Conception of Substance in the Philosophy of the Ikwan as-Safa' [Brethren of Purity]"). To me one of the most interesting studies is that of I. Th. Eschmann, "A Thomistic Glossary on the Preeminence of a Common Good." Eschmann explains satisfactorily enough the meaning of the principle in Greco-Roman thought, St. Augustine, and in the *Decretum* and the glosses of the decretists (but quite briefly); and then he presents a lengthy compilation of all the passages from Thomas Aquinas which contain the principle (the meaning of the common good in Thomas's thought will be discussed in Vol. VI of *Med. Studies*). But the common good or utility in the thirteenth century cannot be understood from scholastic thought alone. Two and a half centuries before Machiavelli kings and popes were justifying, by asserting the common utility and case of necessity, wars and crusades some of which, many of the laity and clergy thought, were not for the common good.

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

LA SYRIE DU NORD À L'ÉPOQUE DES CROISADES ET LA PRINCEPAUTÉ FRANQUE D'ANTIOCHE. By *Claude Cahen*. (Paris: P. Geuthner. 1940. Pp. vii, 768.)

AMONG the many historical writings devoted to the crusades and the Latin states founded thereby, the kingdom of Jerusalem has always received much greater attention than its northern neighbors of Antioch and Edessa. The sources are more abundant and available, and the Holy City exercises an especial appeal. Claude Cahen's scholarly monograph fills this lacuna and makes Antioch probably the most exhaustively studied of any of the crusader states.

Written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Paris and completed in 1938, Cahen's book was published only in 1940, with the result that it has had no circulation in America. This review is based on the copy which was procured for the Library of Congress after the fall of France, presumably the only copy now in this country. But the book is one of such importance to historians of the crusades that attention should be called to it, so that when French publications are once more available it will receive the recognition that its excellence deserves. *La Syrie du Nord* will have a place next to Röhrich's *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* among the indispensable works on the crusader states.

The book is more than a history of the Latin states of Antioch and Edessa,

although Antioch provides its principal theme and its chronological termini. As the title indicates, it covers all of northern Syria discussing with exhaustive detail the politics of the innumerable petty Turkish states of that area. Written by an Orientalist and based largely on Arabic and Turkish texts, most of which are unfamiliar to Western historians of the crusades, the book covers the historical topography of the region (pp. 105-177) and gives a detailed critique of the sources for its history (pp. 1-104), as well as presenting a detailed history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. More interesting than the purely political chapters are those devoted to the church, the native populations and religious minorities, commerce, and the institutions of the Latin states. Cahen points out most convincingly the error of the ways of those of us who assumed that Jerusalemite laws and institutions prevailed in Antioch. He demonstrates how the close relations with the Byzantine Empire and Armenian Cilicia materially affected Antioch, and the Norman origin of the Antiochene state is responsible for the private law of the bourgeoisie in Antioch following that of Normandy and Norman Sicily.

Cahen's book is French academic scholarship at its most meticulous; it is the product of years of research both in European libraries and in Syria and Turkey; like most doctoral dissertations it is not to be recommended for light reading, but it will be a "must" to all students of the crusades. Annoying errors in typography would undoubtedly have been eliminated had the author not been in service in the French army at the time of the publication of the book.

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN L. LAMONTE

Modern European History

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD PICTURE. By *E. M. W. Tillyard*, Fellow of Jesus College and University Lecturer in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. vii, 108. \$1.75.)

PROFESSOR Tillyard's book gives an admirable summary in one hundred pages of the conception of world order held by that mythical person whom we all talk about, "the average educated Elizabethan." This view of life, expounded by theologians and taken for granted by poets, is purely medieval. The "Great Chain of Being" proceeds from God at the head, through the angels to man, and from man down through the lower orders of living creatures, animals and plants, to stones and minerals. All categories, and all things in each category, are in strict and determined order, although there was not always agreement as to what the details of this order were. The stability of the universe depended upon the observance of "degree, priority, and place":

Take but degree away, untune that string
And hark, what discord follows.

By an elaboration of this great conception, the world could be looked at as a series of intricately corresponding planes, or as a cosmic dance, which implied degree, but "degree in motion."

For the Elizabethans this concept of an ordered universe was threatened from two directions: one historical, the fall of man; and one philosophical or intellectual, the "new thought" represented by Montaigne and Machiavelli, and the "new science" represented by the speculations of Copernicus and his followers. These rebellious voices, which were to produce the scientific and theological revolution of the seventeenth century, are noted by Tillyard, but it is not part of the task to which he set himself to analyze them in detail. They are more fully treated by Theodore Spencer and by Arthur O. Lovejoy. What Mr. Tillyard does is to give a useful description of the concept as it existed in the Elizabethan age, and to show how completely the philosophy of that age was rooted in the past, in medieval philosophy, not to mention the whole Platonic tradition. He does less justice to the seeds of modern philosophy which had already sprouted and were beginning to grow in the fertile minds of Elizabethan thinkers. While the Great Chain of Being as a philosophical concept persisted down to the times of Dryden and Pope, the intellectual difficulties which were eventually to destroy it were already felt in the sixteenth century, just as the medieval conception of fixed order and degrees in civil society in England had already been doomed two centuries before by the Black Death.

Institute for Advanced Study

FRANK AYDELOTTE

THE EVERYDAY WORK OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. By S. W.

Carruthers. With a Foreword by Thos. C. Pears, jr. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Societies of America and of England. 1943. Pp. xi, 210. \$2.50.)

HOWEVER little the average member of a Protestant sect or denomination knows or cares about the origin and development of the communion to which he belongs, and however much he might be surprised at it, the energy and ability of many earnest and learned men have been engaged in the investigation of precisely these matters—and not least those of one of the most intellectual denominations, the Presbyterians. They, with others of like tastes, have produced a considerable library of historical studies of this subject, and to this has now been added the labors of Dr. Carruthers, who has taken infinite pains to describe the work and the personalities of the famous Westminster Assembly, which between 1643 and 1649 laid the foundations of that communion in the evolution of the book of discipline, or the directory for worship, the confession of faith, the form of church government and the catechism, which, in general, became the bases of the Presbyterian communion throughout the world. That story has been told before, notably in the great work of Dr. Hetherington, the contributions of Mitchell and Struthers and Reid, and in the admirable essays of Professor Warfield. To these Dr. Car-

ruthers has now added an almost week by week account of the activities of the famous assembly, which did so much to determine the future of Presbyterianism. That assembly was, in fact, the creature of the English parliament. It was an outgrowth not only of the great theological controversies which filled the seventeenth century, but almost equally of the political disturbances of the British Isles in that period. As Dr. Carruthers—like others before him—has pointed out, it was so far from being dominated by the representatives from Scotland, that there was only a handful of those representatives present and they had no decisive influence on the discussions. As he and others have also pointed out, the great assembly, so far from having exhausted the energies of the original 140 or more men appointed to attend its sessions, seldom, if ever, found a third of that number present, and, in effect, the great work which it accomplished was the product of no more than forty men, and, generally speaking, of fewer than that. It is upon the activities of this little group of men that Dr. Carruthers has directed his attention, and there is little that has escaped him of their motives, their opinions, and their activities. His work is therefore a supplement to the earlier works on the assembly, a commentary rather than a history—which it does not profess to be. It has, quite frankly, uncovered no new material. It is based, for the most part, on well-known printed sources; and it contains little, if any, new material, new points of view, or new interpretations. It is exactly what it professes to be, an account of the everyday work of the assembly. Despite all this it has been considered of enough importance to publish by the Presbyterian Historical Societies of England and America, and it takes its place without fear and without reproach in the lengthening list of publications relating to that great communion. If it does not add much if anything to our knowledge of that famous assembly, in many respects it makes clearer some of that assembly's activities, and it brings into higher relief some of its members and their doings and opinions. It is, in short, a recension of the doings of the assembly, and, approaching as it does those activities from a somewhat different point of view, makes a contribution to the most important meeting in the history of the Presbyterian church. It is, then, fitting that such a volume should appear to celebrate, as it were, the three hundredth anniversary of the assembly which did so much to establish the framework of the great communion to whose history it makes this contribution.

Harvard University

WILBUR C. ABBOTT

THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPEAN LABOR, 1918-1939. By *Adolf Sturmthal*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 389. \$3.50.)

THIS is an interesting and challenging book, primarily for the thesis developed by the author rather than for the material presented in the historical chapters.

The narrative part of the book presents, in a somewhat impressionistic way,

personalities and situations that are well selected as significant for "the tragedy of European labor." Ample space is given to the activities and failures of German Social Democracy in the Weimar days. Other chapters deal with the course of labor in Britain, France, Austria, and Sweden, the meandering policies of Communism in the postwar period, and the rise of Fascism.

It is difficult to add something essentially new to our knowledge of developments witnessed by so many and so frequently described. There are, however, many interesting details in this narrative, particularly where it deals with the acts and discussions of the Second International.

The character of the book is determined by the interpretation which its author applies to the facts he reports. His courage and his sincerity should be recognized even if his interpretation is accepted only with reservations.

To Mr. Sturmthal, the main reasons for the tragedy of European labor were inherent in labor itself. "The labor organizations across the Atlantic had too much the character of pressure groups and were not enough concerned with the fate of the community." They retained this mentality even when, at the end of the first World War, labor was called upon to form governments and to shoulder the fullness of political responsibility. The political labor movements of the period had lost whatever initial revolutionary fervor they had possessed. Instead of developing into a constructive revisionism they had become the captives of a narrow trade unionism. German Social Democracy in particular was the captive also of a Marxian fatalism or, at least, it covered its genuine lack of a constructive program with this theoretical clothing.

Harsh as these judgments are, they cannot well be refuted. Yet, as they appear isolated in the author's analysis, they burden European labor with more responsibility than it should fairly bear. The tragedy of European labor is only part of the European tragedy, and the responsibility for this broader tragedy is shared by all the social forces that dominated the European scene, by the powers of the past that clung to their feudal privileges, and by a bourgeoisie that was unwilling to accept labor as an equal partner.

The author is, of course, not blind to these broader problems. He recognizes that "whenever a balance of class forces exists, the smooth functioning of the democratic machinery depends upon the political wisdom of both sides engaged in the struggle," and he admits: "It is possible that labor would not have been strong enough to obtain a real leadership even if it had realized its task." The internal weaknesses of European labor were important for its tragic defeat, but not less important was the constellation of power in which labor tried and failed.

FRANCE REVIEWS ITS REVOLUTIONARY ORIGINS: SOCIAL POLITICS AND HISTORICAL OPINION IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC. By Paul Farmer. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 145. \$2.25.)

AFTER a century and a half, there is no scientific verdict about the French Revolution. Our increasing factual knowledge simply bolsters rival theories; these in their turn are not disinterested but dictated by political and social attitudes. Objective truth, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, belongs only to individual facts, not to the choice of facts, their organization, their interpretation. History is constantly rewritten in terms of present struggles. "Historical study can serve its purpose better for a recognition that it is an inseparable part of the life of its times."

This little book is therefore a contribution, not to the dispassionate study of the Revolution, but to "social politics and historical opinion in the Third Republic." The master of the anti-Revolutionary school, in the first two decades of the regime, was Taine. Mr. Farmer might have noted the impression made upon his sensitive and timid soul by the Commune. His vehement criticism of Carlyle, a few years before, could very well be applied to his own picture of the Jacobins. To the same school belong Louis Madelin, Augustin Cochin, Pierre Gaxotte. On the other side, Alphonse Aulard and Albert Mathiez offer the Republican interpretation: Aulard a good Radical, Mathiez a Radical-Socialist, with Robespierre as his hero. Lefebvre, Guyot, Sagnac, and Pariset, with less obvious partisanship, continued the orthodox tradition. Throughout this period, the reactionaries were the better writers, the Republicans the more thorough scholars. Jaurès injected a new element: the study of the Revolution in the light of modern socialism.

Mr. Farmer might have added that in 1939, for the sesquicentennial of the Revolution, the problem had a last flare, soon lost in the great conflagration. Edouard Herriot's interpretation was so popular and conventional as to be negligible. But Bernard Faÿ had prepared a series, *L'Ame de la Révolution*, and contributed an interesting introduction, *L'Homme mesure de l'histoire*. His committee was the intellectual General Staff of Reaction: Cardinal Baudrillart, Louis Madelin, Octave Aubry, Pierre Gaxotte, Marquis de Luppé.

A few questions: Lamartine had been a Legitimist, but when he entered the Chamber, he declared he would sit "on the ceiling," above parties (p. 14). It would be only fair to Louis Blanc to state that the National Workshops set up in 1848 were not even a caricature of his project (p. 15). The presentation of Socialist evolution (p. 55) is so condensed as to be misleading. The Reformists had their way in France—provisionally; but they were defeated at the Amsterdam Congress; the result of "Unification" was to cause a schism and drive first-class men into the Independent Socialist group. Pierre Gaxotte did "formulate a

positive alternative to the Revolution which he condemned" (p. 103) in his paradoxical and arresting *Louis XV*. In a study of this kind, literature should not be neglected. It would have been interesting to contrast, *Quatre vingt treize*, by Victor Hugo, and *Les Dieux ont soif*, by Anatole France. The suppression of Sardou's drama, *Thermidor*, was worth mentioning, if only because it elicited Clemenceau's famous words: "*La Révolution est un bloc.*" The whole subject is of burning interest: Vichy was the victory of the Taine school, the Free French are the heirs of Michelet, Giraud had to disappear because he was Yea-and-Nay. A capital study, scholarly in tone, quietly daring in thought.

Stanford University

ALBERT GUERARD

BREAD AND DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By *Alexander Gerschenkron*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 238. \$2.75.)

THE bulk of this monograph, written by a professional economist, deals with the crucial role played by one specific factor, agricultural protectionism, in the economic, social, and political developments of modern Germany. There exists already a substantial literature on the subject. The most noteworthy contributions hitherto made are those by Lotz, Sering, Brandt, and Jasny. Dr. Gerschenkron does not pretend to enter upon untrodden ground. Yet, being acquainted with an impressive body of economic and statistical source material, he has a good deal to add to what has been said before. He gives a detailed and thoroughly competent survey of the various stages in the protection of bread grains from the early 1890's to 1933, treated in close conjunction with the international fluctuations of food prices and food markets. The German solution, in contrast to the English, Danish, and Dutch adjustments to competitive conditions on the world market, ruled out the abandonment of a high-cost area in agriculture and the transition from production of agricultural staples to production of high-grade foodstuffs. The peculiarities of the German situation, largely due to the powerful influence of the Junker agrarians, are convincingly explained.

Dr. Gerschenkron is at his best when he confines himself to the analysis of functional and causal economic relationships and to a description of economic policies in operation. Unfortunately, however, he has set himself far wider and more ambitious objectives without having at his disposal either the knowledge or the tools to accomplish his task. He persistently attempts to link the historical ascendancy of wheat over rye consumption with the progress of democracy and with "democratic post-war reconstruction." To make facts fit into his touching faith in the coming "Farm-Labor Front," the author is compelled to classify rye, the major crop of the Junker economy, as a "reactionary" grain. The argument finally leads up to the thesis that a third world war can be prevented only by reversing German agricultural policy: "the keystone in the structure of peace-

ful international order." And as to the domestic developments of postwar Germany, the author predicts: "If the grain of the Junkers grows, the grain of German democracy will wither and perish from the earth."

Dr. Gerschenkron's knowledge of political and social history is distinctly spotty and, on the whole, quite shallow. This accounts for many misleading oversimplifications, fatal misunderstandings, and factual inaccuracies. Carried away by honorable emotions, he preaches a sentimental sermon in political religion, based on postulated catchwords, axiomatic platitudes, and exasperating generalizations. Throughout the book social and political terms and concepts are applied in a highly uncritical and hazardous fashion. Emotional bias plus muddled thinking is responsible for the alarming use of the word democracy and of undefined clichés such as "immature democracies," "semicomma democracies," "complete democracy," "democracy without democrats," "democratic strategy," etc. The realities behind the words hardly ever crystallize. Two fundamental things, however, do become perfectly clear. First, in time of war impartial thought is as desirable as it appears to be rare. Secondly, in our time an economist, who is dissatisfied with syllogistic exercises and eager to analyze the complex processes of a moving "political economy," is simply anachronistic unless he is also a well-rounded historian and political scientist.

Dr. Gerschenkron has overshot his mark and may have defeated his purpose. Nevertheless, if disentangled, there is much that is sound and solid in his book.

Brooklyn College

HANS ROSENBERG

DER FUEHRER: HITLER'S RISE TO POWER. By *Konrad Heiden*. Translated by *Ralph Manheim*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1944. Pp. viii, 788. \$3.00.)

THIS book is a thoroughly revised edition of the first volume of the biography of Hitler published by the author in German (Zurich) in 1936 and appearing the same year in English translation. It was partly built upon his *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bis Herbst 1933*, published in German in 1934, in English translation (*A History of National Socialism*) the following year. The first volume of the Hitler biography carries the story down to the blood purge of 1934. The second volume, published in German in the spring of 1937, presents the history of Hitler's chancellorship until the beginning of that year. It appeared in English translation in 1939 under the title *One Man against Europe*.

It is worthwhile to trace the sequence of the different editions in order to define the place of the latest work and, also, to demonstrate the author's constant occupation with the subject. Indeed, it may be truthfully affirmed that Mr. Heiden is the best-informed man about the history of Hitler and National Socialism. He has observed and studied the movement and its leader for more than twenty years. He has gathered material from the inside, from confidences

of leading Nazis, as well as from public documents and acts. In each new publication from his hands new material and new research are added. One may question certain aspects of his judgment and his psychology, but no objection can be made to the careful treatment and statement of facts; the volume now before us is a veritable gold mine for the study of Hitler and his political history up to the summer of 1934.

The most interesting new material utilized in this volume is the collection of Hitler's speeches from the period preceding his rise to power, speeches to a large extent missing in the collection published in English in 1941 under the title *My New Order*. By comparing the different prints Mr. Heiden is able to point out how Hitler repeatedly changed the texts of these early speeches in order to adjust them to new situations. This fact offers an interesting illustration of Hitler's methods of propaganda, his completely unprincipled attitude towards ideas and truth, his determination to conquer the minds of the audience of the moment. It helps, also, to confirm the author's general view of Hitler as, above all, a propagandist, and a man to whom propaganda is the very breath of life.

The aim of the book and the constant preoccupation of the author, amidst the abundance of minute facts, is to explain the psychology of Hitler, and the author is eminently able to illuminate this study by the highly interesting way in which he presents his facts. It is remarkable that Mr. Heiden has abandoned and even explicitly discards (p. 378) his earlier conception of Hitler as a "split personality." In the course of his studies he has reached a more complete understanding of the workings of Hitler's soul, and though he presents Hitler as a man who, as it were, steadily went beyond himself in acting up to greatness, he sees in this quality a natural expression of the essence of Fuehrer mentality. The author has also abandoned his former conception of Hitler's ambition as one fundamentally directed towards the winning of recognition; he has learned and understood that what Hitler wanted was real power (p. 257). Yet he has preserved something of his first idea that "Hitler's whole life was a perpetual unhappy love of the good bourgeois society"; therefore he may transfer to Hitler the aspiration of Hess for "a carefree private life" (p. 99).

The author is fond of paradoxes—they give life and excitement to his work—and he bases his explanation of the psychology of Hitler upon one great paradox—that the Fuehrer himself is a "nothing," a nonentity, a "depersonalized soul," and that he becomes a power only by identifying himself with the mass, by giving words to the aspirations of the mass. This conception of Hitler is carried through with great consistency but is necessarily often indirectly contradicted by the author himself when, repeatedly, he has to acknowledge the independent political perspicacity manifested by Hitler in many situations. This trait, the infallible ability to foresee the reactions of his partners and adversaries to his words and acts, is the true sign of a real politician. We have to recognize this kind of greatness in Hitler as long as he remained within the limits of the German world. When he

had to reckon with the reactions of foreign nations, he proved completely lacking in the understanding and the foresight that were the greatness of Bismarck; he erred hopelessly in his presumptions regarding the British, the Norwegians, the Russians, the Americans. Perhaps the author might have given a more complete picture of Hitler's character if he had also considered his foreign policies.

In spite of a brilliant presentation the picture given in this book does not entirely satisfy. The detailed study of Hitler's youth seems, in fact, to lead much further than to the statement that he manifested thus early the chief characteristics of his later life. It leads rather to the conclusion formulated in that remarkable novel about the Nazi movement, *Never Call Retreat*, written by an Austrian author who calls himself Joseph Freeman: "The dictator is a man who is so humiliated in his youth that he can compensate for his early agonies only by dominating the society which has inspired him with so much envy and hatred."

Because to Mr. Heiden, Hitler is essentially the product of a mass soul, it is necessary for him to describe the movement that brought forth such a Fuehrer. It is somewhat unfortunate that in this connection he employs the word "intellectuals" to define the class that gave support and power to Hitler. Much more fortunately he speaks (with capitals) of the Uprooted and Disinherited who formed the army of Nazism. But they were more than merely intellectuals, even in Heiden's large sense of the word. His account makes it quite clear that it was the impoverished of the bourgeois class and the unemployed of the working class who rallied around the Nazi party.

He undertakes also, in an "Interlude," to trace the whole mental background of the movement. It is curious that the responsibility for the German development towards Nazism is attributed almost exclusively to foreign influence, in particular to Napoleon, who is even made the originator of Hegelian philosophy, an idea which, I think, does an injustice to German competence.

There are other points, too, in which this book invites objection, but, in the last analysis, they are of little significance in comparison with the value of the book as a profound study of its subject, a work of absorbing interest, indispensable for all who want to know what Hitler and Nazism were.

Washington, D. C.

HALVDAN KOHT

BEHIND THE STEEL WALL: A SWEDISH JOURNALIST IN BERLIN, 1941-43. By *Arvin Fredborg*. [Literary Classics Edition] (New York: Viking Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 305. \$3.00.)

FREDBORG's book contains an account of developments inside Germany after the entry of the United States into the war and carries the story up to the summer of 1943. The chief interest attaches to the description of German reactions to the long series of defeats from Stalingrad to North Africa.

"Often," says Fredborg, "I had occasion to reflect on the fantastic tenacity that the Germans displayed; their endurance seemed only short of the miraculous." This phenomenon is explained not only by the organization of the state, the terror exercised by the Gestapo, and the docile mentality of the average German, but even more by a fear, common to most groups, of the consequences of the peace. The added strains during the last year caused, in particular, by the great bombings of the homeland, have underscored these observations. At the same time it is pointed out that beneath this wartime unity the Nazi state is slowly disintegrating. This progress finds expression in a loss of faith, general pessimism, frayed nerves, and widespread inertia. A curious fact, if true, is the high degree of wishful thinking among the supposedly realistic Nazi hierarchy as typified by its misjudgment of sentiments in the occupied areas, particularly in France.

While this report in essential respects confirms, for example, Howard Smith's *Last Train from Berlin*, it differs in approach from most reports by American correspondents. Fredborg sets himself the task to describe general developments, rather than to narrate firsthand observations. In order to achieve some sort of balance in a picture drawn from the Berlin horizon, he has to rely on rumor, incomplete and biased information, or mere speculation. As the time has not yet come when a true story of this period can be written, Fredborg's approach, rather than adding to the value of his book as a historical document, detracts from it.

When dealing with the wider aspects of the great conflict, Fredborg's views are nearsighted. With a certain accuracy in detail, there is a curious distortion in perspective. This is perhaps best illustrated in the concluding chapter containing the author's recommendations for the future. "What Europe needs today and tomorrow is an organic order that offers stability." While few will dispute so excellent a principle, some may query whether "to those who view the problem with steady eyes Germany is a historic necessity"; or whether "the victors will be forced to examine the idea of letting Germany adopt a monarchical form of Government."

Behind these and similar ideas lies the real problem of legitimacy which has occupied historians from Aristotle to Ferraro. No serious discussion of reconstruction is possible without consideration of it, but by a little more thought and a little less haste the author would have prevented misunderstandings as to his meaning in this respect. In conclusion, is it either wise or kind to suggest that the former Reich Chancellor Bruening is a man qualified to lead Germany into this new "organic order"?

Princeton, New Jersey

JOHN LINDBERG

TRIUMPH OF TREASON. By *Pierre Cot*. (Chicago: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. 1944. Pp. 432. \$3.50.)

THIS book is not a "memoir" in the traditional sense, but rather a vigorous counterattack against the Vichy thesis that the Popular Front was responsible for the French debacle of 1940. Obviously Pierre Cot is not convinced that his political career is over, and therefore he is in no mood to write a "grand justification" for his place in the history of our times. He is, however, anxious to clear his own and his party's record of the charges that have been brought against them. Pierre Cot's political career as minister of aviation and as a prominent leader on the Left eminently qualifies him to speak in defense of the policies of the Popular Front.

The central theme of the book is the Riom trial. It was only M. Cot's fortunate absence from France that prevented his joining MM. Blum, Daladier, *et al.* on the benches of the accused, and this book, in part at least, might be considered to be the brief that he would have given had he been in court. But Pierre Cot is not content merely to proclaim and to prove his innocence; almost from the first page he begins to build up a damning counteraccusation to show that the very men that engineered the Riom trial were themselves culpable to a high degree; Marshall Pétain himself heads the list of M. Cot's culprits. It is not surprising to find a left-wing Radical Socialist discovering that the men of the Right are to blame for many of France's problems, but anyone who reads the book must admit that Pierre Cot has built up a very good case to prove his point.

The Riom trial provides a perfect foil. The case against the accused practically broke down under the weight of evidence that it uncovered, and M. Cot had only to add a few economic statistics and a little military "hind-sight" to prove conclusively that the trial was a farce. Indeed, the weight of evidence that was produced clearly showed that the two things vigorously excluded from the court of Riom, namely, the policies of French governments before 1936 and the military conduct of the war after 1939, definitely deserved the attention of the court. Of course, both of these factors exonerated the Left and incriminated the Right and the Army.

In his marshaling of statistical data and other materials M. Cot shows clearly that his earlier career as a scholar and professor still stand him in good stead as a politician. He has given the soundest defense of the military policies of the Popular Front that has appeared to date. It is regrettable that Pierre Cot has not found time to paint a more detailed picture of the government of France under the Popular Front, but we should be grateful for the insight that he has given us into the problems that a Leftist minister faced in the ministry of aviation.

This book is interesting and valuable to the student of recent history as much because it is a lucid statement of the political philosophy of a Leftist Radical Socialist as because of the bits of new information that are scattered throughout

its pages. It, however, was not written for scholars alone. It is a political document intended to justify the Popular Front and to convince Americans that they should give confidence to the Left if they want a Europe in which men can live in peace. He insists that the old middle-of-the-way "moderates" are gone forever from the European scene, and that Americans must choose between nationalistic conservatives, reactionaries, and fascists on the one side, and liberal and Marxist Leftists on the other.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

REQUISITION IN FRANCE AND ITALY: THE TREATMENT OF NATIONAL PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SERVICES. By *Maurice K. Wise*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 217. \$2.75.)

THIS is a study in the field of public law. The author does not attempt to include the application of the term "requisition" to international law. Thereby he does not touch the topic which is so much alive at this moment, namely, the power of an invading army to requisition supplies or services from inhabitants. Instead, he deals with the institution as it has developed within two modern states, France and Italy, previous to 1940, in an endeavor to learn how each state created legal means of calling upon its citizens for goods and services during great emergencies. This phase of the subject is of no less importance than the international application, for the growth of the power of any state over its citizens is an issue of great moment in our time. It is related to the fundamental issues of the present war.

Some of us have looked with concern upon the growing dependence of the French state upon government by ministers with "full powers." Men of widely separate parties have exercised one degree or another of emergency power not consonant with legislative or representative government. Totalitarianism was a startling phenomenon during the last years of the Republic. The historian is likely to find in this work more interest in this political tendency than in the legal questions discussed.

Dr. Wise shows in detail how this tendency grew in French law from the early days of the Third Republic, which were times of great danger and uncertainty, to the still more critical years following the rise of Fascism and Communism in our own time. The basic law of 1877 gave the requisitory power to military authorities in France to enable them to meet military needs; but by the modifications of 1915, 1917, 1935, 1936, and 1938 civil authorities were allowed to use this power for such civil needs as the increase of production of critically needed materials or for the breakup of a labor strike. The author says that from 1936 to 1938 "there was . . . a perfectly valid basis for the exercise of the requisitory power, but that does not eliminate . . . the suspicion that strike-breaking and not national defense was the end in view" (p. 22).

When the author turns to the study of the power of requisition in Italy under the liberal monarchy, he finds it so inadequately regulated for both its military and its civil uses as to be uninstrusive; but just prior to 1922, and also under the Fascist regime, it has been so fully developed and used as to be truly a manifestation of dictatorship. "Whereas it was originally intended that the requisitioning authority should give ample and concrete evidence of the urgent need for the sacrificing of private property, as is shown by the requirements in article 7 of a *motivated* decree, the tribunals increasingly came to presume the government action valid and to require that the individual prove it to be 'in an open and evident way, absolutely unjustified and arbitrary' before it could be declared null" (p. 102).

The study is carefully made, fully documented, well organized, and well written. Historians of twentieth century Europe will use it with confidence.

Claremont Colleges

W. HENRY COOKE

USSR: THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Walter Duranty*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1944. Pp. 293. \$3.00.)

THE confusion of thought in the United States about Russia, resulting from twenty-five years of anti-Russian propaganda, is difficult to dispel. After two and a half years of fighting the common foe we still approach every question concerning the USSR with strong, often violent emotions, and refuse to accept even established facts. Mr. Duranty's latest book is obviously designed to break down this either outspoken or implied antagonism.

Mr. Duranty tells an absorbing story of Russia of the past quarter century. Yet for one familiar with Russian history it is obvious that Mr. Duranty's understanding of Russia before 1917 is practically nonexistent. It is impossible, for example, to admit the generalization that ten and a half centuries of national existence preceding the Revolution left the Russian people in as low a cultural and political status as Mr. Duranty's introductory chapters would lead us to believe. It would be difficult, without detracting from Lenin's role in the success of the Revolution, to concede that his influence was so powerful and so lasting as to be responsible for everything that has occurred in Russia. Mr. Duranty makes it seem that Lenin's influence was not only all pervasive but also all good. It is obvious to any student of the Revolution that Lenin, too, made mistakes, and that in the creation of the USSR not all of his comrades were mere yes-men. But Mr. Duranty has made into virtues Lenin's own blunders that ultimately forced him to adopt the New Economic Policy. That "temporary retreat" was an admission of the defeat of militant Communism which Lenin should have been able to prevent had he comprehended the situation.

Throughout the book there is a glossing over, even deliberate omission, of unpleasant features of the Communist regime that would not be permissible in a

completely unbiased account. Without disputing the sagacity of the five-year plans, especially the collectivization of agriculture, one can hardly excuse the unnecessary cruelty and stupidity so prevalent in dealing with the peasants. Mr. Duranty gives a very interesting interpretation of causes for the hunger of 1932. Very likely it *was* due to stripping the peasants of seed grain for the army, yet it is well known that at the same time, in the breadbasket of Russia, there was a stubborn resistance to collectivization that resulted in decimating stock and lowering food production.

Primarily this is the story of Lenin, whom Mr. Duranty greatly admires, of his lieutenants and their struggle among themselves, and the final triumph of Stalin and the Communist party of which he is the indisputable leader. But it cannot be called a history of Soviet Russia. As a popular work dealing with so tremendous a subject, it has a number of shortcomings as well as some annoying errors, yet one must admit that Mr. Duranty's faith in the capabilities of the Russian people and their present leaders is amply justified by the events.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE W. ANDERSON

GREECE: A PANORAMA. By *Demetrius Caclamanos*. (London: Macdonald and Company. Pp. 159. 5 shillings.)

THE largest part of this book is devoted to "Greece in History," its keynote being "the continuity of the Hellenic Nation for thousands of years," despite long periods of foreign domination. The author naturally rejects the Slavonic theory of Fallmerayer, and, as Dr. Ernest Barker emphasizes in his foreword, he "does not forget that the history of the Byzantine Empire was a part of the glory of Greece." He describes it as a "great station of civilization, culture, and refinement," though Byzantine literature was rather imitative than original. The Frankish period, romantic enough to furnish material to historical novelists owing to the part played by women, is omitted from his sketch, though a section deals with the Turkish conquest, during which "the Orthodox Church became the ark in which the embers of national individuality were not only preserved, but in due course rekindled into the flames of insurrection." Byron's lasting influence in Greece, to which the reviewer can bear witness, is stressed: "He is more than a part of Greek history. He is a part of our national legend." To another Englishman, Lord Salisbury, "the Greek nation owes an eternal gratitude for his intervention" in favor of Greece at the Berlin Congress, and an Athenian street bears his name, as Gladstone's statue stands before the university.

Coming to modern times, the author, who edited an Athenian newspaper before his thirty years in the diplomatic service, seventeen as minister in London, can speak from personal acquaintance of the leading figures. As a youth in his birthplace, Nauplia, the first capital of Otho, he knew "Madame Kalliope" Papalexopoulou, who had danced with Otho when he landed there and lived to

conspire against him. The two great statesmen of modern Hellas, Trikoupes and Venizelos, are warmly praised; but he reminds us that, like Aristides, they both died in exile. The reviewer saw the former control a panic-stricken crowd during an earthquake in 1894 *majestate manus*; two years later he died in a Riviera hotel, the modern form of ostracism. Caclamanos took part in the Lausanne Conference of 1922, when the convention for the exchange of populations was negotiated, with the Turks—an exchange which has altered the face of Greece, converted Macedonian Greece into a fertile land, and removed causes of difference between the two ancient enemies. He carefully abstains from stirring up smoldering party hatreds at a time when unity is essential, but is not sanguine about "Balkan Union" in the near future. He traces its history from Rhigas, but omits Papanastasiou, its chief modern supporter. Altogether a useful summary.

Durban, South Africa

WILLIAM MILLER

Far Eastern History

THE MAKING OF MODERN CHINA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Owen* and *Eleanor Lattimore*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1944. Pp. 212. \$2.50.)

THIS book fulfills with rare fidelity what is promised in the title. The authors interpret China, not in the plausible language of present-day events and personalities, but in terms of her geographic setting and her well-authenticated history. One is impressed by the simplicity and directness of the approach, for, as stated in the preface, the authors make "no fuss about things like dates and names." What are stressed are the broad basic principles—many of them vaguely known but here put into new contexts from which they often gain surprisingly fresh significance. The deftness with which the authors skim over vast reaches of space and time, picking out salient features here and there to illuminate and give point to a line of thought, would be dangerous were it not so skillfully done.

As in his other writings on China, Mr. Lattimore lays stress on what he calls "the balance of power between China and the 'barbarians' of the outlying regions." By this method he can explain—for those who accept the approach—many hitherto unanalyzed aspects of Chinese history. Her power to absorb her nomad conquerors, for example, he attributes to the policy of encouraging them to become sedentary, and thus inducing them to relinquish the true source of their power—namely, their mobility.

In their analysis of China's social structure the authors pay due attention to all types of men and occupations without overstressing—as so many writers have done—the significance of a particular social class and then interpreting the whole of Chinese society in terms of that class. The farmer, the merchant, the official,

and the scholar is each given his place. The authors find in the system of land tenure a partial explanation of the power of the official classes, and in their abuse of this power one reason for the recurrent rebellions which afflicted the country. Especially satisfying is their analysis of the "war-lord period" after 1914, and the march of events, political and economic, which led to the clash with Japan in 1931, of which the present war is only a continuation.

In a book so replete with suggestive generalizations it is surprising to find so few errors either of fact or overstatement. It is not entirely correct, however, to say that "China's most famous novel of sophisticated society, 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,' was written by a Manchu" (p. 108). True, the family of this novelist, Ts'ao Chan (d. 1763), was incorporated in a Manchu Banner, but he had a Chinese name and his not too distant ancestors were indisputably Chinese. Some readers will feel that in stressing the geographic and political factors too little attention is given to the lines of thought—Confucian and Taoist—which make Chinese social relations what they are, and certainly color their political activities. In a book written by a Chinese these factors would have had a larger place.

For the authors of this book, "China will become the symbol of Asiatic freedom under the democratic system." This prophecy is justified by China's geographical location, by the number and abilities of her people, and by their long practice of social democracy.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

American History

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Carl Brent Swisher*, Thomas P. Stran Professor of Political Science, the Johns Hopkins University. Under the editorship of Edward McChesney Sait, Pomona College. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1943. Pp. xii, 1079. \$6.00.)

THE story of constitutional development may be approached from several angles. Dr. Swisher has chosen in this massive volume of serious import to focus his attention less on the development of the constitutional instrument and the interpretive process to which it is nuclear than on the end results of that process. He makes the unfolding availability of public power for social purposes his predominant test of constitutional development throughout the greater part of his volume. His outlook, except in his final chapter, is functional rather than institutional.

The work falls, with some overlapping due to the topical method of treatment which is usually followed, into two parts. The first fifteen chapters (pp. 7-348) carry us through Reconstruction and its sequelae, the emergence of the

Solid South and the still persistent problem of Negro suffrage. The remaining twenty-four chapters (pp. 349-1035) bring the story down through the early months of our formal entrance into the current war. Despite an excellent chapter on the Civil War and a useful one on the constitutional phases of corporation law as it had developed prior to that event, the average page value of the book would have benefited from the omission of the first part. For readers familiar with the general subject it retravels well-known territory without adding much to their knowledge of it, while for the novice the treatment is at times too sketchy to furnish an adequate understanding of the problem being dealt with, or indeed just why there is a problem.

The contribution of the volume lies, therefore, in its systematic treatment of the period since about 1887, the period in which the issue of Nation *versus* State becomes subordinate to, when it is not a mere screen for, the ever more exigent problem of Government *versus* Capital. But even this part may, as regards freshness and fullness of treatment, be again divided into two parts, the second of which is devoted mainly to an account of the ideological background of the New Deal, the legislative reforms in which it is embodied, and the litigation to which this legislation gave rise. This portion of the volume is excellent both for matter and manner. At the same time, I feel bound to say that the role which the Constitution plays in it is a rather retiring one. Hamlet is off stage much of the time. The moral is, I suppose, that constitutional *development* has today flattened out into a process of constitutional *simplification*, a fact of which his concluding chapter shows Professor Swisher to be well aware. (See also his introduction, p. 4.)

Turning to more detailed criticism, ordinarily Professor Swisher writes with exemplary care and accuracy and declines to commit himself without the backing of substantial reasons. But in a volume of this amplitude, containing scores of statements of fact and dozens of those judgments which hover between the realms of fact and opinion, it is practically inevitable that some things should be said which challenge a reviewer's sense of duty to his calling. The suggestion (p. 148)—perhaps made ironically—that Jefferson's confessed willingness to run for a third term against "a monarchist" justified Mr. Roosevelt in his own mind in actually running against a "public utility magnate" is hardly to be taken seriously, especially since Mr. Roosevelt had undoubtedly made his decision before it was clear that the said magnate was to be his opponent. The quotation (p. 177) of Justice Holmes's dictum that "the power to tax is not the power to destroy while this Court sits" should have been accompanied with the explanation that the dictum is bunk, no tax having ever been set aside by the Court on the ground of its destructiveness; and that it is also an excellent illustration of a view of judicial power against which Holmes himself was constantly inveighing. The assertion that "only in the bank cases was his [Marshall's] task that of upholding the exercise of a positive power by Congress" (p. 179) overlooks his most important decision, that in *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, Mr. Swisher's exposition of which (pp. 188-192)

is entirely inadequate for an understanding of its significance in recent constitutional interpretation (see, e.g., 312 U. S. at 113). Mr. Swisher inclines, indeed, to sum up Marshall's contribution as "essentially laissez faire in character." "There is little to indicate," he says, that Marshall "would have favored the enactment and enforcement of federal laws for the regulation of private enterprise" (p. 179). Equally, there is little to indicate the contrary, except the fact noted further along (p. 272) that "the country was steeped in the laissez faire ideas of Adam Smith, which were well adapted to the internal economy of a country largely agricultural, with industrial enterprise operating in isolated units and on a small scale." But at any rate, this is far better than Parrington's egregious attempt to discredit Marshall's performance because, forsooth, it did not reflect a mind which had been illumined by the gospel according to St. Marx. Reference is made (p. 197) to Justice Barbour's exploit in loading his "opinion of the court" in *New York vs. Miln* (11 Pet. 102; 1837) with doctrine to which his brethren had not assented, but his most important interpolation, one which was the literary source of Justice Roberts' misadventure nearly a century later in *United States vs. Butler*, is not mentioned (Cf. 5 How. at 544-5; 291 U. S. at 523-4; and 297 U. S. at 68).

The characterization of Justice McLean (p. 198) as a "nationalist" is inaccurate. McLean was a thoroughgoing dualist and regarded state and national powers as mutually limiting powers, "both being sovereign" (7 How. at 399). The statement that the states have been juggled into the position of governments possessing only delegated powers" (p. 201) is more confusing than instructive, and the trend it alludes to began under the state constitutions, not the Federal. The sweeping assertion (p. 262) that "no President exerted powerful leadership in Congress," that is, prior to the Civil War, overlooks the conspicuous contrary case of Jefferson (see Norman Small, *Some Presidential Interpretations*, etc., pp. 165-7.) The act of March 3, 1863, did not unambiguously "authorize" the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, but declared that "the President is authorized," etc., thus skirting the constitutional issue. The principal significance of the holding in the Prize Cases, their attribution to the President of power to reduce all the inhabitants of a region in insurrection to the status of enemies of the United States, and thereby put them out of the protection of the Constitution, is not indicated (pp. 297-8); and by the same token the constitutional significance of the Emancipation Proclamation is exaggerated (p. 302). Referring to *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, Mr. Swisher remarks: "The division between the two groups of justices was not so much a division as to the meaning of the language of the Constitution as it was a division based upon conflicting economic ideas" (p. 359). The suggested antithesis is a false one. In terms of "constitutional development" the difference was one of constitutional interpretation, whatever the reasons which account for the positions of the various justices. The effect of Conkling's contention in the San Mateo case (pp. 404-5) that "persons" in the sense of the Fourteenth Amendment included corporations was first reflected, not in the Santa

Clara case (118 U. S. 394), but in *Missouri Pacific Railway Company vs. Humes* (115 U. S. 512). The decision in the famous Sugar Trust case of 1895 Mr. Swisher pronounces "not illogical" (p. 430), but the extracts which he quotes from Chief Justice Fuller's opinion with respect to the sale and disposition of the products of a manufactory seem to be reconcilable only by some pretty arbitrary reasoning, in which in fact other parts of the opinion do indulge. It is putting it a bit strongly (p. 451) to say that Mr. Hughes in his book on *The Supreme Court* "let it be known that Justice Shiras was not" the justice who changed his vote in the Pollock case, although undoubtedly the weight of the evidence, as well as the tradition of the Court, points to Gray as the culprit (see the reviewer's *Court Over Constitution*, pp. 194-201). The opinion presented by Justice Harlan in the Northern Securities case was not a "majority opinion" (p. 508); he spoke for only himself and three others. It is also erroneous to state (p. 543) that in the Standard Oil case "The Court had merely adopted common law terminology." On the contrary, the Court there struck out the important word "conspiracy" in its common law sense from the Anti-Trust Act as regards the act's application to capitalistic combinations, although not as to its application to labor combinations. Woodrow Wilson did not, in his early work on *Congressional Government*, deplore "the growth of congressional despotism and the gradual eclipse of the Presidency" (p. 567). He thought he was there making a coldly factual presentation which might lead to the establishment of something akin to the cabinet system, and his *Constitutional Government*, written nearly a quarter of a century later, proceeded from a very different point of view which was suggested to him by his reading of Henry Jones Ford's *Rise and Growth of American Politics* and his own observation of the first Roosevelt's two administrations. Precisely speaking, the Senate does not *ratify* treaties (*cf.* p. 688), but *consents* to them—when it does consent. The President does the ratifying. The explanation which Mr. Swisher gives (p. 925) of the fiasco in one of the Hot Oil cases (293 U. S. 388), which was based on a provision of the Petroleum Code that had been eliminated by executive order, is erroneous. The correct explanation is given in the chief justice's opinion (293 U. S. at 410, 412).

The exposition given of the important Morgan cases (pp. 982-8) is good as far as it goes, but the probable significance of the Court's badly camouflaged defeat in them for the future of administrative law is insufficiently indicated. A few slips in diction ought to be corrected if opportunity offers: the use of "comprised" for "composed" (p. 627), the use of "erroneous," with reference to the Court, instead of "in error" (p. 405); the use of "promoting" instead of "provoking" or "arousing," in connection with "ill-will" (p. 801).

Professor Swisher's final chapter is among his most interesting and challenging. Turning aside from the New Deal reforms, of which he obviously approves, and from our participation in the current war, he faces squarely the question of their price in terms of constitutional structure; nor is the answer which he returns

to this question likely to comfort those nostalgic souls who would like to "go home again." Perhaps, indeed, he is rather too skeptical of the possibility of arresting the continued absorption of the remainder of the Constitution into the opening clause of Article II. What he has to say about the demise of the anti-third term tradition (p. 1023) and about the wartime relations of President and Congress (p. 1011) suggests as much, as does also his emphasis on "a high quality of governmental personnel" (p. 1028). What he seems to be saying, in short, is that institutions do not greatly count, if you only have the right people working them. The Constitution of 1787 sprang from a different idea, and one which, in the opinion of the reviewer, is still valid.

Princeton University

EDWARD S. CORWIN

THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM: THE FIRST TWO HUNDRED YEARS. By *Herbert M. Morais*. (New York: International Publishers. 1944. Pp. 320. \$2.75.)

In his book Mr. Morais has attempted to do something which is worthwhile. That is to bring to the general reader the story of the struggle for American freedom. It embraces only the period 1607 to 1801 and covers only the high spots of that time. In his preface the author states his purpose as three-fold: "to relate the salient political, social, and cultural facts of American history to material forces at play . . . to give the reader an understanding of how democracy was built in this country, of the battles, often bloody, that were fought on its behalf . . . to show how the struggle for freedom in America was connected with that in Europe."

Generally speaking, the book follows this plan. Unfortunately, however, the treatment is not always interesting and at the end becomes definitely confusing. While it is very nearly impossible even for the professional historian to assume a purely unbiased attitude, Mr. Morais leans so heavily toward the Left from time to time that the historical approach is surrendered.

The work, as is to be expected, does not produce many new facts and is a restatement of what has already been written. Neither does it give a new approach. The first part is chiefly a relation of facts, which will tend to bore the average reader for whom the book was intended. In brief it does not serve the purpose of a text nor does it make the struggle for freedom come to life.

There are occasional specific statements which are open to question. On page 216 Benedict Arnold is given the title of "blackest renegade of the Revolution." Surely, even though Arnold was a traitor some consideration should be given his patriotic activities as well. In chapter VII, dealing with the American Republic, 1783-1801, the author particularly permits his leftward point of view to bias his history. Throughout the chapter the implication is that the "Founding Fathers" were secretly and deliberately attempting to undo the great masses of the people (pp. 250-51). Again, he fails to take into account the situation at the time of the

adoption of the Constitution, on page 256 where he deals with ratification. Mr. Morais describes the men who sat in the Convention and those who advocated adoption of the Constitution as a merely self-seeking group of individuals. Similarly, Hamiltonian finance he represents as designed essentially to aid the few (p. 262), although in fact a sound credit was thereby established to benefit the nation as a whole.

Mr. Morais's treatment of the cultural development of the nation likewise becomes an unleavened compilation of facts. Two questionable points are his contention that war has a broadening effect upon the soldier and his statement that a group of brilliant French officers introduced the American people to the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, which in turn gave rise to a desire to throw off the "intellectual tutelage of England" (p. 285). It is doubtful whether the average American soldier then, any more than now, was greatly broadened intellectually by reading pamphlets around the fire or by seeing the country on the march. So far as French philosophy is concerned, its influence had certainly been felt in America before the advent of the French officers in the Revolution.

All in all Mr. Morais's book will not be especially stimulating to the general reader for whom it was intended. Somehow it falls short of portraying the vivid colorful nature of the American nation's beginning.

Pasadena Junior College

JAMES B. GIBSON

INDIANS ABROAD, 1493-1938. By *Carolyn Thomas Foreman*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1943. Pp. xxiii, 248. \$3.00.)

COLUMBUS' discovery had principal issue in the descent of Europeans upon America. Not so much is made of it, but he also discovered the Old World to the natives of America and made it possible for them to go abroad. Such travels began immediately with the return sailing of the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, when nine kidnapped Ciguayans were taken along as exhibits of the novelty and value of the lands discovered. They have continued to the present, when the second World War finds thousands of tribesmen in uniform, serving as Americans on their nation's far-flung battlefronts. In Indian history these travels are perhaps incidental, yet Mrs. Foreman's 450-year survey casts much light upon the culture patterns of the red men as contrasted to those of the Europeans.

After the initial experiments in enslavement, most of those who were taken abroad during the colonial period were as delegations to be impressed with the might of the "mother country" and the majesty of the monarch. These early visitors were much gaped at—Pocahontas on this account was reluctant to attend St. Paul's. Many of their impressions were unfavorable—Pocahontas, again, had her feet bruised by London's cobblestones and was nauseated by the stench of the gutters. Most of these early visitors, however, had audiences with kings and

queens, were feted by the nobility, had their portraits done by the best artists, and in other respects were made much of. By the nineteenth century the auspices had become less favorable. The fashion then arose of taking Indians across the Atlantic purely for exhibition purposes, on the stage, at ale houses, or in sideshows. Such Indians were usually cruelly exploited and oftentimes were abandoned by unprincipled promoters. The exhibition of Indians reached its peak in the Wild West shows, and under Buffalo Bill, Pawnee Bill, and Colonel Joe Miller the Indians had more scrupulous attention.

A few of the individuals whose tours are recorded by Mrs. Foreman may be regarded as simply American. Such, for example, were Will Rogers, Private Joseph Oklahombi, a hero in World War I, and the Reverend Samson Occom, who had a hand in establishing Dartmouth College. Many more were distinctively Indian. From them frequently came an analysis of European society as penetrating as any European traveler offered of the United States. The book also abounds in amusing incident. Witness the Iowa tribesman, as a guest of Disraeli, seating himself on the bathroom floor to contemplate an "ingenious contrivance, which he would like to see adopted in his own country"; or the Indians in Paris in 1845 tabulating the number of women promenading with big dogs, with one, two, or three little dogs, carrying little dogs, and with little dogs in carriages. Or consider Buffalo Bill's Indians standing before a statue of Columbus. Remarked their manager: "There stands our advance agent, four hundred years ahead of us"; to which one of the braves replied, "It was a damned bad [day] for us when he discovered America."

Mrs. Foreman omits a few famous Indians abroad, such as Jim Thorpe; her account is fragmentary on some others, such as the Creek-Cherokee delegation headed by William Augustus Bowles. She achieves, however, an excellent overall view of a subject, many of whose parts are familiar but whose sum is new.

University of California at Los Angeles

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

THE PURITAN FAMILY: ESSAYS ON RELIGION AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND. By *Edmund S. Morgan*. (Boston: published by the Trustees of the Public Library. 1944. Pp. 118. Half-cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.)

THIS small volume is the outcome, as the author states, of a Ph.D. thesis but it has none of the all too usual characteristics of that type of literature. It is a fine work of scholarship, not at all pedantic or immature, and is well written and interesting. The critical "apparatus" is all there although Dr. Morgan, young as I presume he is, has a style and knows how to write a book and not just do spade work.

The six chapters deal with various aspects of Puritan domestic relations, such as love and marriage, parenthood, the education of children, dealings with servants, and the family as a unit in the general social structure. The book is

based on wide research among printed and manuscript sources, largely in the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library but also elsewhere.

On the whole the author's attitude toward the Puritans is *humanly* sympathetic but also, as a happy change from the filiopietism of so many New England writers, is *humanely* unbiased. In reading his pages one feels that here is the Puritan in his domestic life, neither damned nor sainted, but just as he probably was. In the final chapter Dr. Morgan explains why in his opinion Puritanism failed, and was bound to fail, to establish and maintain the political state at which the early founders had aimed. His views appear to me to be convincing.

Scattered through the volume are many fresh facts, or at least facts so arranged and stressed as to give new impressions to even one who like myself soaked himself in New England history for many years. As an example I might mention page 37 and following, where attention is called to the custom of exchanging children between Puritan households and the reasons the author suggests for the practice. He runs back to the apprenticeship of the Middle Ages but he could go farther afield, and I suggest he or his readers compare page 5 and following of the late Bronislaw Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages*. By noting this rather odd cross reference I am not taking a slap at the Puritans, for I really think that a comparison of the two passages might indicate that the instincts of both the Puritans and the Trobriand Islanders stemmed from something deeper in human nature than may appear.

So far as my knowledge carries me, the book seems to be extremely accurate and unusually devoid of slips. It strikes me as a very fine job, with the rainbow of hope of a lot of good work from the author in the future.

Southport, Connecticut

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

WILLIAM PENN, 1644-1718: A TERCENTENARY ESTIMATE. By *William Wister Comfort*, President Emeritus of Haverford College. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. 185. \$2.00.)

WILLIAM Penn is a very difficult man to appraise. No doubt he has been overpraised by some. Criticisms of him from Macaulay to more recent times have often been unjust. One difficulty is that he belonged to two worlds. That is geographically true in the sense that, although more than any other individual he stamped himself upon an American colony, he "remained an Englishman," very self-conscious of his English rights and responsibilities and forced by circumstances to be an absentee proprietor to Pennsylvania for all except two short sojourns in his province.

President Comfort's estimate of Penn occupies a brief final chapter; but he provides the reader with materials for an insight into Penn's prismatic personality by a series of prior chapters of decreasing length, dealing with the life of Penn, his relation to Quakerism, his service to religious toleration, his career as a founder

of colonies and a theorist on government, and his literary output. About Penn's life there are no new facts added. The older biographies would at this point have needed no tercentenary successor. In other matters President Comfort speaks with special qualifications. As a scholar of literature he can estimate the quality of Penn's writings, some of them too controversial to be included among *belles lettres* but none of them without some of the formal prose finish which, like the best writers of his time, Penn affected and all of them sharing some of the epigrammatic skill and ability to turn a phrase which puts Penn's *Fruits of Solitude* and perhaps *No Cross No Crown* among the English classics.

As a Quaker himself Dr. Comfort is able historically and temperamentally to enter into the feeling of the man of the world who turned Quaker at the age of twenty-three. Yet he can also be objective. He believes that the effect of Penn's Quakerism on his whole career is a key to much better understanding of the contradictory-looking aspects of his character than most biographers have attained. Penn attempted to implement within the limitations forced upon him the Quaker ideals of democracy, religious freedom, kindliness, and pacifism. The book is no apologia for either Penn or Quakerism. The author has not however concealed a presumption in favor of certain causes for which Penn stands; and the most jaundiced non-Quaker critic is not likely to quarrel with them. Two of those causes are still very much with us—religious toleration and peace. On these President Comfort has not said the last word, nor can Penn's position and experience be applied today without a good understanding of his times and of ours, which makes the difference between them clear. The validity of Penn's pacifism is if anything understated. That is probably well, as is also the frank acknowledgment of unquestionable defects of personal character—defects growing out of generous virtues—namely, Penn's poor judgment in his choice of men to trust, and his own unthrifty financial policies. Penn would no doubt be happy to realize that the penalties for these faults fell upon himself rather than upon other victims. Recent complaints of his autocratic attitude to the popular assembly must be somewhat discounted when taken in connection with the standards of colonial policy generally and with the actual trend in his own constitutions.

The book is well written. Much of it is freshly and happily expressed. The fastidious scholar who is annoyed to note two errors in the first four sentences need not be unduly discouraged about reading further. The score for accuracy throughout the volume runs much higher than that. Real skill has been required to embody in so short a volume so much of fact and comment and particularly so much well-chosen quotation from William Penn himself.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

HENRY J. CADBURY

ISRAEL PEMBERTON, KING OF THE QUAHERS. By *Theodore Thayer*. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1943. Pp. v, 260. \$2.50.)

THIS careful biographical monograph gives Pennsylvania's Quaker "king" of the middle eighteenth century the attention which has long been his due. Here is Israel Pemberton (1715-1779) as merchant, politician, friend of the Indians, Quaker leader, philanthropist, and proponent of peace. This Israel Pemberton, son of Israel, the merchant, and grandson of Phineas, one of the colony's Quaker founders, was born to lead. Energetic, conscientious, gifted, and shrewd, he typified the practical, political side of Quakerism in all its strength and weakness. Economic success as merchant-shipper-trader came early to Pemberton, but did not satisfy him for long, and from about 1750 to the Revolution he devoted most of his energy to trying to maintain Quaker principles in Pennsylvania. He led the Friends in and out of the Assembly in their opposition to the aggressive Indian policy of the proprietors and the frontiersmen, hoping to keep peace with the Indians and to preserve the liberties as well as the power with which William Penn had endowed the first generation of Pennsylvania Friends. The effort failed, as every student of Pennsylvania history knows. But Pemberton's bold attempt, played for high stakes against all and sundry—the Presbyterians of the west, Franklin and the so-called Quaker party, the Penns and their governors, and even the Crown itself—is here told for the first time in the rich detail which the great collection of Pemberton Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania makes possible.

It is this story of the desperate efforts of Israel Pemberton and his Quaker and Pennsylvania-German followers to prevent the Indian wars, and to stop them after they began in 1755, which the author tells most completely, if sometimes confusingly. He also describes Pemberton's part in founding the Pennsylvania Hospital, and in promoting, with Franklin and other public-spirited Philadelphians, philanthropic enterprises such as schools, insurance companies, organized poor relief, and the abolition of slavery. The story ends with Pemberton's reluctant withdrawal, in the late 1760's, from the struggle against England when it moved into the violent stage, and his retreat, together with all but the hot-bloods of Quakerism, into that "insipid neutrality" which John Adams so cordially detested in the Pennsylvania Friends. Their reward was pillaging and abuse from the English, and, for Pemberton and other prominent Friends, persecution and exile to Virginia by the Revolutionary authorities. The exile ended Pemberton's career, for sickness and death overtook him soon after his return to Philadelphia in 1769.

This study of his public life is strikingly impartial, considering the fact that the author seems to be neither a Quaker nor a pacifist. But for the reader who wants to know the Quaker world of which Israel Pemberton was king, the older writings of Isaac Sharpless on Pennsylvania Quaker life and politics are still a necessary supplement.

An excellent bibliography is marred by a few slips such as "Drinker and Sandwich Papers" (p. 236) for what is undoubtedly "Sandwith," and "*Quakerism Notes*" (p. 237) for *Quakeriana Notes*. Consultation of S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, would have dispelled the illusion that since there was no alternative labor supply in the South, Southern Friends, unlike those of Pennsylvania, made little headway in abolishing slaveholding among their membership (p. 200). Legal difficulties did delay the process somewhat in the South, but North and South alike, the renunciation of slaveholding by the Society of Friends sprang from religious motives, and nowhere were economic or practical reasons allowed to excuse the sacrifice once Friends became clear that their religious faith demanded it of them.

Haverford College

THOMAS E. DRAKE

EAST FLORIDA AS A BRITISH PROVINCE, 1763-1784. By *Charles Loch Mowat*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 237.)

DR. Mowat has admirably filled the hiatus in the history of the British American colonies with his scholarly monograph on East Florida as a British province. He gleaned from the dozen libraries of the United States that possessed source materials. Here we can only indicate the valuable results. The intrusions of South Carolinians and Georgians into Spanish Florida and the hostilities across the border between 1700 and 1756 impelled Britain, having conquered Havana, to exchange it for Florida in the peace of 1763.

The chapters of this book naturally divide into a group of five relating "to the years of peace, 1763-1774," and of the remaining four relating "to the years of the Revolution, 1774-1784."

The earlier part tells of the arrival of British troops from Havana; of Major Ogilvie's regime of twelve months and the departure of Governor Feliu and the Spaniards; of Governor Grant's judicious administration for almost seven years; and of Lieutenant Governor Moultrie's troubled tenure of about two years and eight months. The conciliatory and constructive work of the former and the contentious blundering of the latter are told in detail and fully documented.

On the eve of the Revolution came a new governor, Patrick Tonyn, who adopted Moultrie's personal foes as his own and saw in them an "inflamed faction" sympathetic with the Revolutionists. This did not prevent leading officers of the garrison from allying themselves with that faction. While Dr. Turnbull, a chief opponent, was in England, Tonyn broke up New Smyrna, and later forced both the doctor and Judge Drayton to withdraw to Charleston, South Carolina. Much light is thrown on these two men.

Another admirable feature is the surprising amount of material used to give a picture of social and economic conditions in East Florida in these years.

Tonyn was vigorous in all measures to keep his province active on the Loyalist side. Raids back and forth across the Georgia border, chiefly for cattle, and a force of nine hundred sent too late to help reduce Savannah were the chief military exploits.

The appendix contains three interesting sections: (1) tables of trade and shipping relating to East Florida, (2) acts of its First and Second Assemblies, and (3) lists of the provincial officials. The many explanatory notes are arranged according to the chapters, and there is a valuable bibliography. Dr. Mowat was happy in choosing his theme and exceptionally successful in developing it.

Ohio State University

WILBUR H. SIEBERT

THE ATLAS OF CONGRESSIONAL ROLL CALLS. Volume I, THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES AND THE CONGRESSES OF THE CONFEDERATION, 1777-1789. Edited by *Clifford L. Lord*. (Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association. 1943. Pp. viii, 32, maps.)

FROM the above description one might reasonably infer that this is a book of only viii plus 32 pages, with maps scattered here and there. Be warned therefore that the main book is beyond page 32—some 266 pages of maps, with relevant summaries and ballots, and, in addition, 10 pages of index to that material. The first 40 pages are entirely occupied by introductory matter. Moreover, as is to be expected in a volume of maps, the pages are relatively large—10½ by 15½ inches. This reviewer has not weighed the book, but he is disposed to lend all credence to a statement of the editor that, but for certain severities to which this volume was subjected, it would have been so bulky as to require two men instead of one to handle it.

Further, be it known, this is only the first of a series of forty or more volumes projected to bring the atlas of roll calls down to 1937. The project is sponsored by the New Jersey State Planning Board and Columbia University and prepared by the Historical Records Survey of New York City and New Jersey.

Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox supplies a foreword, which reveals a broad and fertile comprehension of the making of this nation and therefore of the value of such a work as this to those who would better understand the processes of that making. Mr. Gustave Koeppe, supervisor for the state of New Jersey, sets forth in a succinct preface the organizational methods employed, together with the mechanics of the project. The editor, Dr. Lord, in an introduction occupying one half the 32 pages and covering the whole project, explains why the project was undertaken and points out some of the more conspicuous ways in which the materials gathered together in this series of atlases will contribute to the enlargement of our knowledge of American history. "Obviously," says Dr. Lord, "new studies may be made of regionalism and sectionalism as reflected in Congress, of the stresses and policy conflict between urban and rural areas, between shipping community and manu-

facturing community, between planter and poor-white, between seaboard and back-country, between the coasts and the mid-west. . . New light will be shed on the rise, evolution and fall of political parties, new analyses of the workings of the party system and new studies of party factions will be made possible by these maps and roll calls."

Through these forty pages, then, the reviewer jauntily ambled, receiving ample entertainment and instruction by the way. (One small quaver of disappointment alone did he experience: The roll of members of the "Old Congress"—or Congresses, as Dr. Lord would seem to prefer—reveals some missing names.) When, however, he had come to the end of page 32 and turned the next leaf, to confront the section of maps, etc., then he could only stammer with Omar Khayám:

There was a Door to which I found no Key;
There was a Veil past which I could not see.

The maps of the United States of the period—there are usually six to a page—diminutive though they are, show to the naked eye, as a rule, their constituent parts (of course Rhode Island now and then is lost beneath a slightly expanded dot and Delaware disappears under two dots); but the recorded votes, the "roll-calls," can be read only with difficulty without a magnifying glass, and the legends or summaries beneath each of the maps can scarcely be read at all without such aid. The maps were produced by the multilithographic process, and one does not need to be told that the texts of these pages have been greatly reduced.

If you wish to know more about the how and the why of this matter, it is to be found in two circular letters that followed close upon the heels of the book. They call attention to the scarcely excusable blunders of the printer. "C'est la guerre!" exclaims the editor (actually he uses plain English: "War is hell"). He does not plead for sympathy (but he deserves it and this reviewer for his part offers it in copious quantity); he merely explains that some of these calamities befell "while the editor was being drilled and indoctrinated in order to qualify as an officer and gentlemen of the United States Naval Reserve." There is one encouraging note in this communication extra: Future volumes of the series are expected to better these deficiencies by as much as fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent.

The task of completing the entire project is stupendous, nevertheless we join our hopes and prayers to those of the editor and the sponsors for its successful consummation.

Washington, D. C.

EDMUND C. BURNETT

DANIEL CARROLL: A FRAMER OF THE CONSTITUTION. By *Sister Mary Virginia Geiger*, of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Maryland. (Washington: Catholic University of America. 1943. Pp. x, 210.)

DANIEL Carroll II of Upper Marlborough, Maryland, was chosen in 1777 as one of the five members of the state council. He was forty-seven years of age and

from then until shortly before his death in 1796 he was continuously in the service of his state or of the United States. He resigned from the council to accept a seat in the Continental Congress, and in the same year was chosen a state senator. He was one of the Maryland delegation to the Federal Convention and was afterward elected to the first House of Representatives under the new Constitution. At the expiration of his term in Congress he accepted appointment as one of three commissioners "to survey the District of Territory . . . for the permanent seat of the government of the United States," a thankless task made all the more difficult by the fact that "several of his own relatives figured conspicuously among the wealthy land-owners within the District Line." He acted as commissioner for four years and then resigned because of enfeebled health. He died within a year.

Nearly twenty years of continuous and varied public service is worthy of record, and this doctoral dissertation was undertaken with the laudable intention of compiling all available information on Daniel Carroll. Unfortunately, owing to war conditions, certain material became inaccessible, and it was therefore wisely decided to offer for general use such data as had been gathered.

After clearing up some genealogical difficulties and confusion with other Daniel Carrolls, a detailed and illuminating account is given of the various landed properties that were the basis of the fortune of the subject of this study. There is also information upon his interests as a planter, slaveholder, and merchant, together with an indication of his holdings of public securities and stock in land companies.

All possible records have been searched to show the part he played in the public service as revealed in his expressed opinions and by his votes. He does not seem to have had a commanding personality but was rather a steady, well-to-do conservative, who could be relied on to attend to public business with the same scrupulous care he gave to his private affairs.

An admittedly incomplete sketch ought not to be criticized too sharply because of weakness in the matter of form and presentation, although it leaves something to be desired in that respect. It is permissible, however, to express regret that there is but little on the personal side. Perhaps there is nothing available as to his appearance or habits, so Daniel Carroll still remains a shadowy figure of a good citizen and faithful public servant.

Bar Harbor, Maine

MAX FARRAND

MEET DR. FRANKLIN. (Philadelphia: Franklin Institute. 1943. Pp. vi, 234.)

THIS volume is a collection of thirteen papers by twelve authors who were invited to take part in a series of "meet Dr. Franklin" conferences sponsored by the Franklin Institute. Carl Van Doren contributes the opening and closing papers; the others are by Robert A. Millikan ("Scientist"), Max Farrand ("Autobiography"), Conyers Read ("Franklin as the English Saw Him"), Verner A.

Crane ("Journalism in England"), Robert E. Spiller ("Student of Life"), George W. Pepper ("Moulding the Constitution"), Bernhard Knollenberg ("Philosophical Revolutionist"), Gilbert Chinard ("Looking Westward"), Lawrence C. Wroth ("Printer at Work"), Carl R. Woodward ("Adventures in Agriculture"), and Julian P. Boyd ("Friend of the Indians"). The titles indicate the various activities of the "many-sided Franklin" that are dealt with, except perhaps the one chosen by Conyers Read, whose paper, a very good one, deals rather with the influence of England and his life in England upon Franklin's ideas. The papers are all by competent authorities, they correct many popular misconceptions about Franklin, and they add a good deal to the knowledge of even those who have met Dr. Franklin and know him very well. Taken as a whole, they present Dr. Franklin as a very great, wise, and lovable man, and an extremely versatile one; if he had limitations of mind or character one does not find them very clearly or fully brought out anywhere.

No one can deny that Franklin was, as Van Doren insists, a "very great man." All things considered he was the ablest and most versatile mind that has appeared in the United States; and of all the true stories of home boys who have made good, his is by all odds the most spectacular and incredible. Consider: An obscure apprentice runs away from home. In a strange community, without friends or money, he succeeds in business and accumulates a modest fortune. Devoting himself to experiment, he acquires within two years a "keener insight into the fundamental nature of electrical phenomena" than anyone else had at that time or than anyone else would have again for more than a hundred years. As a civic benefactor, he founds a library, a philosophical society, and a university. As a statesman, he is one of the outstanding leaders in winning the independence of his country and in forming its government. As a diplomat, he represents his country for twenty-four years abroad more competently than any other diplomat has ever done, and is chiefly responsible for the two treaties that guaranteed its independence. And when he dies he is universally acclaimed on two continents as inventor, scientist, statesman, writer, sage, philosopher, and friend of the human race. My first impulse is always to say, I don't believe it! Nevertheless, the story is attested by tons of unimpeachable historical evidence; and unless I am prepared to abandon all faith in human testimony as a reliable method of establishing historical facts I must accept as true a story more romantic and glamorous than any novelist would have the brains or the brass to invent.

What is the explanation of these achievements of the first order in such diverse fields of activity? Three points may be made. One is that Franklin lived in a country where careers were open to talent more effectively than in any country in the world at that time. Another is that he had a mind of the first order, a mind curious, critical, acquisitive, and flexible, so that whatever he might concern himself with—storms blowing from the northeast but moving towards it, electrical phenomena, political revolution and the art of government, the growth of popula-

tion, the advancement of knowledge, smoky chimneys, the common cold, or the best device for getting books from high shelves—whatever the problem, the necessary facts seemed always at hand, and the supple mind, grasping with equal facility the particular and the general, seemed always ready with some solution which if not always the right one was extremely likely to point in the right direction. The third point is that Franklin had the good fortune to be in tune with his time. Both his qualities and his limitations were of the eighteenth century. He might stand as the personification of the Enlightenment—of its skeptical and pragmatic temper, its dislike of “enthusiasm” and dim perspectives, its aversion to cruelty and hocus-pocus, its preference for what is open and visible, its faith in “reason,” and its conviction that the universe, being essentially devoid of mystery, is willing and eager to yield whatever secrets it has to common sense questions.

There is a profound symbolic significance in the myth that Franklin was not asked to draft the Declaration of Independence for fear he might put a joke in it. All of his major enterprises, with one exception, were undertaken either from a sense of duty or as the result of pressure from outside. His scientific investigations provide the one exception, the one enterprise to which he seems to have been driven by some compelling inner impulse, and to which he always returned whenever the outer pressure of business or politics was withdrawn. It is for this reason, perhaps, that when we meet Dr. Franklin the scientist he seems not quite the same man as Dr. Franklin the business man or politician. In all of his dealings with men and affairs one feels that he is not wholly committed. There is after all something casual about his efficient dispatch of the business in hand, as if it were important but not profoundly so; and on that placid countenance there is often the bland smile which seems to say: “Men are after all but children, needing to be cajoled; affairs a kind of game, necessary indeed, but not to be played without finesse.” In dealing with natural phenomena it was not so. Nature was the one mistress to whom he gave himself without reserve, and served neither from a sense of duty nor for any practical purpose. Nature alone met him on equal terms, with a disinterestedness matching his own; needing not to be cajoled or managed with finesse, she enlisted in the solution of her problems the full power of his mind. In dealing with nature he could be, as he could not be in dealing with men and affairs, entirely sincere, objective, rational, could speak his whole thought without reserve, and with no implication of a stupendous cosmic joke being concealed somewhere in the premises.

Franklin was indeed “many-sided.” From the many facets of his powerful mind he emitted a brilliant light on all aspects of human life; it is only in his capacity as a natural scientist that the light is entirely unclouded. Professor Millikan includes Franklin with the fourteen “most influential” scientists since the birth of Copernicus. If he had devoted the last forty years of his life, as he had hoped to do, entirely to scientific investigation, he would undoubtedly have been a greater scientist than he was. We need not regret that, however, since in that case he

would have been less great as a man, as a citizen, and as a friend of the human race.

Cornell University

CARL BECKER

THOMAS PAINE: REPRESENTATIVE SELECTIONS, WITH INTRODUCTION, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND NOTES. By *Harry Hayden Clark*, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin. [American Writers Series, Harry Hayden Clark, General Editor.] (New York: American Book Company. 1944. Pp. cli, 436.)

PROFESSOR Clark's introduction to this selection of Paine's writings is the best analysis in print of Paine's ideas and their sources. Dealing with the ideas under five major headings—religious, political, economic, humanitarian, educational—the author sets forth what Paine's particular ideas on each of these subjects were and how he arrived at them.

The most important source for his religious ideas was not Quakerism but Newtonian science, which revealed to Paine a harmonious and universal order. *The Age of Reason* was not written by an atheist but by an idealist, by a man who said, "I believe in one God, and no more," and who feared that mankind would "lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true." Paine wrote his book to win people to agreement on the "simple principles which he supposed all religions in all times and in all lands had in common."

So important in fact were Paine's religious ideas, that Dr. Clark holds untenable the popular notion that Paine was an honorable champion of political freedom who in his old age turned to religious infidelity. On the contrary, says Dr. Clark, the evidence seems to show that his political ideas were formed later than his religious ideas and grew out of them.

In some sense also his economic and social ideas grew out of his religious concepts. Perhaps it is truer to say that all had their source in the "Newtonian concept of a universe guided by inexorable and divinely-created law" (lviii). Paine in fact tried to apply Newtonian natural law to the field of economics and became a free trader and an economic internationalist rather than an agrarian.

As a practical humanitarian Paine was interested in social and national security, advocating state aids and pensions, the abolition of dueling, national disarmament, and international organization. The progress that he believed the nature of the universe made possible in these and other fields was to be gained through education and the free play of reason.

Paine was thus a complete child of the Enlightenment, and the inconsistencies and conservatism of his early writings, especially in America, were the result of immaturity, not intellectual incompetence. It was when he joined the French ideologues that he fully formed his system of ideas.

The introduction is followed by the text of *Common Sense*, *The Crisis*, *The Rights of Man*, *The Age of Reason*, and *Agrarian Justice*. Miscellaneous selections

at the end contain three of the less well known of his American writings, the "Public Good," "A Letter to the Addressers," and "A Letter to George Washington." Notes at the end of the book are helpful in explaining the background of each selection.

Vanderbilt University

PHILIP DAVIDSON

THE SPY IN AMERICA. By *George S. Bryan*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1943. Pp. 256. \$3.00.)

FROM the title of this book one might possibly assume mistakenly that it dealt with espionage in the United States in recent years. Actually, of the eleven chapters, five relate to the American Revolution and three to the Civil War. Another chapter, called "Diversions and Interludes," passes over the years between these wars in a few pages, while the last two narrate incidents in the Spanish-American War and the first World War. There is nothing in the volume on industrial or commercial espionage. The treatment is episodic for the most part. The better known and the lesser known spies of American history have each their turn, some receiving a few pages and others but a few paragraphs or sentences.

The author is an expert library researcher, and has missed few printed sources, old or new, primary or secondary, of any significance. He has used these discriminatingly, and they are all listed in a bibliography that is useful to anyone interested in the subject. A few manuscript sources are added, notably files of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, including a "Report and Letter Book A, Secret Service, Army of the Potomac." It is difficult to tell just what this new material has added to the narrative of Pinkerton's operations in the Civil War because the volume is not documented by footnotes, but the contributions do not appear to have been significant.

The author has succeeded in his purpose, the production of a readable one-volume account of espionage activities in our wars for a popular audience. The book contains little that need detain the serious historian. The latter will continue to consult Van Doren, Pennypacker, and other standard authorities on espionage in the American Revolution. He will still lack a treatment of the subject for the Civil War that can be used with confidence. He will hardly take the single chapter on the World War seriously. A writer in a field as obscure and tricky as that of espionage, if he expects his work to stand as authoritative, must thoroughly document his facts and interpretations. He must work patiently through manuscript and archival sources that are not yet thoroughly exploited and some that have not yet been opened to research. He must forego the writing of dramatic stories of spy adventures and appraise the effectiveness and contributions of espionage systems and activities as an integral part of military operations. Possibly no one will ever do this. The author did not intend to do it.

The National Archives

OLIVER W. HOLMES

THE WAY OUR PEOPLE LIVED: AN INTIMATE AMERICAN HISTORY.

By W. E. Woodward. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1944. Pp. 402. \$3.95.)

THIS "intimate American history" is a series of sketches or episodes in the lives of Americans of various periods. The Americans chosen are of different walks and ways of life and from different sections of the country. They are all quite frankly fictional characters, and the author is thus free to use them as he wills as the vehicles for the presentation of a multitude of details pertaining to habits, fads, fashions, and customs.

Mr. Woodward, in his research for other purposes, has run across a great number of interesting bits of information on the way in which our forebears lived and conducted themselves, and his curiosity has been aroused as to the origin of many names and expressions. He has discovered the reason back of the expression "at loggerheads," for example, and the origin of the term "tenpenny nail." He gives "journey cake" as the origin for the name johnny cake and states that corn pone derived its name from the Indian "appone."

The drinking habits of the early Americans are given due attention, and the tobacco chewing of the multitude is mentioned but without the shocked censoriousness of Dickens' *American Notes*. Styles and habits in dress are described with unusual minuteness. Conditions of travel receive attention, and methods of agriculture are listed. All in all, the book is a potpourri of every variety of odds and ends of information gleaned along American folkways.

The device of fictional characters and situations offers a convenient method of portrayal of life in the periods chosen, but it is also at times an obstacle in fixing attention upon the folkways depicted, for interest in the actors in each scene soon transcends any interest in the social history thus introduced, and the reader, ignoring the detail, regrets that the chapter's end carries him on to other scenes and characters. The author's style is pleasant; there are touches of humor and satire to relieve the insistent detail; and the material is always interesting.

The social historian may be permitted to regret the paucity of the bibliography which scarcely taps the great fund of such material. For every travel account listed a dozen more might be cited, some of them—as, for example, Fredrika Bremer's *Homes of the New World*, Francis Grund's *The Americans*, and Charles Pancoast's *Diary of a Quaker Forty-niner*—teem with just the detail in which Mr. Woodward delights.

There may be some justification for the exaggeration "No one in that era ever took a bath" (p. 40), but there should have been greater care in many statements of fact scattered through the book. The first temperance movement began long before the late 1820's (p. 61), and the temperance advocates had an extensive literature to their credit before that date. The first known temperance society was founded in Moreau, New York, in 1808, and the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was as early as 1813.

Mr. Woodward causes his characters to appear surprised at a woman traveling alone in the 1830's. Such travel was far more common than he seems to believe. This reviewer, for instance, has family letters describing much the same trip as that of his Susan Pettigrew but starting in New Hampshire and ending farther west in Illinois. And this woman was responsible not only for herself but for two children under four years of age.

It might have been better to omit the description of tobacco planting (p. 182) in the account of a Georgia town in 1807, for tobacco certainly was not a common or staple crop in that area. And the statement that there were no juries in New England is unfortunate. Charles M. Andrews, in *The Colonial Period in American History* (I, 460), gives full detail for the operation of the jury system in the period of Mr. Woodward's sketch. The statement that a McCormick reaper was purchased in 1836 in Ohio should be checked with W. T. Hutchinson's biography of Cyrus Hill McCormick, which states definitely that McCormick did not give public demonstrations of his machine for some years after it was patented, did not sell machines until 1840, and did not market it widely until after 1848.

These errors and others of similar nature, are minor, however, and *The Way Our People Lived* deserves a wide reading as a popularization of a field no longer new to the scholar but still fresh and interesting to the layman.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

PILLS, PETTICOATS, AND PLOWS: THE SOUTHERN COUNTRY STORE. By *Thomas D. Clark*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 359. \$3.50.)

DURING its heyday from 1865 to 1915, the country store was the key social and economic institution of the New South. Professor Clark has written its history in a highly readable, anecdotal style aimed at the general reader who would balk at statistical tables and dry analyses.

As the title would suggest, the author has catalogued with loving care the fabulously varied wares of these rural emporia, and thus contributes a vivid description of the buying habits of the Southern farmer. His statement of the role of the store, while clear, is more entertaining than definitive. However, he has assembled at the University of Kentucky a large collection of business records out of which further studies should grow.

Politicians and critics of the Southern economy heaped copious abuse upon the storekeeper because "the merchant was the one tangible factor that could be spotted in the complex one-crop . . . system of Southern agriculture." Professor Clark defends him as "only a part of an inefficient furnishing system rather than the system itself." Yet because he was the focal point in the system and kept full records, through him the economy can be most accurately analyzed.

With the introduction of tenancy immediately after the Civil War, stores sprang up all over the South. Through them Northern wholesalers funneled goods

to impoverished whites and freedmen. These, with boundless optimism and no money, signed crop liens and thus enmeshed themselves in the vicious credit system. The Negro soon "was back in slavery, not to a plantation-master, but to a conscienceless counter book"—and the white farmer shared the chains, for the counter book knew no white supremacy.

The merchant carried about 90 per cent of his business upon credit and normally marked up his shoddy, inferior goods approximately 100 per cent. Flour wholesaled at \$3.47 per barrel in 1894 and retailed for at least \$7.00. The customer paid a markup of 25 per cent or more for credit, 10 to 50 per cent for profit, and though most loans ran but seven or eight months, a flat 12½ per cent interest. The storekeeper made similar high profits through selling fertilizer and supplying cash for lodge dues, doctor's bills, and mail orders. A Georgia editor in 1882 "estimated that a farmer borrowing and paying back \$800 for each crop would within a five-year period pay out \$2800 in interest."

The storekeeper kept his debtors growing cotton for cash while he sold them immense quantities of salt pork and corn from the Middle West. He influenced local politics (suffering but little from Populist attacks) and was usually a power in church and school affairs. All too often he foreclosed or settled out of court, and became an owner of sizable acreage. Occasionally he became wealthy, but he himself paid large interest rates to wholesalers, and took large risks upon the cotton crop.

Despite its vicious inefficiency, the country store was a fascinating conglomerate of sights and smells. Professor Clark regretfully records its decline with the advent of boll weevils, automobiles and paved highways, and low-priced chain stores.

University of Maryland

FRANK FREIDEL

FROM WILDERNESS TO EMPIRE: A HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA, 1542-1900. By *Robert Glass Cleland*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xii, 388, xiv. \$4.00.)

DR. Cleland has devoted his life largely to a study of his native state, California, and his attachment to it is obvious throughout his work. He has made some substantial contributions to California history in the American period, and we may assume that what he does will be well done. This volume is, in a way, a summary of his studies.

One of the excellent qualities of the volume is to be found in the clarity of his description of expeditions. In this particular I think he has surpassed most writers of California history. The minute and interesting incidents of the camping parties or of the routes over which many of the expeditions passed are vividly portrayed. One reads the details of the Anza expedition with a real sense of the hardships and dangers which members of the party experienced, but the main objective, the founding of the mission and presidio of San Francisco, is very lightly treated.

The chapter on "Gold" presents the darker side of the overland expeditions to the gold fields, and great attention is paid—frequently through well-selected passages from earlier works—to individual expeditions and to the sufferings experienced by the adventurers. In this chapter the author deals also with the effect of increased immigration on cities and towns throughout the state. He gives some attention also to mining methods as worked out in the mining fields, but fails to refer to the far-reaching importance, in many instances, of the rules and regulations made by these miners to future state and Federal mining laws.

The purpose of chapter 18, "The End of Isolation"—a particularly pertinent title—is to show the significance and importance of the development of transportation in California's history.

One of the disappointing things about the work is the tendency of the author to quote too frequently from his former associates. A very large part of his chapter on "Spanish Exploration and Discovery" is taken from Chapman's *A History of California: The Spanish Period*, which was published as part of a two volume work on California by Chapman and Cleland about twenty-five years ago. He errs also in quoting too frequently from his own writings. Another disappointment is to be found in his tendency to ignore outstanding incidents and to overemphasize incidents of minor importance. For example, he gives practically nothing on the settlement of San Francisco, and the name of San Francisco de Asís does not appear in the index.

While Dr. Cleland's work on California measures up to his usual scholarly attainments and attractive style, he has added nothing to his reputation as a student of California history. And for a judicious and scholarly selection of material that goes to make up a well-rounded history of California, for a proper distribution and arrangement of such material, and for the style in which the author presents it, the general reader along with the scholar will continue to regard John Caughey's *History of California* as the outstanding recent work in the field.

Mills College

CARDINAL GOODWIN

GOLD RUSH: THE JOURNALS, DRAWINGS, AND OTHER PAPERS OF J. GOLDSBOROUGH BRUFF, CAPTAIN, WASHINGTON CITY AND CALIFORNIA MINING ASSOCIATION, APRIL 2, 1849-JULY 20, 1851. Edited by *Georgia Willis Read* and *Ruth Gaines*. With a Foreword by F. W. Hodge. Volume I, WASHINGTON CITY TO BRUFF'S CAMP. Volume II, BRUFF'S CAMP TO WASHINGTON CITY. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. lxxxviii, 630; viii, 633-1404. \$15.00 a set.)

PREPARING the "journals, drawings and other papers" of J. Goldsborough Bruff for publication began as a labor of love on the part of the co-editors and developed into a monumental piece of historical research. Before J. G. Bruff left his position, in the year 1849, to captain a well-organized company of gold-seekers across the

continent to California, he had been draftsman to the United States Bureau of Topographical Engineers. Both his training and his position of authority in the emigrant company qualified him to keep a particularly accurate and valuable journal of its daily progress. Sick or well, nourished or hungry, he recorded faithfully the minutiae of trail travel and camp life, richly illustrating his account with sketches, fully intending to arrange them for publication when his trek should be over. In this project he did not succeed. Now, after almost a century, Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines have fulfilled his wish; and, although it is the historical researcher and field-worker who, at this late date, reap the benefits of his work, it is in a great measure a justification of his efforts.

Captain Bruff's company, entitled sonorously "The Washington City and California Gold Mining Association," moved west along the south bank of the Platte in an entirely ordinary manner. There were of course some set-backs—accidents, illness, quarrels, anxiety, and exertion almost beyond endurance; but to balance the scales were their good healthy appetites, interest in the strange scenery, and excitement over their great adventure. It was a normal crossing of the plains, under leadership better than average, except that for various reasons they lost time. Half of September had passed before they found themselves on the great bend of the Humboldt River. The Sierra Nevada Range lay ahead and, from its foot, a desert stretched to meet them. There were three main routes which they might take and Captain Bruff decided (as had about half of the forty-niners) to take the misnamed Lassen's "Cut-off" that turned to the right and circled far to the north of the others. It was a grave mistake. Before they could negotiate its longer mileage the rains started. The endless cavalcade of wagons churned the trail into a sea of mud in which, at the worst spots, animals sank from sight and died. Possessions were cached or discarded and the suffering gold-seekers left their wagons and packed into the Sacramento Valley with whatever animals remained to them. It is here that Bruff's diary becomes practically unique for, in order to avoid wholesale abandonment of the precious instruments of his profession, he constructed a flimsy shelter and remained beside the trail during the winter. Ill, racked with pain, harassed by wolves and grizzlies which he was too weak to risk shooting although starved to the point of eating flesh from the long-dead oxen, he never lost his interest in the sorry pageant that passed his snow-covered tent. He watched and wrote down details for posterity which the exhausted emigrants plodding toward the valley never noted for themselves. At length actual starvation forced him to attempt the remainder of the journey to Lassen's Rancho, where, by dint of exertions far beyond his strength, he arrived and eventually recovered some measure of good health.

His activities then comprised the surveying of old Benton City at the request of Peter Lassen and an unsuccessful prospecting trip with that picturesque individual, whom he frequently designates as "Old Pete." A sojourn in Sacramento City, recently recovered from the cholera epidemic of 1850, some further wander-

ings in California, and a return to his eastern home across the Isthmus of Panama add to the value of his notes. The co-editors have added several appendixes of varying values, outstanding among which is Bruff's map of Lassen's Cut-off—probably the first one ever drawn. All-in-all their compilation of the Bruff journals and papers is perhaps the most significant gold-rush diary with pertinent data now known to historians.

Too much cannot be said of the tireless research accomplished by the co-editors. It was not all desk work. They traveled many miles in Bruff's footsteps, as this reviewer knows from having met them in Lassen County several years ago. A careful perusal of their voluminous critical notes will give the reader several interesting lines of study not readily found elsewhere; one being information on the organized, sometimes uniformed and almost military companies of gold-seekers that left the east coast so hopefully California-bound. The editors have patiently consulted the files of early publications for notices of their departure and keep the reader oriented as Bruff mentions them casually in his daily notations.

The bibliography, although embracing surprisingly few manuscripts, is comprised of solid, reliable material including many excerpts from newspapers of the day. The index is long and adequate. If one were searching for truthful adverse criticism of this compilation it could only be said that the two volumes are too heavy for comfort and that *Gold Rush* is definitely not a book for the general reading public. To which answer might readily be made that it was intended only for the use and for the pleasure of history lovers to whom each added page is a joy.

Gold Rush is a real contribution to our knowledge of the forty-niners—a work of distinction.

Alameda, California

IRENE D. PADEN

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TRANSPORTATION IN OREGON. By *Henry Villard*. Edited by *Oswald Garrison Villard*. [University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in History, No. 1.] (Eugene: University of Oregon, printed at the University Press. 1944. Pp. v, 99. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00.)

HENRY Villard keenly appreciated the historical significance of the railroad controversies in which he had taken part. To make sure that justice was done him, he undertook on two occasions to present his side in these controversies, the first of which was his *Memoirs* in two volumes and the second is the document under review. This document—originally published in the *Portland Oregonian* in 1926—offers in greater detail than do the *Memoirs* some aspects of the history of transportation in Oregon to 1883, as Villard saw them. The men who preceded him as railroad promoters in Oregon are pictured as coarse, repulsive, treacherous, “insinuating swindler[s],” “arbitrary and brutal master[s],” who made reckless and “corrupt use of money.” Ben Holladay is the principal villain who misrepresented facts in selling bonds, bribed legislators, broke his plighted word, swindled and nearly wrecked the companies he controlled.

Villard was employed by German bondholders to protect their rash investment in frontier railroads. By a series of maneuvers he ousted Holladay from a number of Oregon railroad and steamship companies, control of which Villard then centered in a holding company. Having acquired large property holdings in Portland, Villard championed the welfare of that community. Portland wanted direct eastern railroad connections to make it independent of the Southern Pacific and hoped to become the outlet for the entire Pacific Northwest. These objectives could be accomplished by inducing the Northern Pacific to form a junction with Villard's Oregon Railway and Navigation Company somewhere on the south bank of the Columbia. This became an obsession with Villard, who was not troubled that Congress had stipulated that the Northern Pacific was to build to Puget Sound with a branch to Portland. If the Northern Pacific could be induced to give up plans to build over the Cascades to the Sound and down the Columbia to Portland, then, lacking a western terminus, it would have to join hands with and be at the mercy of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. Monopoly was Villard's goal as it was that of Gould and Huntington.

Villard had already experimented in "bulling" or "bearing" the stock market by declaring unearned dividends, issuing rumors, or attacking the land grants and credit of rival roads, but now he undertook a greater scheme: secretly to gain control of the Northern Pacific which he found to be subservient to Puget Sound interests and stubbornly opposed to his plans for it. The "blind pool" was the device by which he secured the desired control and through it domination of the transportation network of the Northwest. However, the turn of events was to strip Villard of power and place his companies either in bankruptcy or in the hands of unfriendly interests.

Villard's account is both enlightening and disappointing. Characteristic traits of the robber baron are shown: pride, contempt of public interest, hatred of one's foes, dislike of competition, joy at disasters sustained by rivals, and arrogance in denunciation of grangers as "selfish schemers and demagogues." The man of whom it was said by a Wall Street contemporary, "as a stock-waterer he had, probably, no superior," throws little light on the financial manipulation by which he rose in a comparatively brief time from a man of no railroad connections to one controlling a great railroad system.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

DOMINION OF THE NORTH: A HISTORY OF CANADA. By *Donald Grant Creighton*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1944. Pp. vii, 535. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Creighton of the University of Toronto is the first to admit that his general history of Canada could not have been written a quarter century ago. In what he calls "the Mackenzie King era" the number and variety of monographs and biographies to appear as listed in his select bibliography reflect the increasing

maturity of Canadian scholarship and its greater breadth of interest. As might be expected from the author of "The Commercial Empire of the Saint Lawrence," Mr. Creighton has stressed the economic factors in the evolution of Canada and avoided as much as possible "drum and trumpet history." Far more will be learned in these pages about the role of such staples as codfish, furs, timber, and wheat in Canadian history than about the character and achievements of such figures as Laval, La Salle, Carleton, and Howe. When the author chooses to do so he can make an historical personage come to life as in his brilliant portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Sometimes the stress on group conflicts based upon differences in economic outlook as applied to Lower Canada exposes the author to the risk of underestimating individual achievements and judgments. Thus Lord Durham's blunt condemnation of French Canadian civilization, dismissed in two sentences, left a deep impress upon the feelings of a proud people which is not appraised. It is no accident that Durham's statue does not adorn the lawns of Parliament Hill in Ottawa while Baldwin and Lafontaine are placed side by side in a fine piece of statuary. I am a little surprised at the brevity of the reference to the appearance of an Assembly in Nova Scotia, the absence of any comment upon the Rush-Bagot agreement except to refer to its threatened disappearance in the American Civil War, the praise given to William Lyon Mackenzie as a political theorist, and the lack of comment upon the influence of Alexander Hamilton upon the Fathers of Confederation, which Professor W. B. Munro appraised fifteen years ago. But these are minor flaws in a suggestive interpretation well planned and executed in a style all too rare in historiography. It should hold its place for many years to come as the best single volume history of Canada.

University of British Columbia

F. H. SOWARD

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS: A STUDY OF CANADIAN POLITICS, RAILWAYS, AND FINANCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Ronald Stewart Longley*, Alumni Professor of History, Acadia University. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 480. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Longley's volume is, as its title sets forth, much more than a mere record of the career of Sir Francis Hincks. Its 450 closely packed pages form a study of Canadian politics, railways, and finance during the two periods, 1830-55 and 1869-74, when Hincks was a part of the Canadian political scene. The intervening years are those during which he was governor, first of Barbados and the Windward Islands and later of British Guiana. This work has been awaited with interest in Canada since heretofore we have been dependent upon the volume of reminiscences which Hincks completed in 1884 and the composite study of Baldwin, Lafontaine, and Hincks by the late Stephen Leacock, which formed one of the volumes in the *Makers of Canada* series (Toronto, 1910). As Professor Longley points out, the reminiscences were written too late in life to become a

complete account of his career and do not provide a logical sequence in the description of events in which he had a prominent part.

Hincks has always been a baffling figure to the student of Canadian history, and at the end of his study Professor Longley admits that he is still a somewhat baffling figure. An ability to compromise marked his whole political life, and some of his turns were so sharp and sudden that they not only puzzled his contemporaries but are not entirely explainable today:

To his personal friends and supporters he was a man of ability and common sense who had the courage to translate into action what his intellect told him to do. His enemies, on the other hand, were convinced that he was a nineteenth century "Vicar of Bray" who compromised his integrity for political preferment and financial gain. It is impossible to substantiate fully either of these opinions.

Professor Longley concludes that Hincks made his best contribution before 1851 and that after that date he was "too often a combination of shrewd politician and efficient administrator." This earlier period, the era of the struggle for responsible government, has been thought of chiefly in terms of its two great protagonists, Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine, but Hincks's place is greatly enhanced by the part that he is shown to have played not only as "the first liaison officer between the Baldwin Reformers and the Lower Canadian French" but as a shrewd political organizer and framer of party policies all through the 1840's. He was not a rigid constitutionalist and not afraid of radicalism so that when, around 1850, Baldwin and Lafontaine believed that they could go no further Hincks, quite undaunted, was still ready to set his hand to the plow and break new furrows.

His connection with the affairs of the Grand Trunk Railway and with negotiations for reciprocity are the highlights of his years after 1851 as prime minister but, on the other hand, he was unable to solve the difficult problems of secularization of the clergy reserves and abolition of seigniorial tenure in Quebec. Of his second appearance on the scene, after his terms as a colonial governor, it can only be said that it was unfortunate for his record. Though he gave noteworthy service as minister of finance in establishing the Dominion currency and providing for a sound banking system, as well as in shaping tariff policy, he was really out of touch with Canadian development, and when he retired from public life in 1874 his usefulness was clearly at an end.

Professor Longley has done a thoroughly workmanlike job. His bibliography shows that he has gone through extensive manuscript sources not only in Canada but in England. His chapters on Hincks as a colonial governor have special value as showing the difficulties of administration in a time when British colonial policies were changing. If there is a criticism to be made of the work it is that Hincks is still elusive. Perhaps that is inevitable. Two portraits give us some idea of his appearance and once he is described as "physically unimpressive." More of the personal, if it could have been found, might have made Francis Hincks the man a more living figure. He lived in a time of fascinating personalities in

Canadian public life—Baldwin, Lafontaine, Macdonald, Cartier. Was there not something in this Irish-born figure other than the coldly efficient public financier and political strategist? But apart from this minor point Professor Longley has produced a work that greatly expands our knowledge of Canadian political history and that will be read with profit by all interested in Canadian history in general.

University of Western Ontario

FRED LANDON

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1875-1911. By *Charles Callan Tansill*, Professor of American Diplomatic History, Fordham University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 507. \$3.50.)

THIS is the twenty-fourth volume that has appeared in the Canadian-American Relations Series prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Most of its predecessors are specialized studies of particular aspects of these relations. A few deal with particular periods, to present the historical evolution, and this is the sequel to the late Professor Shippee's scholarly *Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874*, which was published in 1939. The meticulous scholarship of this sequel is even more impressive. In addition to working over the voluminous printed sources, Professor Tansill has plowed through a tremendous amount of manuscript material in the collections of the Library of Congress, the National Archives in Washington, and the Public Archives in Ottawa. His pages are bristling with fresh quotations from the unpublished correspondence of the time; and it is interesting to observe that previous studies in this field have been pretty sound, because these quotations serve rather to amplify than to modify our knowledge of the subject.

The organization of the vast mass of material gathered for this volume posed a nice question. Should it be presented topically, or chronologically, or by a compromise between these two principles? There are obvious advantages in the solution adopted: the division of the book into four almost equal parts, each devoted to one big topic which is carried from the beginning to the end of the period with only slight references to the other topics. In order of treatment they are the North Atlantic fisheries, the Alaska boundary, the fur-seal fisheries, and reciprocity—three nasty disputes and a movement to effect a closer economic integration of the two neighbors. Thus what we really have is four parallel monographs paged consecutively and bound together.

This arrangement is not neat in that it entails tedious repetitions. For example, the Joint High Commission of 1898 is introduced in each of the four quarters of the book and there is a triple enumeration of its personnel. On the other hand the arrangement is too neat to give a proper understanding of each of the questions discussed, for they were intimately interwoven; too neat to be

comprehensive, for it has excluded other questions of the day that affected Canadian-American relations; and too neat to leave any intelligent impression of the evolution of the whole subject in accordance with the plan of the series. One of the omissions is astonishing in a work of this title. There is not even an allusion to one of the most remarkable developments in the relations between the United States and Canada, beginning with the appointment of the International Waterways Commission in 1905 and culminating in the Boundary Waterways Treaty of 1909, which laid down a new code of international law and established the International Joint Commission to administer this code and to investigate other questions involving international entanglements across the long common boundary.

Many readers will criticize this book for reflecting too narrow a conception of diplomatic history. Who said what to whom, cited verbatim, fills too much of the space, crowding out the larger view of what was taking place. Another criticism that will be leveled against it is that it is too exclusively American in outlook. It is written largely from the standpoint of an American at the time of the disputes that are here reviewed. There is little attempt to shift from Washington to Ottawa and to London to look at the various problems with Canadian and British eyes. If a Canadian university professor wrote a book in which he treated this subject from the corresponding Canadian standpoint it would be highly unpleasant reading in this country. The late Sir Arthur Doughty scouted the wisdom of producing this series when he heard it was projected. Grubbing up old quarrels, he said, would produce more bad feeling than good understanding; but this is the only volume in the series that would support his contention.

University of Minnesota

A. L. BURT

S. O. LEVINSON AND THE PACT OF PARIS: A STUDY IN THE TECHNIQUES OF INFLUENCE. By *John E. Stoner*, Department of Government, Indiana University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. xvi, 368. \$4.00.)

THIS book is an attempt to combine a biography of S. O. Levinson, champion of the outlawry of war, and a monograph upon the genesis of the Pact of Paris. In the opinion of the reviewer it is a success as a biography but falls short as a monograph.

The author begins one of his chapters, "There were two kinds of peace advocates in America in the 1920's; there were those who wanted peace but were not particular what road they took to reach it; and there were those who wanted peace but would consent to approach it only by a road of their own choosing" (p. 138). S. O. Levinson was a perfect example of the latter type. Conceiving the idea that all previous efforts to rid the world of war had failed because all of them had recognized war as an "institution," he proposed to solve the problem by

"outlawing" war. Believing that outlawry must become the starting point of all effective effort for permanent peace, he devoted nearly all of his time for ten years and large sums of his own money to enlist the support of all possible influences, personal or institutional, which might contribute to the success of his endeavor. His activity was prodigious. He enlisted the support of many persons who wielded either power or influence, most notably Senator Borah, at the time chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In the signing of the Pact of Paris Levinson believed that he saw the triumph of his idea. The story of his tremendous effort culminating in the promulgation of that famous document is told in a fashion to hold the attention of the reader and probably in most instances to evoke strong admiration for the man who put forth such a valiant effort in behalf of humanity. In doing this the author, perhaps without intention, has depicted his central figure as a hero, but without concealing his shortcomings—his inconsistencies, his frequent unfairness to others who were laboring for peace by other methods, his occasional use of unfair tactics, and his co-operation with men who were pursuing merely selfish party or personal ends.

As an account of how the Pact of Paris came into existence the chief defect is the omission or the failure to deal satisfactorily with several important aspects of the subject. Why did Kellogg delay six months before replying to the Briand proposal of June 20, 1927? That important question is begged by saying that it is "beyond the province of this investigation" (p. 265). What were the respective parts of Mr. Levinson and of Professor Shotwell in bringing about the Briand proposal? The handling of that much discussed matter fails to provide a satisfactory answer because it is treated only in an incidental manner and the evidence relied upon in support of the author's conclusion "that Levinson's was the influence to which the proposal was due" (p. 231) is of dubious value. On the most decisive point it consists mainly of oral testimony considerably after the event on the part of men whose recollection was likely to have been affected by the lapse of time and their personal interest. The attempt to reconstruct a missing memorandum which Levinson is said to have handed to an official at the Quai d'Orsay is of doubtful validity (pp. 221-231).

The book is based principally upon the papers of S. O. Levinson, now in the library of the University of Chicago. That voluminous collection has been thoroughly explored. The author also had the benefit of personal consultation with Mr. Levinson during the late years of his life. Portions of the book appear to have been submitted to him. The documentation is elaborate and in the main conforms to the most exacting standards. Occasionally, however, the author fails to indicate the evidence upon which he relies for important statements.

It is doubtless desirable that books dealing with important features of recent history should appear as promptly as possible after the event. Is there not danger, however, that an endeavor to meet this demand may result in premature publica-

tion? In this instance might the author's account not have been somewhat different if he had waited until he could consult the Borah, Coolidge, and Kellogg papers already on deposit in places where they will soon be made accessible to qualified investigators?

Dartmouth College

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

HENRY S. PRITCHETT: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Abraham Flexner*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 211. \$2.75.)

SPONSORED by the Carnegie Corporation Dr. Abraham Flexner has rendered an important service in presenting this readable and informative biography of one of the eminent men of our time.

Henry Smith Pritchett was born in 1857 on a somewhat remote farm in the Missouri River valley and as a child was surrounded by the smoldering animosities of the Civil War in a border state. He died in the summer of 1939 at Santa Barbara, California, after a distinguished and unusual career.

To the present generation he was known almost exclusively as the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose early history was something less than happy. Prior to assuming that task, however, he had been assistant astronomer in the Naval Observatory under Asaph Hall, professor of mathematics and astronomy in Washington University, St. Louis, head of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In each of these positions he had acquitted himself with high distinction.

In 1890 Andrew Carnegie was made a trustee of Cornell University and for the first time became aware of the distressingly low salaries paid to college teachers with the result that few of them were able to lay by any means adequate to provide for them in their old age, and with the secondary consequence that, having humane instincts but no pension systems, almost all colleges carried on their rolls many men who had long ceased to be effective teachers.

Mr. Carnegie thought to remedy this situation, as far as concerned the retirement problem, by establishing a pension system for which he made a capital gift of ten million dollars. From the plan he excluded denominational and state supported institutions on the ground that they had constituencies to which they could look for aid.

The actuarial basis of the project was tragically defective, for there were no adequate data on which to proceed and the funds available to operate it proved utterly insufficient. Odd as it may seem, it was not easy to determine just what constituted a college, nor whether it were or were not denominational. Pressure to admit state institutions became intense, the retiring allowances were steadily reduced from \$4,000 annually to \$1,500 or less. All kinds of bad faith were charged against the trustees of the fund and altogether it was a forlorn experience.

Meantime out of the generous motives which had inspired the whole scheme came the valuable Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, a new sense of institutional obligation to establish sound systems for teachers' retiring allowances, with not a few voluntary co-operative plans in which trustees and faculty shared, to say nothing of a better general understanding by the public of the nature of the whole problem.

From the first Dr. Pritchett was concerned for many educational interests other than pensions, and he began a series of brilliant reports and survey studies, some prepared by himself, others by experts he called in, which exercised a deep and wholesome influence on American education. Indeed, some of them, like the Flexner report on medical schools, were epoch-making.

The biographer has not only succeeded in giving an excellent picture of the sheer accomplishments of Dr. Pritchett, but he has also brought out much of the personal charm of the man and has made clear his prodigious industry and the fine integrity of his mind and character, qualities which endeared him even to those who disagreed with him.

New York City

JAMES R. ANGELL

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

NOBEL—PRIZE DONOR: INVENTOR OF DYNAMITE, ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

By *Michael Evlanoff*. (Philadelphia, Blakiston, distributed by Fleming H. Revell, New York, 1943, pp. 190, \$2.50.) This book seeks to do at least two things. First, as one would expect, it aims to tell the essential facts of Alfred Nobel's life and to describe the Nobel Prizes. Second, it deals almost as fully with the Nobel family, particularly with Alfred's nephew, Emmanuel Nobel. The author knew Emmanuel well and valued his friendship very highly; at times in fact it seems as if the real purpose of this book is to pay a tribute to the memory of the nephew. As for Alfred himself the facts of his life and his scientific contributions, drawn from the familiar literature about him, are adequately assembled with few efforts to suggest any fresh interpretations. More care could have been applied to the preparation of the volume. The proofreading has sometimes been haphazard, especially in the matter of proper names. The arrangement of the material is confusing and there is no index. What tries the reader's patience is the discursive character of the volume. Repeatedly the author leaves his main narrative to wander into bypaths, very often, it would seem, for no other reason than that he has an opportunity to elaborate on something he has seen or read that has interested him. At times these digressions are unwarranted, the tone sophomoric. The author describes at some length two widely different milieus with which Alfred Nobel or his family came in contact at one time or other. One is the salon of Madame Adam in Paris, the other, certain scenes characteristic of late nineteenth century life in the mountains of the Caucasus (fully a dozen pages are devoted to the stay of the Von Suttners near the Princess Dadiani). Quite possibly the author has known one or both of these milieus at first hand; in any event his portrayal of them has a certain freshness and gives to the volume most of what merit it possesses.

OSCAR J. FALNES

EDWARD TYSON, M.D., F.R.S., 1650-1708, AND THE RISE OF HUMAN AND COMPARATIVE ANATOMY IN ENGLAND: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By *M. F. Ashley Montagu*, Associate Professor of Anatomy, Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital, Philadelphia. With a Foreword by George Sarton. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XX.] (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1943, pp. xxix, 488, \$5.00.) At long last scholars have begun to survey the seventeenth century in its appropriate perspective, particularly with regard to its backgrounds in science. Harvey in 1628 had introduced the experimental method in the biological and medical sciences, and a few years earlier the physical sciences had received a similar stimulus from Galileo and his followers. The rich fruition of the new approach to the sciences came in the second half of the seventeenth century, and it affected thought in all spheres of human endeavor. Edward Tyson was born precisely at the middle of the century, and he has been appropriately characterized as a pioneer of those detailed studies of animal forms which, two centuries later, led to that view of the organic world summarized by the word "evolution." He may justly be designated as the father of comparative anatomy—of the thoughtful approach to animal biology which placed each form side by side with

those of close structural resemblance. The concept was new and the approach challenging. He insisted that the various types of living creatures could only be described and classified if their internal structure were made known and compared with others having similar morphological organization. The term "species" came to be used in Tyson's time to designate animals having definite external form and characteristic internal structure; but the animal kingdom as such had not yet been classified, except in the rough categories used a hundred years earlier by the Englishman Henry Wotton and by naturalists such as Conrad Gesner. In a very real sense, Tyson paved the way for Linnaeus, and it is perhaps significant that Tyson died a year after Linnaeus was born. Professor Ashley Montagu is thoroughly familiar with primate literature, and he is also a physical anthropologist. With his flare for historical investigation he thus possesses unusual equipment for the handling of his subject. As a biographer he belongs to the school that insists upon placing the man in full relation with his "times"; and one accordingly finds almost more about Tyson's contemporaries than about Tyson himself. But the story is well, if somewhat diffusely told; it is extensively, although not always accurately documented, and it has considerable virtue as first-rate bibliography and—for a biography—an unusually complete index. The book is well printed and the Philosophical Society deserves credit for having sponsored a book of this unusual character in these times.

JOHN F. FULTON

WITCHCRAFT. By *Charles Williams*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 316, \$4.50.) "A history of witchcraft in Christendom, beginning with the first century A.D. and ending with the trials and persecutions of witches, up to the eighteenth century." This is a reprint of a work published in 1941 by Faber and Faber of London.

THE AGE OF CATHERINE DE MEDICI. By *John Ernest Neale*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 111, \$2.00.) "Lectures on the religious and political background of the second half of the sixteenth century, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the close of the religious wars."

INTER-AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL INTERCHANGE. Proceedings of the Inter-American Conference on Intellectual Interchange, June 16 and 17, 1943, sponsored by the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas. (Austin, Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas, 1943, pp. ix, 188, and illustrations.) The University of Texas is well situated to sponsor an Inter-American Conference of the type noted above. Its faculty provides a permanent nucleus for an institute devoted to general Latin-American studies. On occasions of this sort, the third of its kind, it invites other educational institutions and cultural groups on both sides of the border to participate in its discussions and to meet its distinguished guests from abroad. Thus its sessions, aided by a subsidy from the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, permit personal interchange of views which its publications render more generally available. The papers of the present volume reveal a twofold character. Such veteran North Americans as Inman, Leavitt, and Whitaker, ably furthered by such liaison associates as the Chilean-Californian, Arturo Torres-Ríoeco, and the Mexican-Texan, Carlos Castañeda, discuss the background of inter-American cultural effort and its present needs and problems, material and spiritual. The substantial offerings of this group are accompanied by the discussion of Donald Coney, librarian of the University of Texas, on books as materials for intellectual exchange, and the bilingual colloquy of Professor Arnáiz y Freg of the National Uni-

versity of Mexico, who is a Guggenheim fellow of the past year, on the teaching of history in Mexico. Useful contributions to cultural understanding are the papers of Professor Risieri Frondizi of the University of Tucumán, Argentina, on "Tendencies in Contemporary Latin American Philosophy"; of Jefferson Rea Spell of the University of Texas on "Mexican Society of the Twentieth Century as Portrayed by Mariano Azuela"; and of Professor Ezequiel Ordoñez of the National University of Mexico on "The New Volcano of Parícutin," a paper based on personal observations and accompanied by photographs. Other photographs also illustrate the important section on "Fine Arts in the Americas," to which Hugo Leipziger of the University of Texas, Robert C. Smith of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, and Manuel Toussaint of the National University of Mexico contribute, respectively, studies on "Architecture in the Americas," "Evolution in Latin American Art," and "A Defense of Baroque Art in the Americas." Professor Frondizi closes this varied but useful series with an illuminating sketch of "Old and New Argentine Universities."

ISAAC J. COX

JEWISH PIONEERS AND PATRIOTS. By *Lee M. Friedman*. With a Preface by A. S. W. Rosenbach. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xvii, 430, \$2.50.) For many years Lee Friedman, a prominent Boston lawyer, has been building a library of manuscripts, pamphlets, and books pertaining to the history of the Jews. Today he owns the finest collection of Judaica in this country. From its rich resources, supplemented here and there by other material, he has compiled this interesting, and at times exciting, record of American Jewish pioneers. His objective has been a surprisingly modest one. He has not tried, despite the statement of his publisher, "to show what America has done for the Jew and what the Jew has done for America." His book is episodic and anecdotal, rather than comprehensive and systematic. Parts of it are disappointing. For example, one chapter asks: "Was Christopher Columbus a Jew?" but the answer here given does not advance the arguments on either side of that perennial, and probably unimportant, controversy. Furthermore, the discussion of "The Presidents and Some Jewish Problems" adds little to our understanding of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt, or of the policies which they advocated while in office. In fact, the treatment of the difficulties arising from the variant interpretations of the Russo-American treaty of 1832 is far from adequate. Nevertheless there is much in Mr. Friedman's volume which commands attention. Especially valuable are the significant social data set forth in his delineation of little known Jewish pioneers: Asser Levy Van Swellem, resourceful adventurer who became a substantial property holder in New Netherlands and later a protagonist of Jewish rights in the province of New York; Asher Pollock, who left Newport's waterfront to endure the rigors of Valley Forge and serve to the close of the Revolutionary War; Benjamin Gomez, New York's first Jewish bookseller; Abraham Touro, ship-builder and merchant of Medford whose philanthropy could not be confined within the borders of Massachusetts; Edward S. Salomon, veteran of the Civil War who was named by President Grant to be governor of Washington Territory; and Sam Dreben of El Paso, quixotic soldier of fortune whose life made men ashamed to speak of racial prejudice in his presence.

JOHN A. KROUT

AUSTRIAN AID TO AMERICAN CATHOLICS, 1830-1860. By *Benjamin J. Blied*, Professor of European History and Languages, St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin. (Milwaukee, Benjamin Blied, 3600 S. Kinnickinnic, 1944, pp. 305, \$2.50.) This doctoral dissertation presents a mass of details—some of them tiresome and un-

important—that set forth the missionary activity of the Leopoldine Society and of other organizations with similar objectives. The Leopoldine Society, which had its headquarters in Vienna, embarked on its ambitious crusade with the blessing of the pope in 1829. After 1860 the activity of the society declined and with the outbreak of the first World War it ceased to exist. In the United States its missionaries had to contend with hostile propaganda broadcast by such Protestant leaders as Lyman Beecher and by professional nativists who joined Know-Nothing lodges and by refugees from abroad who found America a Utopia in contrast with an Austria under the domination of Metternich and his reactionary allies. The visits of Kossuth and Bedini and other events known to students of Know-Nothingism fanned the fury of citizens who prized the liberties of the most tolerant country in the world. The Leopoldine missionaries made no serious effort to minister to the Negro population; and scant success crowned their efforts to convert the American Indian. After 1840 their leaders gradually abandoned hopes of converting any considerable number of Protestants and devoted themselves to work among members of their own household of faith. The influx of hordes of immigrants challenged the church to assist them in orienting themselves to the strange environment and to keep them loyal to the faith of their fathers. Although the author had to have the permission of his ecclesiastical superiors to publish his findings, he is chary of exaggerating the accomplishments of the Catholic missionaries and is conscious of the limitations of human instruments whether in the service of church or state. The brevity of the treatment of certain topics may mislead readers who lack the necessary background; but the author has accomplished his purpose of emphasizing the difficulties of the American mission field, including dissension between racial groups of the same faith.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

THE FOOD FRONT IN WORLD WAR I. By *Maxcy Dickson*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1944, pp. 194, \$3.25.)

EISENHOWER, MAN AND SOLDIER. By *Francis Trevelyan Miller*. (Philadelphia, John C. Winston, 1944, pp. 284, \$2.00.)

A GUIDE TO NAVAL STRATEGY. By *Bernard Brodie*. Fourth edition. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xii, 314, \$2.75.) Completely revised and rewritten. (For review of first edition see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 631.)

WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: EFFECTS ON ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES. By *Eugene Staley*. Appendix to Chapter IV by *Robert W. Tufts*. [Studies and Reports, Series B (Economic Conditions), No. 36.] (Montreal, International Labour Office, 1944, pp. v, 218, 12, \$1.25, 5 shillings.)

ARTICLES

OSCAR SHERWIN. Defoe Reviews World War II. *Jour. Hist. of Ideas*, June.

WALTER J. FISCHEL. The Jews of Kurdistan a Hundred Years Ago: A Traveler's Record. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, July.

WILLARD HALLAM BONNER. The Reputation of Captain Kidd. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.

WALTER ECKSTEIN. Rousseau and Spinoza: Their Political Theories and Their Conception of Ethical Freedom. *Jour. Hist. of Ideas*, June.

AGATHA RAMM. Great Britain and the Planting of Italian Power in the Red Sea, 1868-1885. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, May.

C. A. BROWNE. Alexander von Humboldt as Historian of Science in Latin America. *Isis*, Spring.

HENRY GUERLAG, George Lincoln Burr. *Ibid.*

- CARL B. BOYER. Fundamental Steps in the Development of Numeration. *Ibid.*
 LINDEN A. MANDER. The New Hebrides Condominium. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
 QUINCY WRIGHT. Peace Problems of Today and Yesterday. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.
 C. K. WEBSTER. Peace-Making: Vienna, Paris, and To-day. *Agenda*, Mar.
 CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS. On the Preservation of Historical Manuscripts. *William and Mary Quar.*, Apr.
 HILARY JENKINSON. Reflections of an Archivist. *Contemp. Rev.*, June.
 LANDON C. BELL. The Fictional Element in History. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Genreal. Mag.*, July.
 JOSEPH KATZ. A Reply to J. Huizinga on the Form and Function of History. *Jour. Hist. of Ideas*, June.

Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

SMALL OBJECTS FROM THE PNYX: I. By Gladys R. Davidson and Dorothy Burr Thompson. [Hesperia, Supplement VII.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies, 1943, pp. 172, \$5.00.) Since the earth "fill" on the Pnyx was brought in from elsewhere, this volume contains, not relics of the Athenian assembly, but the whole jumble of objects which the earth of Athens contained. Two of the inscriptions (nos. 1 and 17) are teasers. Among six dikasts' name-plates, two appear to have lacked demotics, but the right ends are missing. Of 616 Greek coins, over 100 are issues of Athens proper, the rest are various, but 134 are from a certain issue of the Athenian cleruchy on Delos (166/7-88 B.C.), and another 134 (found in a hoard) are oddly the same. None from an ostracism is recognized among the graffiti, but I am not sure that all (e.g. no. 5 ?) should be excluded. No. 25 has numerals "45": on no. 17 can we not read an acrophonic "50" ?—the numbers being serial numbers, or the value of (precious) contents? No. 26: note lunate sigmas, rare before 325 B.C. Bits of sculpture, unfinished, from a workshop; and a lovely fragment, no. 1. Hundreds of lamps found, 135 selected for publication; useful profiles are given on page 48. Loomweights were loomweights: Miss Davidson sweeps away all the other notions, and gives an account of the Greek loom and all that relates to it (pp. 65-94), which is the best thing on the subject. Seal impressions also receive notable treatment (pp. 104-108), as does the Greek notion and word "pyramid" (a small cake, from which they named the Egyptian monuments, p. 109). Mrs. Thompson's contribution is the long chapter on figurines: needless to say, it is like the preceding chapters in being both authoritative and lively. The excavator, Professor (now Lt.) Thompson, himself wrote the descriptions. As it was bound to be, the whole is a handy job. Small finds, now that we have Olynthus (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 824-25), Delos, and the Pnyx—all keenly studied—are coming into their own. STERLING DOW

THE FIVE ATTIC TRIBES AFTER KLEISTHENES. By W. Kendrick Pritchett. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1943, pp. 41.) In 1898, F. O. Bates produced a doctoral dissertation on *The Five Post-Kleisthenian Tribes*. The increment of new data since then has been considerable, and none of it is missing from these careful pages; the lists of demes are accompanied by full citations of the sources, by assign-

¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

ments to trittytes, and (an innovation) by normal figures for representation in the boule, so as to indicate population. More than Bates, Dr. (now Capt.) Pritchett has gone on to discoveries of his own; text and notes are loaded with new and sound readings and interpretations. A hitherto unpublished prytany inscription from the Agora is used to show that Ptolemais was created in (or for) 224/3 B.C. This is the historical item of greatest immediate interest. Attalis and Hadrianis are well settled. As to Antigonis and Demetrias, the account is very close to being final; on them there will be a little to add, in a forthcoming study of representation in the boule, but for this too Pritchett provided the hint, when he pointed out (*per litt.*, 1942) the possible connection between an inscription now in Copenhagen and an unpublished Agora list. It is safe to say that Pritchett's work will be a standard place of reference henceforward, and that no third doctoral dissertation will ever be written on the honorific Athenian tribes.

STERLING DOW

ROMAN TOWNS. By *Ernest Nash*. (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1944, pp. 201, \$6.00.) "Photographs, by the author, with some plans of the excavated towns of Rome, Ostia, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Paestum, Pozzuoli, Tivoli, and Fiesole."

RUINED CITIES OF IRAQ. By *Seton Lloyd*. [Issued for the Iraq Government, Directorate-General of Antiquities.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, 1944, pp. 78, \$1.25.) A little guide book to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley in which a scholar has skilfully compressed the story of what archaeologists have discovered.

GENERAL ARTICLES

- H. H. ROWLEY. Early Levite History and the Question of the Exodus. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Apr.
- J. PHILIP HYATT. The Sources of the Suffering Servant Idea. *Ibid.*
- G. A. WAINWRIGHT. Early Tin in the Aegean. *Antiquity*, June.
- A. MOMIGLIANO. Sea-Power in Greek Thought. *Class. Rev.*, May.
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- P. BOSCH-GIMPERA. The Phokaians in the Far West: An Historical Introduction. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.
- ARTHUR DARBY NOCK. The Cult of Heroes. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Apr.
- WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. The Attic Orgeones. *Ibid.*
- J. A. O. LARSEN. Federation for Peace in Ancient Greece. *Class. Philol.*, July.
- ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE. Artemis Mysia. *Ibid.*
- KURT VON FRITZ. Sallust and the Attitude of the Roman Nobility at the Time of the Wars against Jugurtha (112-105 B.C.). *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXIV.
- H. LAST. "Cinnae Quater Consulis." *Class. Rev.*, May.
- RICHARD A. PARKER. Ancient Jewish Calendation: A Criticism. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, June.
- GRACE AMADON. The Crucifixion Calendar. *Ibid.*
- HARRY A. WOLFSON. Philo on Jewish Citizenship in Alexandria. *Ibid.*
- LUCETTA MOWRY. The Early Circulation of Paul's Letters. *Ibid.*
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- SAUL LIEBERMAN. Roman Legal Institutions in Early Rabbinics and in the *Acta Martyrum*. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, July.
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- E. A. THOMPSON. Olympiodorus of Thebes. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.

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- HELENE J. KANTOR. The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture, Gerzean or Semainean (?). *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Apr.

- SAMUEL KRAUSS. The Archaeological Background of Some Passages in the *Song of Songs*. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, July.
- NELSON GLUECK. The Jordan. *Bibl. Archaeol.*, Dec.
- HERBERT GORDON MAY. Synagogues in Palestine. *Ibid.*, Feb.
- LEICESTER B. HOLLAND. Colophon. *Hesperia*, Apr.
- J. H. ILIFFE. Imperial Art in Trans-Jordan. Figurines and Lamps from a Potter's Store at Jerash. *Quar. Dept. Antiquities Palestine*, XI, nos. 1/2.
- FELIX OSWALD. The Mortaria of Margidunum and Their Development from A.D. 50 to 400. *Antiquaries Jour.*, Jan.
- I. A. RICHMOND. Three Fragments of Roman Official Statues from York, Lincoln, and Silchester. *Ibid.*
- J. PHILIP HYATT. The Writing of an Old Testament Book. *Bibl. Archaeol.*, Dec.

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- J. G. MILNE. The Perachora Drachma Inscription. *Class. Rev.*, May.
- W. T. WADE-GERY. The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch *Lycurgus* VI. B. The Εὐνομία of Tyrtaeus. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.
- E. A. ROBINSON. Did Cicero Complete the *De Legibus*? *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXXIV.
- VERNE B. SCHUMAN. The Greek Signatures of P. Mich. Inv. 4703. *Ibid.*
- J. BARAMKI. Coin Hoards from Palestine. *Quar. Dept. Antiquities Palestine*, XI, nos. 1/2.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

TEXTS AND STUDIES. Volume II, SAADIA ANNIVERSARY VOLUME. (New York, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1943, pp. 346.) The world of Jewish, Islamic, and even Christian scholasticism is to us generally and to an amazing degree more alien than the thought and emotion of Jewish or Greek antiquity, though the epoch in question is more than a thousand years nearer to us. The volume which the American Academy for Jewish Research published last year in commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of Saadia's death avoids in an exemplary way the two pitfalls besetting the historian who writes of that period, the danger of modernizing medieval thinking and that of being dull. Professor Salo W. Baron contributes a delightful biography of the intellectual aristocrat Saadia—a vivid picture of his many spiritual and communal ambitions, his role in the exciting controversy concerning the Jewish calendar of that time, and other less well-known details of his life. Professor Boaz Cohen provides forty-seven fragments of Saadia's Arabic commentary on the Bible which have been hitherto unpublished and show how a certain kind of rational exegesis has remained comparatively stereotyped throughout the centuries. Professor Solomon Gandz offers discussions of quite a number of mathematical questions in Saadia's works, such as his interesting account of why at the time of resurrection the earth will have space enough for all the pious of the generations past. Professor Harry A. Wolfson presents an especially acute, penetrating, and learned analysis of certain principal arguments for the creation of the world and the impossibility of an infinite series of causes, topics which occupied Saadia's mind—and the speculative thought of mankind for thousands of years. The late Professor Ismar Elbogen contributes a very valuable essay on Saadia's most influential Jewish prayer-book, an essay successfully supplemented by Dr. Michael Higger's comparisons be-

tween Palestinian liturgical rules and Saadia's adoption of essentially Babylonian customs. Professor Abraham S. Halkin's article on "the Samaritans and Saadia" and Professor Aaron Freimann's bibliography of Saadia appropriately round out this especially attractive publication.

DAVID BAUMGARDT

SENTENTIAE PETRI PICTAVIENSIS, I. By *Philip S. Moore* and *Marthe Dulong*.

[Publications in Mediaeval Studies, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1943, pp. lxii, 326.) It is very encouraging to find volumes of this sort being published at this time; the distinguished authors who have done their work so well and the University of Notre Dame, which sponsors it, are all to be thanked. No one has greater right than Father Moore to speak of Peter of Poitiers. By earlier studies he has already laid the foundations for the work at hand and for the volumes to follow, and those acquainted with the fine scholarship of Mlle Dulong understand how fortunate Father Moore is to have her collaboration in the preparation of a worthy edition of this major work of an important twelfth century scholar. Peter belongs to that group of schoolmen who have been long admired but not always perfectly understood and who, when carefully studied, are discovered to have had far more originality and intellectual acumen than they had been accredited with. Peter's paramount interest in his *Sententiae* was to deal with disputable questions in dialectical and systematic fashion. "His *Sic et Non* procedure is the opposing of reasons expressed in syllogisms rather than the setting off of authorities one against the other." It seems also that much of his work reflects those questions and queries that were challenging the alert, active teacher in the Paris schools of his day (b. 1130, d. 1205) and is thus far more than a compendium of ancient and worthy authorities. The editors tell us that Peter uses his authorities sparingly and that these *Sententiae* are not a mere stringing together of biblical and patristic texts. "The bulk of the work is taken up with the rational discussion of theological questions and difficulties which greatly multiplied under the influence of the new dialectical movement." Peter was also a grammarian of considerable distinction and ability, and speculative grammar plays an important part in his analytical methods. He seems also most "modern" in his use of visual aids to learning, anticipating by many centuries what military, naval, and contemporary progressive educational authorities seem recently to have discovered.

GRAY C. BOYCE

HIERONIMO GIUSTINIANI'S HISTORY OF CHIOS. Edited with an Introduction by *Philip P. Argenti*. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1943, pp. xxxv, 462, £2-2-0.)

This is the author's eighth publication about the history of his ancestral island. It consists of the original Italian manuscript of Giustiniani's work, which he discovered in the state archives in Rome, and which had hitherto been published in a French version. The discovery was prompted by a note, made in 1865 by the historian Finlay in his copy of the French edition, preserved in the Finlay Library of the British Archaeological School at Athens, recording a statement by Hopf, the German historian of medieval Greece, that he had used such a manuscript. This Italian original contains "a good deal of material omitted in the printed [French] work," and was "written in 1586" when, twenty years after the Turkish capture of Chios, Giustiniani lived in exile as a French official in Paris, though never forgetting that he belonged to the Genoese family which gave its name to the *Maona dei Giustiniani*, the famous Chartered Company, which administered Chios as described in the editor's recent book, *Chios Vincta*. Yet, as the editor mentions, he "makes the inaccurate statement that the *Maonesi* had held Chios as 'veri patroni,'" whereas "in all the treaties it is ex-

PLICITLY stipulated that with the Republic shall be the sovereignty, whereas the *Maonesi* shall have the possession." But, as Giustiniani admits, he has not followed the "contemporary standards of an historian"; he likes "lengthy digressions," devotes "three of the thirteen books of his *History* to a pure description of the island." But the editor considers that, "although it adds little to what we may learn from other sources of the political history of Chios in both ancient and medieval times, it corroborates other sources" and "gives us an insight into the manners and customs of the islanders and the general atmosphere of Chian life." But his bias in religious matters—there were four faiths in Chios—is a serious limitation of his qualities as an observer of that aspect of insular life, and his love of historical parallels leads him astray into ancient philosophers. The editor has shown in his "Addenda et Corrigenda," that Giustiniani was not always accurate in his quotations from the classics.

WILLIAM MILLER

MARSILIO FICINO'S COMMENTARY ON PLATO'S *SYMPOSIUM*. The Text and a Translation, with an Introduction by *Sears Reynolds Jayne*, [University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 1.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1944, pp. 247, \$2.00.)

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

ERNST A. PHILIPPSON. Der germanische Mütter- und Matronenkult am Niederrhein. *Germanic Rev.*, Apr.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY: A STUDY IN MONASTIC ADMINISTRATION. By *R. A. L. Smith*, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xi, 237, \$3.75.) This monastic house was one of the richest in England. Its religious and political history is well known, and it is a little surprising that its economic history and administrative life have waited until now for adequate study. The monastic traditions of this Benedictine convent extend far back into Anglo-Saxon times, and its wealth was chiefly the gift of Anglo-Saxon benefactors. Dr. Smith's study really begins with the organizing and consolidating activities of the twelfth century archbishops and priors, however, and the illustrative details which crowd his pages are drawn chiefly from the three centuries that follow. The records of the priory are unusually complete and varied and Dr. Smith has made full use of them. The priory held manors in eight of the southeastern counties of England and, until the close of the fourteenth century, exercised a direct and close supervision of the tilling of its demesne lands. Wheat and other cereals were the "cash crops," and the monks were at great pains to bring fresh acres under cultivation as well as to increase the fertility of land already under the plow through the use of limestone and fertilizers. The yield per acre of wheat, on the demesne lands of the priory, was double the medieval average. Capitalist farming, it is evident, goes back to the fourteenth century. The cultivation of cereals was balanced by the raising of sheep, of which the priory had many thousands. Disastrous storms, years of drought, severe pestilences, and the war taxation of Edward III brought on an economic recession. Then, about 1390, Prior Thomas Chillenden leased the demesne lands so advantageously that the revenues of the priory reached their greatest height. The prior, something of an autocrat, spent thousands of pounds upon the reconstruction of the famous nave of Canterbury Cathedral. The priors "lived like barons," with a household of some twenty persons. They had recourse to a council of officials, lawyers, and local landlords. A half-dozen senior monks, with the prior, exercised a controlling influence over the life of the monastic community, appointing the twenty-five obedientiaries and auditing accounts. In the best period of its administrative history all the revenues of the priory were paid into a central treasury or "exchequer," which aped the ways of its royal counterpart. The monks lived well, eating wheat bread, some meat, much fish, and drinking the best wines of France as well as locally produced beer. Monastic servants outnumbered the monks two to one. The later years of this house were marked by slackness and a growing secularization, Dr. Smith says. The distribution of alms dwindled more and more. W. O. ALLT

A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Sir George Duff-Sutherland Dunbar*, *bt.* Two volumes. [3d edition.] (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts. 1944, pp. 701, \$7.50.) "A postscript covering the period from 1939 to the end of 1942 has been added, the passages on the Bactrian Greeks have been rewritten, and statistics of population have been revised in accordance with

the 1941 census." The first edition was published in 1936, the second in 1939, by I. Nicholson and Watson of London.

INDIA IN OUTLINE. By *Mabel Helene Kisch, Lady Hartog*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 121, \$2.00.) "An introduction to India today and a brief history."

EAST OF MALTA, WEST OF SUEZ: THE OFFICIAL ADMIRALTY ACCOUNT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET, 1939-1943. By *Bartimeus*, pseud. [*Lewis Anselm Ritchie*]. Foreword by Admiral Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1944, pp. 231, \$2.50.) "A comprehensive account of British naval action in the Mediterranean from the outbreak of war to the conquest of Tunisia."

ANNUAL BULLETIN OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. No. XXX, PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEARS 1940 AND 1941. (London, published for the Historical Association by P. S. King and Staples, 1944, pp. 77.)

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MARJORIE C. HOLMES. Royal Commissions and Commissioners of Inquiry in British Columbia. A Checklist. Part I: 1872-1900. *Ibid.*

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FRANCE

ÉCONOMIE ET FINANCES DE LA FRANCE, PASSÉ ET AVENIR. By *Robert Wolff*. [Bibliothèque Brentano's, Études historiques, économiques, et sociales.] (New York, Brentano's, 1943, pp. 320.) The author attributes France's collapse to the following factors: a stationary population which retarded business expansion and hindered colonial development; an influx of foreigners lacking an understanding of Gallic life and thought into the body politic; the entry of women into gainful pursuits which upset the social order; a sharp decline in the proportion of agricultural producers; poor rural education; the theoretical nature of technical training; the concentration of business in a few hands; the triumph of shyster politicians; the rapid growth of functionaries; political instability; loss of popular confidence in the government; shifting financial policies which paralyzed business; crushing taxes; and the inept and poorly-timed social legislation of 1936 which materially lowered production potentialities. He holds that France can again become a great power if a long peace is assured; if she becomes empire-minded; if her government is reorganized along British lines; if population growth can be stimulated; if more and better technical and agricultural education is provided; if private initiative is again given a free hand; and if industry comes to rest upon a forty-eight hour rather than a forty-hour week. This blueprint is, of course, rooted wholly in the past and mirrors the book's basic defect—the author's failure to comprehend the fact that a new age has dawned and that, with new economic, political, and social concepts emerging, any attempt to discuss reconstruction in terms of dead yesteryears is utterly futile.

LOWELL RAGATZ

LA RÉVOLUTION D'HIER, D'AUJOURD'HUI, ET DE DEMAIN. By *Louis Marlio*. [Bibliothèque Brentano's, Études historiques, économiques, et sociales.] (New York, Brentano's, 1943, pp. 222.) French authors living in exile in America are fortunate in having the Bibliothèque Brentano's (more familiarly, the parent Brentano concern at 586 Fifth Avenue) as a channel for publication. This firm is currently sponsoring two series of works, one literary in nature and the other given over to history, economics, and social studies. All are brought out in familiar French format—paper covers, uncut pages, and, alas, no index—and the titles already published constitute a monument to the invincible spirit of Gallic letters in the face of adversity. This volume, by a member of the Institute, is the first in the second series and sets a high standard of craftsmanship. Essentially philosophical, it holds that the spirit of revolution is undying. If, for the moment, it appears to have succumbed to the dark forces of reaction, this is merely because too many Westerners softened under the material prosperity attending industrialization and lost the vision of youth. Egoism is held to be the basic cause of social and international disequilibrium. The confusion of our age is rooted in incompatibilities in the common man's demands—wealth and equality, progress and stability, expansion and peace. Better days will return when emphasis is placed upon duties rather than upon rights, when rampant individualism is curbed, and when restraints are placed upon national sovereignty. Military, economic, and moral disarmament will, in due course, usher in international democracy and revolution will then have reached full flower. Assumption of leadership in the movement would result in France's regeneration and cannot, therefore, be too strongly urged.

LOWELL RAGATZ

ESQUISSES PARISIENNES EN DES TEMPS HEUREUX, 1830-1848. By *Louis Allard*. (Montreal, Les Editions Variétés, 1943, pp. 342.) The author, in a foreword,

warns us that this is neither a study of the political history of the July Monarchy, nor of its great literary achievements. He presents rather a series of sketches that fill in the background of the period. Paris, still filled with medieval and Renaissance byways and unimproved by Baron Haussmann, is brought to life. Then we see Louis Philippe and the royal family and the difficulties of the dynasty with rising opposition groups; next short studies of the electorate of two hundred thousand, the support of the monarchy, and of the press, recreate the atmosphere of the politics of the time. Further chapters deal with the stiff-necked opposition of the old aristocracy entrenched in the Faubourg Saint Germain, with the world of the great capitalists, of the lower middle class, and finally with various aspects of the theater as it represented the life and society of the time. The author confines his attention almost entirely to Paris, with only here and there a reference to the departments. It is truly a delightful book, the work of a scholar who knows his material through and through, and entertains the reader while informing him. It is exactly the sort of book to give the student the "feel" of a period he already knows in a more formal and more colorless way from the political and literary histories of France he has read.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

BRIAND: DISCOURS PRONONCÉ À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE NEW YORK POUR LA COMMÉMORATION DU 80^{me} ANNIVERSAIRE DE LA NAISSANCE D'ARISTIDE BRIAND. By *Alexis Leger*. (Aurora, Wells College Press, 1943, pp. 22, \$1.50.) Alexis Leger, descendant of an old French family and born on the island of St. Leger near Guadeloupe, is now consultant for French literature at the Library of Congress. At the beginning of the first World War he entered the French Foreign Service, held various diplomatic posts abroad, and served in special missions to Washington, London, and The Hague. His diplomatic ability was held in high esteem in the circles around the Quai d'Orsay; the fact that at the same time he was also the author of some volumes of poetry was and still is known only to a small group of his friends and admirers. For a long time he was one of Briand's closest intimates and collaborators. He was with him during those decisive years when Briand shaped the foreign policy of France and constructed a political system which, notwithstanding all its shortcomings, saved the peace of Europe as long as Briand lived. With awe and admiration Leger draws the lines of the picture of one of the most impressive political figures France has produced—a great Frenchman and (what counts more) a great European. On a few pages Leger gives a rough sketch of the principles of Briand's policy, of the pillars on which he built his system of collective security. "Those in France," says Leger, "who most violently fought collaboration on the basis of peace, in agreement with the European family, for a victorious strong France, with a republican disarmed Germany,—those are the same who some day would accept a collaboration on the basis of war, in favor of a Germanic order, through a totalitarian, imperialistic Germany, for a humiliated, oppressed, isolated France." The man who at Locarno sat at the table with Stresemann would not have gone to Munich to sign blank checks for Hitler. These few pages, short as they are, reveal Leger's great mastery of language, his purity of style, his feeling for artistic balance. Just because Leger disregards all details and confines himself to easily discernible basic lines, he brings out Briand's mental and moral traits in clear and visible forms. A portrait of a politician who was a poet, written by a poet who was a politician.

DIETER CUNZ

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

DUEL FOR THE NORTHLAND: THE WAR OF ENEMY AGENTS IN SCANDINAVIA. By Kurt Singer. (New York, Robert M. McBride, 1943, pp. x, 212, \$2.75.) *Duel for the Northland* tries to portray the activities of enemy agents in Scandinavia, and the story centers around Horst von Pflug-Hartung, "the German master-spy," who sought to match wits with Ernst Friedrich Wollweber, the master mind of the OGPU, who was willing to "murder, kill, rob and spy in order to help the tragic horde of the underprivileged." Neither of the two agents was interested "in money or honor or fame" (p. 32). The one was a patriot of a Greater Germany and the other was interested in a world revolution. The author believes that it was the activities of Pflug-Hartung that delivered Denmark into the hands of the German Army without a struggle, and that he, similarly, won the Battle of Norway. These conclusions indicate clearly that the author does not know the history of the Scandinavian countries since 1920. It is extremely doubtful that Pflug-Hartung influenced events in Scandinavia either one way or another. The author is careless with facts and turns molehills into mountains. A historian might be slightly amused by it and the average reader bored. The former minister of foreign affairs, Rickard Sandler of Sweden, is portrayed as "tall" (p. 167) which is hardly the case; Hermann Goering married "rich Karin von Kantzow" in Sweden instead of Karin Fock; Danish events become helplessly entangled with Norwegian events; Swedish justice which the author criticizes elsewhere seems fair in the mild sentence given to Wollweber. The chapter on Axel Werner-Gren as an agent of death is disappointing; the books on the Swedish list of confiscations seem too inclusive (p. 135). Too much is made of Sven Hedin as "the most important fascist" in Sweden. Hedin has been aging very rapidly and is almost entirely blind. Though the chapters on Norway are slightly better than those on Denmark and Sweden, the book as such has no great merits. It is the work of a journalist and does not represent journalism at its best.

O. FRITIOF ANDER

DANMARKS INDUSTRIELLE UDVIKLING. (Copenhagen, 1943, pp. 445.)

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

HITLER'S WORDS: TWO DECADES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, 1923-1943.

Edited by *Gordon W. Prange*. With an Introduction by Frederick Schuman. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, pp. xi, 400.) This volume fills a gap by making available within readable compass the chief utterances of Hitler from 1922 to 1943. Here, in well-organized form, is material for following the tortuous track of a twisted mind but the mind of a supremely successful propagandist. Dr. Prange has put present and future historians in his debt by his labors in translating and arranging material drawn from the *Völkischer Beobachter* as well as other sources—in all two thousand speeches and proclamations. This volume and the study by Heiden (see p. 118) are an excellent foundation for the study of Hitler and Nazi ideology.

GERMAN RADIO PROPAGANDA: REPORT ON HOME BROADCASTS DURING

THE WAR. By *Ernst Kris* and *Hans Speier*. [Studies of the Institute of World Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 543, \$4.00.) "Its main source the confidential Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts issued by the British Broadcasting Corporation, this study analyzes the German radio propaganda broadcasts to the people inside Germany."

HITLER'S GENERALS. By *W. E. Hart* [pseud.]. (New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1944,

pp. 233, \$2.75.) "Biographies of German generals under Hitler and in Hitler's war. The author served as an officer in the Reichswehr under the German Republic."

NAZI WAR FINANCE AND BANKING. By *Otto Nathan*. [Financial Research Program, Our Economy in War, Occasional Paper 20.] (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1944, pp. iii, 97, 50 cents.)

THE NAZI ECONOMIC SYSTEM: GERMANY'S MOBILIZATION FOR WAR. By

Otto Nathan with the collaboration of *Milton Friedl*. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1944, pp. 387, \$4.00.) "This examination of the methods and techniques which Germany used in preparing for war was begun at the request of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense in Washington."

THE UNTAMED BALKANS. By *Frederic W. L. Konacs*. (London, Robert Hale, Ltd., 1942, pp. 183.) To write a political and economic history of the Balkan states, an account of their present condition, and a forecast of their postwar future, within these restricted limits is a most difficult task. But the author of this handbook has shown an impartiality rare in Balkan historians, though his knowledge of the various states is unequal. He seems to be most familiar with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whereas in his account of Greece he makes the date of the War of Independence, the historic '21, "1820" (pp. 12f, 129), ignores the services of Janina to Greek education, underestimates the character of Venizelos, whose knowledge of Anglo-Saxon mentality and American history was amazing, omits the success of the Refugees' settlement, and the masterly strategy of Metaxas, who warned Venizelos against the Asia Minor campaign and held up the Italian advance in this war. In his summary of Greek history there is no word about the long Frankish period. His account of Rumanian origins is singularly fair; he is well up in Croatian politics, and realizes that the Balkans are the "bridge between East and West," and mainly agricultural, though governed, and sometimes misgoverned, by their urban minorities, while the peasant's son aspires to wear a white collar and study at the university and thereafter enter overcrowded professions. Sketch maps of each country illustrate this historic summary.

WILLIAM MILLER

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

CONTEMPORARY ITALY: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ORIGINS. By Count Carlo Sforza. Translated by Drake and Denise de Kay. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944, pp. xiii, 430, \$3.50.) It is extremely difficult for the historian to take seriously this book which states, rather lightly not to say flippantly, first, that "nothing is vainer or more unnatural than to write a book with other books," and secondly, that "it is not difficult to learn to write a well-constructed and well-balanced book; but that belongs to literary cookery." Count Sforza, who seems to attach undue significance to his personal testimony, expects to be taken seriously when he says: "The only thing I wish for this book—nothing else matters to me—is that my readers will feel that my evidence has been weighed with one sole desire—to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." One can readily grant the author's sincerity and at the same time conclude that what he says about events and developments, of which he has been an eyewitness, does not even distantly approach the whole truth. For example, the pages on the Giolitti Cabinet of 1920-1921, in which Sforza was foreign minister and which he pretentiously calls the Giolitti-Sforza Cabinet, contain much personal testimony. A good deal of this testimony is not particularly revealing and it seems to lack the fullness of detail which one would expect from a cabinet member as highly placed as Sforza. It is possible therefore to profess to give personal

testimony and to tell the whole truth, without making a significant contribution to historical knowledge. The forty-two essays which make up the text of the book cover a wide and almost bewildering range of topics dealing with the history of Italy since the Renaissance—Machiavelli, the opera, dialects, church and state, socialism, fascism, etc. To these essays, the author brings the impressions and reflections of his cultivated mind and his broad political experience. Much of what he says is penetrating and suggestive. All of it is certainly worth reading and consulting, provided that it be done with caution.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

"REGULYARNOE" GOSUDARSTVO PETRA PERVOVO I YEVO IDEOLOGIYA [Peter I's "regular" state and its ideology]. By B. I. Syromyatnikov. Chast [Part] I. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1943, pp. 212, 12r.) "The first part of this monograph is devoted to a comprehensive historiographic survey of the views held in the course of two centuries regarding Peter and his reforms; also to an analysis of the historical premises of the state organized by Peter and of its connection with and relation to the state of the previous era."

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE USSR. Edited by V. P. Volgin, E. V. Tarle, and A. M. Pankratova. (Moscow, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, pp. 288, 15r.) This work, the text of which is wholly in Russian, is a survey of the achievements of Soviet scholarship in the field of history. The chapters are by various hands and they cover studies of the past of the Union as well as of other countries. Archaeology and Byzantinology are dealt with in separate sections, while central Asia and the Caucasus are also singled out for special treatment. The volume is issued under the auspices of the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences.

RUSSIA AND THE PEACE. By *Sir Bernard Pares*. (New York, Macmillan, pp. 304, \$2.50.) "A summary and answers to questions on Russia most often asked of this English author, who has visited Russia twenty-one times since 1898 and who has lived, traveled, and studied there, often serving in an official capacity for the British government, always working for Anglo-Russian friendship."

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

CHINA LOOKS FORWARD. By *Sun Fo*. Introduction by Lin Yutang. (New York, John Day, 1944, pp. 292, \$3.00.) "The author, son of the founder of the Chinese Republic, Sun Yat-sen, and himself a member of the Chinese government, tells what the Chinese are looking forward to in their postwar world."

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES AND JAPAN: BATTLE ON PAPER, 1940-1941. By *Hubertus J. Van Mook*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 138, \$2.00.) "A chronicle of the political and economic relations between Japan and the Netherlands' colonies in Asia in the last two years before the outbreak of the Pacific War. The author is Netherlands Minister for the Colonies."

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

THE ROAD TO SALEM. By *Adelaide L. Fries*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp. x, 316, \$4.00.) This is an intensely human account of the settlements of the Moravians, first in Pennsylvania and later in North Carolina. It is the autobiography of a woman who was brought up in Pennsylvania, where she saw the establishment of Bethlehem and thence went as the bride of a doctor to the settlement in Wachovia in what is now Forsyth county, North Carolina, supplemented with other material drawn from contemporary documents of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The story deals with the establishment of Salem as the central town of Wachovia. The narrator is Anna Catharina Ernst (1726-1816), who wrote her autobiography in 1803 at the age of 77. As Dr. Fries says in her preface, "Catharina happens to have been an unusual woman, with varied contacts and responsibilities, and it is doubtful whether any other Moravian of her day saw life from as many different angles." She records the most intimate details of individual and community life and also contacts with larger movements of her time. The villages of Wachovia were spared the threatened depredations of Indians, because of their well-built stockades and of the hourly blowing of the night watchmen's horns and the ringing of bells for early morning worship, which as it turned out were mistaken by Indian groups as alert signals against their repeated approaches. The Moravians as a group, being pacifist, took no part on either side in the Revolutionary War. They agreed to pay triple taxes to the provincial government to be relieved of compulsory service, but a number of their younger men volunteered in the patriot cause, this being left as a matter of individual conscience. Throughout the book run strains of their abiding faith and of their neighborly co-operation. Dr. Fries, for many years custodian of the Moravian Records of North Carolina and now archivist of the southern province of the Moravian church, is quite the best qualified person to have prepared such a book, and she has done it with exceptional skill and enlightenment. ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1785-1943. By *John Paul Cadden*, St. Anselm's Priory, Brookland, D. C. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, Number 82.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xi, 122.) Because the relationship between the Catholic minority and the American government and social institutions has seldom been of national importance, the history of the Catholic church in the United States, unlike the Catholic history of western Europe, has remained a special field of history. Catholicism, it is true, has been the major opponent of negative Puritanism, the anti-Catholic activities of the 1840's and 1850's, and the A.P.A. and revived Ku Klux Klan movements, but these were not essentially Catholic activities. In three volumes, of which this is the first, Dr. Cadden proposes to examine critically the historical literature about positive Catholic activity in the United States. He has postponed to the second and third volumes the examination of non-Catholic studies of American Catholic history and a bibliography of the writings in this special field. In this volume he gives a brief account of the writers of American Catholic history from 1785 to 1943. The author thus excludes the difficult evaluation of colonial writings; furthermore, he does not explain his criterion for a Catholic historian. He lists most of those whose accounts have been published, but he omits Bishop Simon Bruté and Father Stephen Theodore Badin, who wrote of American missions, and the reports in the *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* and the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, both of which are as important historically as the reports of Bishops England and Flaget mentioned by the author. One can disagree also with the explanation of the scarcity of early Catholic writing. The difficulties—such as poverty, the need of doctrinal tracts, foreign language handicaps, and the concentration of the Catholic leaders on the great mission problems implicit in immigration and westward expansion—were not so much outside as within the Catholic body. Because of this the brief account of John Gilmary Shea has additional significance in that, despite the handicaps, Shea kept his writings very close to his laboriously collected manuscripts. Dr. Cadden pays deserved tribute to Dr. Peter Guilday, who, more than anyone else, has kept alive Catholic historical scholarship in recent years. The chapter on local Catholic historical societies points out the unfortunate brevity of their existences. The volume is, of course, incomplete without the proposed second and third volumes.

THOMAS T. McAVOY

EMPIRE OF THE AIR: JUAN TRIPPE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD AIRWAYS. By *Matthew Josephson*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1944, pp. ix, 236, \$3.00.) This volume is chiefly concerned with problems of the future and America's peace and policy in international and domestic air transport. The author of the *Robber Barons* treats Juan T. Trippe and Pan American Airways somewhat less devastatingly than he did the Harrimans, Goulds, and Vanderbilts. He sees in the meteoric rise of Trippe and his company with the aid in early years of \$125,000,000 in government subsidies as a sky written and portentous augury of future monopoly and international and domestic discord. The writing is vigorous. In a longer perspective the sixteen years here treated may some day seem even more important than they do to Mr. Josephson's present-day readers.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIRST PRINTING OF THE WRITINGS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE TOGETHER WITH A RECORD OF FIRST AND CONTEMPORARY LATER PRINTINGS OF HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANNUALS, ANTHOLOGIES, PERIODICALS, AND NEWSPAPERS ISSUED DURING HIS

LIFETIME; ALSO SOME SPURIOUS POEANA AND FAKES. Compiled by Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny. Revised edition. [Heartman's Historical Series, Number 53.] (Hattiesburg, Miss., The Book Farm, 1943, pp. 294, \$10.00.)

CONCERNING MR. LINCOLN, IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS PICTURED AS HE APPEARED TO LETTER WRITERS OF HIS TIME. Compiled by Harry E. Pratt. (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1944, pp. ix, 145, \$3.00.) In this well-edited little book Harry E. Pratt, late executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, has gathered together sixty-two letters and documents written by people who knew Lincoln. Most of the letters have never been published before, and most of them were written within a few days after the authors saw Lincoln. The documents range in time from Lincoln's political career in the fifties through the presidency and end with the assassination and the trial of the conspirators. The great majority of the writers were relatively obscure people: college boys, Springfield friends, office seekers, and relatives. Only a few "greats" are represented: William H. Herndon with six letters, David Davis, Richard Yates, and Ezra Cornell. The contemporary quality of the letters invests them with special significance as source material. In this book the reader can see Lincoln as the people of his time saw him, which is infinitely better than seeing him through the inaccurate afterglow of retrospections and reminiscences. Some interesting opinions of Lincoln emerge in these pages. Several observers detected his greatness and penned sincere tributes to him. Others never penetrated beyond his outward manners and appearance. One thought him terribly "un-cooth," and another wrote disgustedly, "I have known small men from the Illinois Legislature to cut a big figure in Congress, and an old *poke easy*, that used to walk our streets and was said to be *hen pecked* to be President of the United States." The book is a definite contribution to Lincolniana. Mr. Pratt has not presented any great mass of startling new information, but he has compiled a set of documents in convenient form that throws useful light upon Lincoln and his problems and his times. The result more than confirms the compiler's modest hope that the book will be of significance to Lincoln students.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

JOHN MERLE COULTER: MISSIONARY IN SCIENCE. By Andrew Denny Rodgers, III. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. viii, 321, \$3.75.) A biography of a great scientist and educator that covers an important sector in the history of science in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Botany has apparently found in Dr. Rodgers a devoted and competent historian. Other volumes in the field are well under way.

2D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 124.)

5TH DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 76.)

80TH DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 77.)

92D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 45.)

THEY PLAYED THE GAME: THE STORY OF BASEBALL GREATS. By *Harry Grayson*. (New York, A. S. Barnes, 1944, pp. xiii, 139, \$2.00.) Gradually a literature is being built up that will make possible the history of baseball. Harry Grayson's slight volume is a collection of clever pen pictures of great players from "Cap" Anson and Dan Brouthers down to Babe Ruth. The older fans will clamor for more and the younger ones will have to admit there were giants in those days.

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY ON AMERICAN BUSINESS. By *Stanley Pargellis*, Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago. [A Newcomen Address] (Chicago, The Newcomen Society, American Branch, 1943, pp. 24.)

DESARROLLO DE LA DEMOCRACIA NORTEAMERICANA. By *Isaac Joslin Cox*, Professor Emérito de Historia en la Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. (Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1943, pp. 178.)

MR. ROOSEVELT. By *Compton Mackenzie*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944, pp. 256, \$3.75.) This volume, if it were not written by an Englishman and had not omitted domestic matters after 1932, might easily be taken for a campaign biography. Mr. Mackenzie treats the President as a world figure and ranks him above any other name. The illustrations are exceptionally good, many being in color.

TREATIES IN FORCE: A LIST OF TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN FORCE ON DECEMBER 31, 1941. [Department of State, Publication 2103.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. viii, 275, 40 cents.)

THE AMERICAN SENATE AND WORLD PEACE. By *Kenneth Colegrove*, Professor of Political Economy, Northwestern University. (New York, Vanguard Press, 1944, pp. 208, \$2.00.) It would be difficult to imagine a more timely or a more challenging book than this one, for it provides the most complete and the most cogent argument that has yet been written against the two thirds rule in the Senate for the ratification of treaties. Approximately one half of the treatise is devoted to a historical and analytical discussion of the two thirds rule showing why it was adopted, how it has been used and abused, and what the influences are that favor its retention. Professor Colegrove's main contention centers around the undemocratic character of the rule, and the use that has been and can be made of it by vested interests and by senators who wish to thwart the foreign policy of a president. He does not quite explain the origin of the rule, makes a few errors of fact in his swiftly moving survey, and misses entirely the capitulation of Taft to the anti-League people in 1919. But these items do not detract seriously from his account which is generally accurate and always pungent. The second half of the study deals briefly with the use of executive agreements and joint resolutions to escape the effects of the two thirds rule and with the disadvantages of the practice. Primarily, however, this part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the Senate as it is constituted at present and to an appraisal of the chances that a Senate minority would sabotage a wise and far-reaching foreign policy at the end of this war unless the two thirds rule is abolished. Professor Colegrove has

written with clarity and facility a significant treatise on government and an important tract for the times. It is a work that deserves to be widely read.

RUHL J. BARTLETT

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN VERMONT. By *John C. Huden*. (Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1943, pp. xi, 277, \$4.50.) The evolution of state control of Vermont's public elementary ("common") schools is the doctoral thesis of the present Vermont high school supervisor. He concludes that Vermont variants from national educational history are conditioned by its continued rural character, and by the steady emigration of its young. His complicated organization is confusing and leads to repetition. Opening with a statistical view, the author sketches the social background to 1850 with emphasis on the influence of governors and other leaders. Returning to earliest settlement, and still interweaving references to the effect of war, boom, depression, and migration on the supply of teachers and scholars, he traces the growth of school organization to 1939. The meat of the volume follows—topical analysis of changes in school taxation, training and certification of teachers, and supervision. Educational philosophies are beyond the scope of the study. Passing reference is made to the penetration of European ideas in the late nineteenth century, and to the early Vermont kindergarten law of 1886. A concluding section describes the seesaw conflict of localism and centralism, ending in the belated acceptance of the centralist Carnegie report of 1912. There is illuminating evidence in the extensive appendix, and too brief an index. Sources, well exploited, are predominantly official. Use of manuscripts and newspaper is limited because of emphasis on administrative history and the low yield of pertinent evidence. The treatment of the late nineteenth century is thin; few auxiliary studies are available. Social background to 1850 is fuller. More study is needed on the power of the local school board, the late appearance of consolidated schools, the advent of compulsory attendance, the service after 1920 of the University of Vermont's department of education and its summer session in training teachers and other educational leaders.

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

THE BURLINGTON COURT BOOK: A RECORD OF QUAKER JURISPRUDENCE IN WEST NEW JERSEY, 1680-1709. Edited by *H. Clay Reed*, Associate Professor of History, University of Delaware, and *George J. Miller*, Counsellor at Law, Perth Amboy, New Jersey. [American Legal Records, Volume V, edited for the American

Historical Association by the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.] (Washington, American Historical Association, 1944, pp. lv, 372, \$7.50.) This corpus of legal records is significant for the history and development of American law for several reasons. It affords the student an excellent example of the actual processes involved in transplanting English legal institutions to America. Property rights and other customary law had to be re-examined and defined in terms of a new physical and a much altered social environment. Moreover the province of West New Jersey was in origin a Quaker colony; hence the student may observe in these records variations in law by the members of a sect whose whole outlook was tempered by reasonableness. During the early years Burlington Court enjoyed the status of a provincial court because, with the exception of that of Fenwick's wayward colony at Salem, county courts were slow in developing. The separate existence of West Jersey came to a close in 1702. By 1709, when this record ends, the judicial machinery of the crown was fully operative and the judicial norms are those of a royal colony. The Quaker ascendancy in West Jersey had waned, and Burlington Court had been reduced to the status of a county court. From 1680 to 1702 the compass had been boxed, and the first Quaker experiment had passed into history. For the student of colonial history, however, the *Burlington Court Book* rivals in importance the minutes of the Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey and the minutes of the various monthly meetings of Friends as an original source. The copying and editing of this body of material, which runs to 350 pages, was a task of large labor. It has been excellently done. In addition Professor Reed has written a first-rate historical introduction. His heavily documented annotation is more than compensated for by a series of discoveries that will delight the specialist in this field. The absence of the legal introduction, "not completed in time for publication," is indeed a disappointment to the serious scholar.

JOHN E. POMFRET

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY JOHN BASSETT MOORE AT THE DEDICATION OF THE JOHN BASSETT MOORE HIGH SCHOOL AT SMYRNA, DELAWARE, 17 JUNE, 1936, TOGETHER WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS. (New Haven, The Trustees of the John Bassett Moore Fund, 1944, pp. 50.) Interesting as a fragment of autobiography, for the bibliography, and for the promise of the publication of Judge Moore's collected papers.

PHILADELPHIA BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CENTER AND UNION LIBRARY CATALOGUE: UNION LIST OF MICROFILMS, SUPPLEMENT II (1943). Prepared by the Committee on Microphotography. (Philadelphia, mimeographed, 1944, pp. xi, 282, \$3.75.)

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF WEST VIRGINIA (1861-1863). Edited by *Charles H. Ambler, Frances Haney Atwood, and William B. Matthews*, under direction of the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia. (Huntington, Gentry Brothers, 1943, pp. viii, 104; 920; 1183; 888; 91, \$12.50. Distributed by the West Virginia State Board of Control, Charleston, West Virginia.) In a strict sense these volumes are an authorized report rather than an official record. Their origin is analogous to that of Madison's *Notes* of the Philadelphia Convention. As in the Federal Convention of 1787, so in the First Constitutional Convention of West Virginia an official secretary was employed who kept only the barest outline of proceedings. Granville D. Hall, a newspaper reporter, was permitted to make stenographic notes, however, and it is these along with supplementary materials gathered from the press and the official journal that make up the present document. The value of Hall's notes was recognized early in the regular session of the Convention (November 26, 1861-February 18, 1862), but a motion to

authorize publication was rejected. In the recalled session (February 12-18, 1863), a motion providing for publication "at this time or at any subsequent period" was also defeated despite the fact that it was earnestly supported by active floor leaders. This ended the matter until 1906, when West Virginia, pressed by necessities of the Virginia debt controversy, purchased the transcribed manuscript. It failed, however, to serve her purposes as expected, and it was not until the late 1930's that the West Virginia legislature recognized the public importance of the material and appropriated funds for publication. As if to make amends for the negligence of eighty years, the state has spared neither expense nor pains in bringing out the present work. Handsomely bound and printed in ten point type on a soft rag paper of enduring quality, it presents a format as usable as it is attractive. A significant feature is the 101-page introduction by C. H. Ambler, which gives the Virginia background and other basic matter "with respect to points that were determining." There are appendixes which contain the minutes of the board of commissioners, minutes of the executive committee, the address of the delegates to their constituents, and the constitution as adopted at the end of the regular session. The 91-page index in Volume III leaves little to be desired as a working guide. Needless to say, these volumes fill an important place on the shelf of Civil War history as well as in the annals of American state-making. Although it contains no striking revelations on the manner and method of West Virginia's formation, the work can not fail to have a sobering influence on those who hold extreme views on the character and nature of the new state movement. A single oversight on the part of the editors may be noted. As a matter of historic fairness, it is to be regretted that they failed to include the name of Granville D. Hall on the title page. It would have been thoughtful recognition unquestionably earned and graciously bestowed.

FESTUS P. SUMMERS

CALENDAR OF THE JEFFERSON DAVIS POSTWAR MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION COLLECTION. (New Orleans, mimeographed, 1943, pp. ii, 325.) This calendar provides a paraphrased condensation of the documents preserved and in part assembled by Jefferson Davis and his wife in order to write a vindication of the Southern Confederacy. Davis' earlier papers, which he had carefully saved, were scattered after the fall of Richmond and many of them were never recovered. This second collection, presented to the Louisiana Historical Association by Mrs. Davis after her husband's death, was first used by Dunbar Rowland when it became available to investigators in 1911. Many of the letters were published in his *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist* (1923), to which citations are given in the calendar. The content of the collection, sketched in great detail in the calendar entries, affords valuable data on the last phase of Davis' career when he strove to uphold his policies as president of the Confederacy against attacks by prominent ex-Confederates like Joseph E. Johnston, and to produce a written memorial in defense of the "lost cause." In his quest for information and evidence he carried on a widespread correspondence; unfortunately few of the letters written by him were preserved as copies. From the standpoint of manuscript and archival work, the calendar reveals the problems of collecting material in the postwar years, the inertia as well as the willingness of persons whose aid was sought in supplying reminiscences and original war records, the loss and disposal of records in private hands which could no longer be located, and the relative inaccessibility of the official Confederate records in the custody of the War Department in Washington. However, a variety of evidence was accumulated on critical military incidents of the Civil War, treatment of prisoners, the flight and capture of Davis, and other controversial matters. The reader of the calendar gains insight into Davis' methods of gathering

his sources and a better understanding of some of the shortcomings of his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881) and his *Short History of the Confederate States of America* (1890).

LESTER J. CAPPON

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

BEN HARDIN HELM: "REBEL" BROTHER-IN-LAW OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HIS WIFE AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE TODD FAMILY OF KENTUCKY. By *R. Gerald McMurtry*. (Chicago, Civil War Round Table, 1943, pp. 72, \$3.50.) A good deal of history is bound up with the story of the Confederate general Ben Hardin Helm, and an equal amount with the fortunes of Emilie his wife, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln. The two have about equal space in the broad strokes of this little volume. In military-legal education (at K. M. I., West Point, the University of Louisville, and the Harvard law school), in politics, and in Kentucky service (as commonwealth attorney and legislator), Helm's career was cut to a pattern different from that of the Lincolns, whom he knew well, having visited them in Springfield in 1857; he respected them despite the difference. His death at Chickamauga ended a career of distinction and responsibility in the Southern army. The second half of the book is devoted to Emilie Todd Helm, "Little Sister" to Lincoln, widowed in her twenties, bound by family ties to the Northern President yet completely loyal to the Confederacy. Offered the Union oath as her husband had been offered a Union commission, she refused proudly but without sectional bitterness as he had. She lived on through many vicissitudes of war and peace. It would be well if the full record of this woman had been better preserved; her personal life epitomized the American tragedy. What we have are glimpses, including her visit to the White House where she was befriended by the Lincolns, her realization that her presence caused embarrassment which the Lincolns uncomplainingly endured, her return to wartime Kentucky where she found Lincoln's protection both a benefit and an embarrassment, and her many later years, carrying her to 1930 when at the age of ninety-three she died on a Blue Grass farm once owned by her Revolutionary ancestor, General Levi Todd. The book, privately printed for the Civil War Round Table, is documented, illustrated, and attractively made up.

J. G. RANDALL

THE MOVEMENT FOR MUNICIPAL HOME RULE IN ST. LOUIS. By *Thomas S. Barclay*, Professor of Political Science in Stanford University. [The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1943, pp. 138.) St. Louis has the distinction of being the first city in the United States to receive the power by constitutional grant to draft and adopt its own charter. The author of this monograph undertakes "to trace the evolution of the relations between the city of St. Louis and the state, and to indicate the development of the proposal to 'free' the city from the domination of the state legislature." A native of St. Louis, a former member of the University of Missouri faculty, and a student of the late Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University, whose pioneer work in 1916 on *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule* is well known to readers of this *Review*, the author brings unusual qualifications to his task. He does not disappoint. He begins with a brief account of the founding and early growth of St. Louis from 1763 to 1865, calling attention here and there to the introduction of distinctive features of American local government such as a popularly elected mayor, the bicameral city council, the long ballot and disintegrated administration, expanding municipal functions, mounting indebtedness, and state control of municipal police. The period from 1865 to 1875, "a decade of trial and error," witnessed repeated but relatively unsuccessful efforts in the state legislature by charter revision and special

law to deal with the problems of St. Louis city and county. Since the legislature regularly accepted the recommendations of the St. Louis delegation, however, the author brands as "palpably untrue" the frequent charge of St. Louisans that the legislature was responsible for unpopular laws or unsatisfactory conditions in the city. This period also was marked by a growing hostility between city and county. The remainder of the volume is devoted to an account of the deliberations and decisions of the constitutional convention of 1875 pertaining to the relations of St. Louis to the county and to the state. A special committee consisting of the delegates from the city and county was created, to which were referred all proposals for changes in the city and county government. Strong and able leadership led to favorable committee and convention action on city-county separation and municipal home rule, but not before the adoption of a contradictory amendment asserting the supremacy of general state law. This imposed upon the state supreme court in future years the difficult task of determining the exact scope and meaning of home rule. Both provisions attracted relatively little attention outside of St. Louis in the popular vote which ratified the constitution. Opposition in St. Louis County against separation was overcome by liberal provisions compensating the county for the loss of municipal revenues. The study is extensively documented, evidencing the thorough and original scholarship which went into its preparation. The frequent use of biographical data enlivens and enriches the story. Historians and students of contemporary political institutions alike will find in it much of interest and value.

LLOYD M. SHORT

MISSOURI, DAY BY DAY. Edited by *Floyd C. Shoemaker*. Volume II. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1943, pp. v, 499.)

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. Volume XI, THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, 1820-1829 [cont.]. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. vii, 1372, \$3.25.) Volume XI of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, the second in a series of three allotted to Michigan Territory, covers the fourth, fifth, and sixth Cass administrations and thus continues the story of the territory from 1821 through 1829. This interval marks the real beginnings of agricultural settlements and the relative decline in both the importance of the French influence and the economy dependent upon the Indian and fur trade. Naturally, a publication restricted to official documents, and arranged chronologically, cannot enumerate the causes and course of this transition, but it does constantly reflect them. Evidences of the importance and new emphasis upon local government are numerous. Petitions from newly created counties requesting more adequate transportation facilities, redress from bridge tolls, and demands for a more rapid organization in government are frequent. The administrative reports, often detailed, refer repeatedly to the economic expansion taking place. Evidence of political activity, based on personal following, becomes more tangible. The many references to the ordinance of 1787 by petitioners reflects a growing consciousness of institutional and political thinking. The entire volume, in fact, ably illustrates the problems, hopes, and processes of adaptation of a frontier territory. Legislative proceedings, patronage, Indian relationships, mail route problems, surveying difficulties, minor questions about land sales, unsettled claims of the War of 1812, official proclamations and notifications, election results, and petitions necessarily constitute the bulk of the documents. Even the inclusion of material, previously accessible, such as the account of the disputed Congressional election of 1825, assigns the evidence to a locus from which it can more properly be interpreted. Amid a cer-

tain general monotony, however, appear such items as the critical analyses of Cass, who discussed both the needs of the expanding areas and the difficulties of the remote posts such as Green Bay, and choice bits of political gossip in the correspondence between James Duane Doty and Henry Schoolcraft. The editorial workmanship of Dr. Carter has been commented upon so enthusiastically and frequently that any reference to it has the appearance of repetition. The complete adequacy of the 127-page (double-column) index, and the identification of names in it, represents a feature of editorial skill worthy of especial praise.

SYDNEY GLAZER

CALL IT NORTH COUNTRY: THE STORY OF UPPER MICHIGAN. By *John Bartlow Martin*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. 298, \$5.00.) "A panorama of the history and lore of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan."

DAVID DALE OWEN: PIONEER GEOLOGIST OF THE MIDDLE WEST. By *Walter Brookfield Henderson*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXVII.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1943, pp. xiii, 180, \$2.00.)

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

LATIN AMERICA AND THE INDUSTRIAL AGE. By *J. Fred Rippy*. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944, pp. x, 277, \$3.00.) Those who feel that the history of Latin America in the national period has been written in too exclusively political a vein will doubtless welcome the publication of this book. The twenty-two short chapters here presented are designed as an introduction to what Professor Rippy calls "a grand epic: the joint mastery by Latins and Anglo-Saxons of the Latin-American physical environment, the development of Latin America's resources through science and technology." Although they by no means exhaust the list of subjects that might appropriately be considered under the title chosen, these chapters open up vistas of a boundless field of fundamental research that must be undertaken before even an approximate understanding of Latin America's reality during the last hundred years can be attained. One lays down this stimulating pioneer contribution with the realization that the men and works that form its subject matter may be considerably more significant in the long run than the roster of *caudillos* who have monopolized the pages of the histories of Latin America during the national period. The technological changes here described fall for the most part under the heading of transportation and communication. The book begins with the arrival of the steamboat on Latin-American rivers in the 1820's and 1830's. The construction of railroads, telegraphs, and telephone systems is the subject of a number of chapters. The account of developing transportation is brought up to date in a chapter entitled "Airways and the End of Isolation." Technological advances in other fields, such as mining, petroleum exploitation, public utilities, and sanitation and medicine, likewise claim considerable attention. One of the useful aspects of the book is to identify unsung heroes of technology and to outline the chronology of the subject. Since the present volume is designed to stimulate interest in a neglected field, rather than to tell the story in comprehensive and definitive form, it is a mark of success that it leaves the reader with numerous unanswered or partly answered problems. What, for example, of the social, economic, and political effects within Latin America of revolutionary technological changes? What has been done and what is being done by the nations involved to control the evils of foreign corporate exploitation on which technology has been largely dependent? To what extent, if at all, are Latin Americans increasing their own active participation in technological enterprise, and how are they going about it? Some of these large questions and many others are found in the list of "Research Suggestions" at the end of the volume. An appendix of bibliographical notes by chapters contains suggestive references to trade journals, government documents, and a wide variety of other materials for the study of technology in Latin America.

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

HISTORIA DEL DESCUBRIMIENTO Y CONQUISTA DE YUCATAN, CON UNA RESEÑA DE LA HISTORIA DE LOS MAYAS. Por Juan Francisco Molina Solís. Prologo de Antonio Mediz Bolio. Semblanza de Ermilo Abreu Gomez. Two volumes. (Mexico, D. F., Ediciones Mensaje, 1943, pp. xxx, 288; 409, \$5.00.) The writings of Juan F. Molina Solís have for many years been acknowledged as those forming the most authoritative history of Yucatan. The first edition of the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de Yucatán*, published in Merida, Yucatan, in 1896, was based on the best source material then available. One or two important published works, notably the letter of the municipal authorities of Veracruz, were not utilized, but such omissions were exceptional. The history is written in a vivid and interesting manner. The presentation is methodical, as is to be expected from an author who without fail devoted two hours to his historical writings on every Sunday for nearly half a century. The original edition, which had been a standard textbook for Yucatan and an important source of reference for many students outside Mexico, has long been exhausted, and there was need of a new one. In the forty-eight years that have elapsed since the appearance of the book, much new material, particularly with reference to the pre-conquest history of Yucatan, has come to light. In fact the outline of Maya history is hopelessly out of date. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the author's sons, who are responsible for the appearance of this second edition, did not publish a revised edition. The collaboration of some present-day historian of Yucatan, such as J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, is needed to modernize the work by the incorporation of new material in the text, or, failing that, by additional footnotes to call attention to new sources. However, even without these, a new edition of this important work is to be welcomed.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON

THE INDIAN BACKGROUND OF COLONIAL YUCATAN. By Ralph L. Roys. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1943, pp. vii, 244, cloth \$2.75, paper \$1.75.)

THE SPANISH COLONIAL SYSTEM. By Wilhelm Georg Friedrich Roscher. (New York, G. E. Stechert, 1944, pp. 48, \$2.50.)

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- Cabildo de la ciudad de Santa Marta de 23 de diciembre de 1585, en el cual se nombra gobernador . . . a don Lope de Orozco (hijo). *Ibid.*
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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The fifty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Chicago, December 28 and 29. All sessions, including the business meeting Thursday afternoon and the annual dinner and president's address that evening, will be in the Stevens Hotel, 720 South Michigan Avenue. Although the program is not yet completed, it is now sufficiently definite to warrant the assurance that it will be timely and interesting. In accordance with the usual practice, it is expected that a printed program will be mailed about November 25. Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University is the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. The chairman of the Program Committee is Professor William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago.

The Executive Committee of the American Historical Association met June 24 to consider the request of the War Department for a renewal of the contract to prepare discussion material in pamphlet form for use in camps here and abroad. After hearing the representatives of the Morale Division of the Army, the Executive Committee approved the renewal of the contract and this has been done with an increase of funds for the work of the Historical Service Board.

With this issue Miss Catharine Seybold assumes the duties of Assistant Editor. Miss Seybold graduated from Smith College in 1937 and received her master's degree from the University of Minnesota in 1942. Miss Margaret Blegen, who has served so competently as Assistant Editor for the last two years, has resigned to accept a position with the Office of Strategic Services.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: French notarial and legal manuscripts, 1613 to 1732; papers of the Short, Symmes, and Harrison families, and related papers, c. 1750 to 1907; one volume of accounts of Lewis Ginnedo (or Ginnodo), merchant of Newport, Rhode Island, mainly concerning shipping, 1755 to 1815; reproductions of Thomas Jefferson materials (Henry Huntington Library), 1757 to 1809; a volume, Don Joseph Morales de Aramburu y Montero, *Noticia del verdadero ventajoso estado*

político de el Perú vajo la gobernación de el excelentissimo señor don Manuel de Amat y Junient [Lima], 1770; agreement between Jean Joseph Carrier de Montieu and Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane to furnish articles of merchandise to Americans, August 6, 1777; twenty-five papers of James McHenry, including his diary kept during the Constitutional Convention, 1778 to 1800; seven manuscripts of the English East India Company, including letters signed by Warren Hastings, 1781 to 1785; Persian manuscript written by Abu'l Chasim Muh. Mustafa, 1197 A. H. (1782, A.D.); letter from William Bingham to Benjamin Rush, November 6, 1783; letter from Alexander Hamilton to Louis André de Pichon, August 6, 1802; memorandum of agreement between the executors of the estate of George Washington and Gabriel Lewis, March 30, 1804; one box of additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1803 to 1931; letter from Thomas Jefferson to Mrs. Samuel H. Smith, March 6, 1809; letter from David Meade Randolph, James G. Forbes, and Josiah Trumbull concerning official celebration of Washington's birthday in London, February 29, 1810; seventy-two papers of Zachary Taylor (mainly letters from Taylor to Thomas S. Jesup), 1818 to 1840; two letters from James Tilghman to Henry I. Williams, January 23, 1828, and January 27, 1829; additional papers of John Fairfield, of Maine, 1828 to 1867 (343 pieces); one box of papers of Maria Louise Thomas and others, 1831 to 1898; letter from John Quincy Adams to Daniel Mayo, March 22, 1837, and poem by Adams entitled "Gloom of Autumn"; letter from John Greenleaf Whittier to Dr. H. I. Bowditch, January 26, 1846; "Order & Letter Book" of the United States Army Medical Department, 6th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1862 to 1865, one volume; manuscript copy of journal of Lothrop Lincoln Lewis, 1864 to 1865; diary of John Augustus Johnson, March 8 to July 17, 1865; additional papers of Ellery C. Stowell; additional papers of, or relating to, Benjamin Ticknor, c. 1878 to 1936; two boxes of the papers of Charles Henry Webb, 1870 to 1900; fifteen letters from Grover Cleveland, 1880 to 1899; three letter-books (diplomatic correspondence) of Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, October 1, 1882, to September 30, 1883; five boxes of papers of, or relating to, Susan B. Anthony, 1883 to 1934; manuscript of *An American Politician* by Francis Marion Crawford, 1884; four boxes of papers of the American Press Association, 1890 to 1898; two boxes of papers of the *North American Review* and Harper and Brothers, 1898 to 1913; one volume of papers relating to the work of Francis D. Gamewell, 1900 to 1905; eight additional papers of, or relating to, Woodrow Wilson, 1902 to 1903 (restricted); additional papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1905 to 1933 (restricted).

The papers of the Short, Symmes, and Harrison families, mentioned above, constitute a collection so large (about 13,000 pieces), so varied and so rich in content as to justify more extended description. John Cleves Symmes, in whose business affairs is to be found the origin of an important segment of this collection, was the father of two daughters. The younger married William Henry Harrison,

More than fifty of General Harrison's letters, with several written by his wife and by his sons, are found in the collection, as are many business papers of the Harrisons. The elder daughter of Judge Symmes married Peyton Short, of Surrey County, Virginia. A very large part of the collection is made up of the papers of Peyton Short and of his sons, John Cleves Short (who seems to have constituted himself the family archivist), and Charles William Short, physician and scientist. The correspondence of these men and their kinsmen, with their friends and business associates, supplemented by voluminous records in the form of accounts, ledgers, contracts, and other legal papers, forms a rich storehouse of material for the history of the crossing into the Mississippi Valley of the commonwealth builders and men of enterprise who followed the first pioneers across the Alleghenies. The papers of Peyton Short's brother, William Short, already owned by the Library of Congress are greatly amplified by those in the new collection, particularly with regard to Short's later life as a man of wealth in Philadelphia. One of the most interesting single items in the collection is a copy, in William Short's hand, of a catalogue of Mr. Jefferson's books.

Practically all the older records of the Department of the Treasury are now in the National Archives as a result of a large transfer of the Secretary's "Old Files," 1789-1910. Of particular historical interest among these records are the authenticated copies of correspondence with collectors of customs, 1789-1833, that were made from field office records after the 1833 fire in the Treasury Building, which destroyed most of the early records of the department. Other recent transfers include the original manuscript maps of the United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian or the Wheeler Survey (1869-79), one of the four major surveys of the West in the period following the Civil War; Navy Department records, including opinions of the Attorney General of the United States on questions submitted to him by the Secretary of the Navy, 1857-1903, and general correspondence of the Bureaus of Ordnance, 1926-39, and of Naval Personnel, 1926-40; records of the Food and Drug Administration, 1900-1943, containing unpublished studies made by such pioneers for pure food and drugs as Harvey W. Wiley; and headquarters and field records of the War Risk Litigation Bureau relating to about 24,000 closed cases. Among other field records received are records of the Collectors of Customs at Baltimore, 1783-1919, including passenger lists, 1820-1919, and at Washington (Georgetown), D. C., 1807-1900; and records of War Department arsenals at Watervliet, New York, 1814-1919, Frankfort, Pennsylvania, 1816-1935, San Antonio, Texas, 1871-1912, and Edgewood, Maryland, 1918-20, and of the Sandy Hook Proving Grounds, 1901-18.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the appointment to the staff of the National Archives of W. Brooks Phillips, formerly of the University

of North Carolina Press, Carl J. Kulsrud, formerly of the Office of Strategic Services, and E. Sloane Wingert, formerly of the War Department. Dorothy Martin has returned to the National Archives as has Thornton W. Mitchell, who has received an honorable discharge from the Army. Maude Jones, Archivist of Hawaii, has been designated to serve as a field consultant to keep the National Archives informed on problems relating to Federal records in Hawaii and to undertake particular projects upon assignment.

President Roosevelt has recently made a number of additions to his collection of United States naval history manuscripts in the Library. Notable among them is a journal of the U. S. S. *Brandywine*, Henry E. Ballard, Commander, for the periods March 10–July 14, 1830, and October 22, 1830–September 12, 1831. About thirty letters written between January 16, 1830, and August 2, 1831, by E. T. Washburn, schoolmaster of the *Brandywine's* contingent of midshipmen, to members of his family were received with the journal. They describe life aboard ship and ports visited in the West Indies, Mexican waters, and the Mediterranean. To the already large body of David Conner manuscripts in the Library the President has added about a hundred letters written from 1808 through 1856 by and to Conner, who served as midshipman and lieutenant on board the U. S. S. *Hornet* during the War of 1812 and who commanded the Gulf Squadron during the Mexican War until the capture of Veracruz. This correspondence contains Conner's accounts of engagements in which the *Hornet* took part, his capture while commanding a prize taken in the English Channel, and the defeat of the British ship of war *Penguin* and his comments on the burning of Washington and the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*. Also included are letters from Commodore Charles Stewart to Conner while the latter was in command of the *Dolphin* in South American waters in 1822–24; from Captain Lewis Warrington, 1834–46; from Rear Admiral Frederick Engle, 1844–45; and from various Secretaries of the Navy, 1818, 1845–53. About a hundred unrelated letters and other papers on naval affairs pertaining to the period from 1784 to 1909 have also been received from the President. Many prominent figures of the early Navy are represented, including Silas Talbot, David Porter, James Biddle, R. F. Stockton, and several Navy Secretaries, from Benjamin Stoddert to James C. Dobbin.

Fred W. Shipman, Director of the Library, has returned to the United States after serving for eight weeks in the Mediterranean theater of operations as temporary Archives Adviser to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Sub-commission of the Allied Control Commission for Italy.

The Committee on Research in Economic History, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council has published in reprint form an exceptionally interesting report. It was prepared by the chairman, Professor Arthur H. Cole of Har-

vard, and appeared first in the *Journal of Economic History*, May, 1944. The present program of the committee is fully outlined and the co-operation is sought of younger and older workers in the field of economic history. After much discussion, the committee decided to give special eminence in its research to four fields: the role of government and the role of entrepreneurship in American economic development, the rise and evolution of the corporation, and the history of banking. Anyone not having access to the May issue of the *Journal of Economic History* can secure the report by addressing Box 37, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The Rhees Library, University of Rochester, has received on deposit the papers of George Washington Patterson (1799-1879). There are 530 items including important exchanges of letters with Thurlow Weed, Seward, and James Wadsworth. These deal with political and economic problems, especially in the thirties and forties of the last century.

The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, recently acquired the last large group of Jefferson papers known to be still in private hands. It consists of approximately five thousand items covering the years 1725-1850, including about 60 Jefferson holograph letters and 375 letters to Jefferson. For the most part these are intimate and domestic in nature, for they are the letters his daughters and grandchildren wrote to him while he was away from Monticello. To the Jefferson items a large and important group of Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas' letters had been added; Nicholas' daughter married Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's grandson. The Nicholas papers, plus the correspondence of at least two generations of descendants, make up the rest of the collection.

For some years, since 1920 to be exact, the *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire* has summarized the debates in thirty-three British Commonwealth parliaments. These go to all members of these bodies and to others by subscription. Now the Empire Parliamentary Association has ventured to do a similar quarterly summary for its members and subscribers of the proceedings of the Congress of the United States. The first issue is skilfully and interestingly done and promises well for the future of the enterprise. The publisher of the *Summary*, so called to distinguish it from the existing *Journal*, is the Oxford University Press, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The annual subscription is five dollars.

The Charles F. Heartman collection of material relating to the Negro and slavery, consisting of some ten thousand printed titles, and more than five thousand manuscripts, is catalogued and made available for use to research workers, at any time. The collection is housed at The Book Farm, Route 3, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

The following memorandum concerning post-service fellowships has been received from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation: The trustees of the Foundation have appropriated \$200,000 for post-service fellowships as an addition to the usual fellowship budgets. These funds will be used to grant fellowships to young scholars and artists who are serving the nation in the armed and other Governmental services, including those doing war research under contracts made by the Office of Scientific Research and Development and similar agencies. The post-service fellowships will be granted upon the same basis as the other fellowships of the Foundation, to persons who have demonstrated unusual capacity for research and artistic creation. They will be granted before the end of the war and will be made available for the use of the recipients whenever they are discharged from service. Five such fellowships have been awarded.

Other applications for the fellowships of the Foundation are due on or before October 15 of each year but no final date has been fixed for the receipt of applications for the Foundation's post-service fellowships. Persons who wish to apply for post-service fellowships are urged to file their applications as soon as possible with Henry Allen Moe, Secretary General, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A prize of \$2000, to be known as the Klieforth Canadian-American History Prize, is offered for the best manuscript of a book to be entitled *North American History: A Common History of the United States and Canada* and suitable for use by students in the eleventh grade. The aim of the work is to give a clearer picture of our North American ways of life, and to promote a better understanding between the peoples of the United States and Canada. The manuscript should not be longer than 175,000 words. It should be submitted, under a pseudonym, to the chairman of the panel of judges, Professor A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minn., on or before July 1, 1946. At the same time, each competitor should write to the American Consul General in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, giving the name of the pseudonym under which he, or she, has submitted the manuscript. It is suggested that the treatment of the period since the American Civil War and the Canadian Federation be roughly equal to the discussion of the earlier period.

The Alexander Prize offered by the Royal Historical Society, London, has been awarded this year to the Reverend E. W. Kemp for his essay on "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints." For conditions of the award see *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (July, 1943), 894.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies will be held November 23-25 in Cleveland, Ohio. The meeting will be focused upon the problems and issues facing social studies teachers as we return to an era of peace.

An interesting development during the present war has been the attempt of the various Government agencies to write history as it is being made. Many prominent historians are already aiding the Government in making this project a success, but others are still needed—historians who are known as authorities in their fields of specialization. At present, there is a shortage of persons who are qualified for positions paying \$4600 and \$5600 per annum and who will accept appointment in Washington, D. C. There is also a demand for persons who have supplemented their research by travel or residence in Latin America, Central Europe, or the Far East. College teachers of history or political science and other persons engaged in research in these fields are urged to submit applications (Form 57) to the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C. Form 57 may be secured from first- and second-class post offices, U. S. Civil Service Regional Offices, or directly from the Commission in Washington. Federal appointments are made in accordance with War Manpower Commission policies.

Personal

On August 3 it was announced in London that among the victims of German aerial bombs was Hubert Hall, then in his eighty-seventh year. To the generations of American historical students going to London for research work in the years from 1879 to 1921 the name of Hubert Hall came to stand for Chancery Lane and the Public Record Office. Whether one went with a note of introduction to him from Jameson or Haskins or Osgood or C. M. Andrews or G. B. Adams, or whether one turned up timid and unsponsored, Hubert Hall was to all the quiet, sympathetic, kindly, and comprehending scholar who smoothed the way to the treasures between early charters and the wavering date line for dispatches too recent to be released by the Foreign Office. During his long life Mr. Hall was a member of many historical committees and commissions and taught paleography and economic history for some thirty years in the schools of the University of London. He was for fifty years a steady contributor to historical and antiquarian journals.

Dr. James Tait, F.B.A., emeritus professor of history in Manchester University, England, died July 4, 1944, in Wilmslow, Cheshire, in his eighty-second year. He was born and educated in Manchester, transferred to Oxford, where he was an exhibitor of Balliol and later a fellow of Pembroke College, and spent his entire teaching career, from assistant lecturer to professor, in Manchester (1887-1919). A younger contemporary of Charles Gross and F. W. Maitland, a close friend of Vinogradoff, Ballard, and Mary Bateson, and, above all, the *alter ego* of T. F. Tout, he became the acknowledged master of British local history and of municipal history in particular. The wide range of his interests was apparent in the commemoration volume that friends and students dedicated to him in 1933 on the

occasion of his seventieth birthday. His publications included *Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire* (1904), the continuation volume of Ballard's *British Borough Charters, 1216-1307* (1923), and a number of "Court Rolls" and "Session Records" edited for the antiquarian societies of Lancashire and Cheshire. His most incisive studies on the constitutional history of English towns were collected in his last volume, *The Medieval English Borough* (1936). He was a life-long reviewer for, and contributor to, the *English Historical Review* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a governor of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and a onetime president of Manchester's renowned Chetham Society. A quiet and unobtrusive scholar, he found his recreation in mountain climbing. His last visit to his beloved Lakes ended in an accident which brought on his final illness.

Dr. Christopher B. Coleman of Indianapolis, well-known Indiana historian, died on June 26 from a heart attack at the age of sixty-nine. He is known to the historical profession as a leader in the state historical field, particularly for his many contributions to Indiana history, both as a writer and editor¹ and as an administrator. He served as director of the Indiana Historical Bureau and the Indiana Historical Collections and also as secretary of the Indiana Historical Society from 1924 until his death. In 1936 he was made director of the Indiana State Library. Dr. Coleman was graduated from Yale University in 1896, was trained in divinity at the University of Chicago, and later continued his historical studies at the University of Berlin and Columbia University, from which he received his doctor's degree. He took a particular interest in historical organization, and for twelve years was secretary of the Conference of Historical Societies. He was a scholar of wide interests whose publications included not only many studies and articles on Indiana history but also a work on Constantine the Great. Before 1924 Dr. Coleman taught history for nearly a quarter of a century in Butler and Allegheny colleges. He was an effective administrator, modest, likable, and unassuming, whose methods of promoting popular understanding of local and regional history were highly successful in his own state and influential beyond Indiana. He recognized the need of making the materials of state history available and was responsible for many valuable documentary publications.

David Eugene Smith, emeritus professor of mathematics in Teachers College (Columbia), died July 29 in his eighty-fifth year. Professor Smith was a prolific and distinguished writer in the field of the history of mathematics. His own library in this field was one of the most extensive private collections in the world. It is now in the possession of Columbia University.

Following a short illness, Dr. Cardinal Goodywin died on June 23 at the age of sixty-four. A native of Arkansas and a graduate of Brown University, he taught in various secondary schools while studying for the master of arts degree at Brown

and for the doctorate at the University of California. In 1918 he was appointed professor of American history at Mills College, where he was a respected and admired figure for the rest of his career. Cardinal Goodwin was an early member of the California school of historians and helped to make its reputation by his writings, which included: *The Establishment of State Government in California* (1914), *The Trans-Mississippi West from 1803 to 1853: A Brief History of Its Acquisition and Settlement* (1922), and *John C. Fremont: An Explanation of His Career* (1930). He edited the second volume of the collection of documents entitled *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, published in 1932 in honor of his teacher and friend Herbert Eugene Bolton. Various articles and numerous reviews in this and other historical quarterlies came from his pen, and he contributed to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Dictionary of American History*. This extensive and useful historical work was recognized by his election to the presidency of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association for 1927 and to the original board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*.

The review over his name in this issue was dictated from his hospital bed. He knew that otherwise it would be an unfinished task. A gallant gesture by an undaunted spirit.

Edward Luther Stevenson, formerly professor of history at Rutgers University, died on July 16 in his eighty-fifth year. A native of Illinois, he graduated from Franklin College in 1881 and in subsequent years studied at various German universities, receiving his doctor's degree from Heidelberg in 1890. His interests covered geography (cartography) as well as history. He was active in the Hispanic Society of America and was decorated by the Spanish government and honored by several South American republics. He translated and edited the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy (1931) and also published maps illustrating *Discovery and Exploration in America, 1502-30* and *Christopher Columbus and His Enterprise* (1913) and an *Atlas of Portolan Charts* (1911) as well as other cartographical studies.

Herbert D. Winters, retired after service as professor of history in Keuka College, died in Riderwood, Maryland, June 22.

Dr. Hans Baron has been appointed a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, for the academic years 1944-45 and 1945-46. He will continue his studies on the political and economic foundations of the Florentine Renaissance and on the growth of humanism in its interrelations with the Florentine Commonwealth from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

Ralph E. Turner of the Department of State has been appointed professor of history in Yale University; George Wilson Pierson, formerly associate professor,

has been promoted to professor of history, and Lewis Perry Curtis, formerly assistant professor, has been promoted to associate professor of history, both in Yale University.

Professor Earl Hamilton of Duke University has accepted a call to a professorship in Northwestern University.

The University of Wisconsin announces the appointment to a professorship in history of Dr. Merrill M. Jensen of the University of Washington.

Dr. Richard Current of the department of history of Hamilton College becomes professor of history at the Northern Michigan College of Education, Marquette, Michigan, in place of L. A. Chase, retired as of September 1.

Alice F. Tyler has been promoted to the rank of associate professor and Lawrence Steefel to the rank of professor of history in the University of Minnesota.

John Hall Stewart of the department of history of Western Reserve University has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

James Ferguson King of Northwestern University has accepted a call to the University of California as assistant professor in the department of history.

Edward T. Booth of Canaan, N. Y., and Stearns Morse, professor of English at Dartmouth College, have received the 1944 Alfred A. Knopf fellowships in biography and history, respectively. Each award amounts to \$2,500. Mr. Booth, an editorial writer on the New York *Herald Tribune*, has been commissioned to write a history of country life in America from colonial times to our own as illustrated in the lives of twelve Presidents. Professor Morse will write a story of the development of American commerce and industry, centering his study on three New England entrepreneurs.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I believe that this is the first time I have written in criticism of a book review. I cannot, however, avoid the responsibility of protesting against the treatment in the April issue of Dr. Herbert Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts*. Dr. Aptheker's thesis is correctly stated to be that "discontent and rebelliousness were . . . characteristic of American Negro slaves." The reviewer mentions that

"most writers have magnified their [the slaves'] docility." He also states that the work "is clearly the result of tireless industry and tremendous research." In view of the originality of the thesis and the research devoted to its development, it would seem that the volume should be deserving of a careful if critical examination.

The reviewer, however, Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of the University of North Carolina, has not treated the volume with seriousness; he has merely attempted a brisk brush-off. The review really terminated with, and is summed up in, the first sentence in the third paragraph: "In my judgment he fails completely to prove his thesis." The page which follows is devoted to misrepresentation of Dr. Aptheker's methods, defense of slavery, and a sweeping charge of unspecified errors and defects, the whole riddled with contradictions and unsupported by specific evidence or examples.

The author, he states, "apparently accepts every rumor as fact. . . . Many of these rumors are now known not to be true. . . . It is . . . absurd to swallow whole every rumor that found its way into print or manuscript in the jittery South." Which of the "many . . . rumors" accepted by Dr. Aptheker, "are now known not to be true"? The author is fully aware of the existence of rumors and frequently refutes their validity, despite Professor Hamilton's implication that his custom was "to swallow whole every rumor . . . in the jittery South." And why jittery, I wonder, if these rumors were hardly ever confirmed? Dr. Aptheker is by implication accused of depending on "such periodicals as the *Liberator* and the *New York Tribune*, and the material contained in the speeches of the antislavery orators." A glance at the footnotes should be sufficient to refute this charge; the *Liberator* is frequently referred to, but nearly always in association with a variety of other authorities or in quoting from the Southern press. And Professor Hamilton earlier mentioned "the extensive and valuable bibliography of source and secondary material."

Dr. Aptheker asserts approximately 250 revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery," with "a minimum of ten slaves involved." Professor Hamilton declares that "revolts seldom materialized, just as rumored conspiracies, more often than not, had no reality." But what about the 250 which Dr. Aptheker claims to have discovered in contemporary accounts? Did *they* have any reality? If the answer is in the negative, then which of them did not, and what grounds are there for the denial?

Professor Hamilton takes exception to Dr. Aptheker's emphasis on the cruelty inherent in the slavery system, but the author is writing on American Negro slave revolts, not on American Negro slavery in general; the reviewer himself admits that "cases of cruelty were not infrequent." He complains that "the author does not know the South of the period of slavery, nor yet does he knew slavery as it was. He has overlooked the sources that would have informed him and discounted the secondary works based upon those sources." What "sources"? What "secondary works"? And where is the evidence that these unnamed "sources" and "secondary works" present a truer picture than those allegedly employed by the author?

Professor Hamilton also denies that "the slaveholding South consciously and deliberately debased a whole race for the sake of profits." If to deprive human beings of the legal right to marry, acquire property, and obtain an education, if to reduce them to the rank of chattels, without control over their own persons, and, finally, if to declare and enforce the doctrine of their essential and permanent

inferiority and servility because of their race and color is not at least to attempt their debasement, what term should be applied to the process?

The reviewer concludes: "Limits of space prevent the mention of numerous specific errors, as well as of several serious defects of arrangement, treatment, and interpretation." But "limits of space" did not prevent two paragraphs of unsubstantiated insistence upon Dr. Aptheker's alleged tendency to accept baseless rumors, and two more paragraphs in defense of slavery. A *single* specific and demonstrated error would have at least possessed more value than the last four fifths of the alleged review.

I have never met nor corresponded with Dr. Aptheker; I am not even acquainted with anyone who knows him. I believe that he is now in one of the armed services. He is at any rate a serious student who deserves better treatment from a scholarly journal than a review which is merely a resentful reaction to a distasteful theory.

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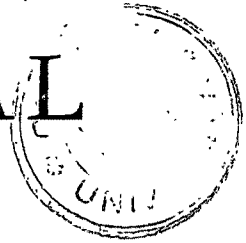
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Vol. L, No. 2

January, 1945

Between Slavery and Freedom

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN*

ON APRIL 18, 1864, at Baltimore, Abraham Lincoln spoke of the vagueness in the customary use of the word liberty.

The world has never had a good definition of liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in need of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty.

This observation of President Lincoln still holds good. There are few words more vague in their connotations, more expansible and more subject to distortion than these two—freedom and slavery. To the ancient Greeks the word *eleutheria* meant a combination of things which they longed to have, longed with all the passion of their vigorous minds. *Douleia* (slavery) was something which they repudiated with all their hearts if it was to be applied

*Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at Chicago on December 28, 1944. The author is professor of history in Columbia University.

to themselves, either as a city-state group or as individuals. Just as we do, the Greeks failed to distinguish the political and other collective aspects of freedom and enslavement from their application in the sphere of the individual's choice of his field of personal effort. The Romans did no better than the Greeks in maintaining distinctions between the political, and the individual and legal, applications of their terms *servitus* and *libertas*.

Through the entire range of ancient literature, in fact, one looks in vain for a satisfactory definition of slavery, either as an institution or as a status. The well-known phrase of Aristotle in the *Nichomachean Ethics* that the slave is an implement with a soul is not a definition. It is a description by metaphor of what a slave is, occurring in a closely knit argument regarding friendship and justice in political relations. Friendship, it states, cannot exist between a master and his slave as slave, because the enslaved person is merely a tool of the master's economic life. It may, however, exist between the two in their mutual aspect of human beings.

Equally useless to us as a definition is the statement which Lucius Annaeus Seneca attributes in his essay upon benefits to the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus. "The slave, as Chrysippus says, is a life-long hireling." As quoted thus by Seneca, out of its context, this is a strange remark for Chrysippus to have made. No doubt the context gave it a different meaning. For Greek slaves as handicraftsmen could, indeed, be leased out to others by their owners as hirelings, that is, as wage-earners in the interest of their masters; and this was done in many cases known to us. But they were seldom lifelong hirelings and never hirelings of their own masters.

The title of this address, "Between Slavery and Freedom," is adapted from a statement of the Greek lexicographer, Julius Pollux—*metaxu d'eleutheron kai doulon*: "Between free men and slaves stand the Helots of the Lacedaemonians and the Penestae of the Thessalians." To Pollux, as to the ancient Greeks at large, the world was not a place inhabited solely by free persons and slaves. Between men of these extremes of status stood social classes which lived outside of the boundary of slavery but not yet within the circle of those who might rightly be called free. It is this group of persons, part slave and part free, which it is my purpose here to investigate, primarily in the field of Greek and Roman life to which the phrase of Pollux applies. The concept of slavery, which will here be followed, is that of its precise and limited legal meaning, the complete subjection by ownership of one individual human being to the will of another single human being, or to the will of several persons if the ownership be multiple.

It is not within the scope of the discussion to consider the enslavement of

totalities under political subjections. Nor does it include spiritual peculiarities which insulate groups or individuals from the attainment of liberation from themselves and their inner natures or from the manifold constraints of their own lives and conditions. This is the servitude to oneself which John Galsworthy has described so well at the end of *The Patrician*: "All are in bond to their own natures and what a man has desired shall in the end enslave him." Heraclitus of Ephesus, the Greek whom Galsworthy paraphrased, said it with three words, which can be transferred understandably into English in six: "In his personality lies everyman's fate."

The institution of slavery was a fact of ancient Mediterranean economic life so completely accepted as a part of the labor structure of the time that one cannot correctly speak of a slave "problem" in antiquity. This unquestioning acceptance of the system explains why Plato in his plan of the good life as depicted in the *Republic* did not need to mention the slave class. It was simply there. Just so in the utopias of the Hellenistic political theorists the enslaved are so obviously self-understood that they are not mentioned. The lack in antiquity of any deep abhorrence of slavery as a social and economic evil may be explained in part by another characteristic of the ancient structure of slavery. This is that the change of legal status out of enslavement into liberty, by way of manumission, was as constant and as easy in Greco-Roman life as the reverse transition over the short passage from individual freedom of action into the constraints of nonfreedom; and the methods employed for making either transition were many.

The chance which rules the preservation of our records has determined that one method of manumission is most completely known to us. Fortunately this one happens to be most illuminating regarding the entire structure of ancient servile conditions. For there still remain, incised upon the walls of the sacred precinct at Delphi, about a thousand well-preserved reports of manumissions by sale to Pythian Apollo. These range in time from 201 B.C. through the following three centuries. The enslaved persons had saved money, earned, of course, with permission of their owners, by overtime work, or by the masters' assignment to the slaves of a portion of their earnings as artisans or workers in their trades, whatever these might be. The slaves could not legally have this money. Nor could they legally make a contract of purchase. Therefore in case of a redemption into liberty by self-purchase the slaves were compelled to resort to trust purchase of themselves, hence of their freedom, by some god. The purpose of the transaction carried on through the god as trustee is often expressly stated. It is recorded as a purchase "for freedom," or "to the end of freedom." It has been the custom to call these operations

"fictitious" or "simulated" sales. It is of some importance to insist that they are trust sales. The documents definitely state this; and in these documents we may see the Greek practice of the trust carried backward to a point a century earlier than its existence in Greek law had heretofore been recognized.

With omission of the annual officials and names of witnesses the following example is a characteristic manumission, dated in the year 154-153 B.C., with immediate effect of complete liberation:

Crato, son of Mesateus . . . has sold to Pythian Apollo a female slave named Irene, Armenian by race, for three minas silver; and he has received the price in full. Guarantor [of the sale], Nicarchus, son of Erato, according as Irene has entrusted the purchase to the god, to the end that she is free and not subject to seizure by anybody, doing whatever she may wish, and running off to whomsoever she may wish. Witnesses.

The names of the witnesses are given. This formula seems to have been devised at Delphi by the local priests of Apollo. One finds in their analysis of individual liberty, clearly stated in several hundred documents, that they conceived of individual liberty as the possession of four things. The first two are legal status as a protected member of the community and immunity from arbitrary seizure or arrest. Roughly speaking, this protection from arbitrary seizure is the equivalent of the right of habeas corpus in the English common law. The Greek language compresses it into a single comprehensive adjective. The ex-slave is now *anephaptos*, in literal translation meaning "unseizable."

The third and fourth of these elements are privileges, rather than intrinsic rights, which the free man enjoys. He may work at whatever he desires to do. In other words, it is his right to choose his own line of economic activity, an option of the employee which is now called "occupational mobility." The fourth privilege opened up to the person freed is that of movement according to his own choice. The literal translation of the phrase expressing this is that he may "run away to whomsoever he may wish." Obviously the verb "to run away" is a residuum or a reminiscence of the former condition of servitude of the new freedman. For this element of the four Delphic freedoms we may use the differentiating phrase "spatial mobility." In the Delphic manumissions the Greek phrase is again characteristically simple. Sometimes it is expressed in the form that the freedman may house where he desires. More rarely it is said that he may dwell in whatever city-state he wishes. To the Delphic priests, therefore, individual liberty consisted of the possession of four freedoms—status, personal inviolability, freedom of economic activity, right of unrestricted movement. Conversely, in their assessment, slavery was the lack of these four attributes.

About one fourth of the Delphic grants of liberty present trust sales to the god and contain a contractual arrangement between the new freedman and his former master, called in the Greek a *paramoné* clause. The freed person therein agrees to continue to carry on certain services toward his former owner. Most frequently these obligations are contractually set for the life expectancy of the owner who had sold his slave in trust to the god. As a matter of fact these life expectancies were customarily reduced to a period of from two to ten years, as we know from more than twenty releases of freedmen from their contractual undertakings for the former owner.

Manumissions of this type are seldom to be explained as "deferred" or "suspended" grants of liberty as they are commonly called by modern scholars. They approximate more closely the obligations assumed by the indentured servants of American colonial days. In the Greek temple manumissions the services actually represent a part of the payment made by the freedman for his liberty. Only the salient parts of a typical example of such a manumission with continuing bondage services can be given here:

Theuxenus, son of Technon, an Amphisian has sold to Pythian Apollo a woman slave named Stration, born in Apamea, under the following conditions. The price paid is five minas silver, according as Stration has entrusted the purchase to the god to the end that she is free and not subject to seizure. . . . Let Stration be in *paramoné* [indentured service] with Theuxenus so long as Theuxenus may live, doing everything that is ordered, insofar as she is able, without complaint. If she should not do anything of what has been ordered by Theuxenus when she is able to do so, let it be possible for Theuxenus to punish her as he may wish. . . . And if Theuxenus should die, let Stration be free, having full control of herself and doing whatever she may wish and running away to whomsoever she may wish, just as Stration entrusted the purchase to the god.

In this typical manumission with contractual *paramoné* clause it is significant that mobility is recognized as a legal right. The freedwoman, Stration, has agreed to accept restrictions upon her exercise of this right for the duration of the period of her indenture. In order to carry out the obligations to her former owner, which she had undertaken, she must continue to reside in the city or town in which her ex-owner lived, as in many similar *paramoné* manumissions.

Working backward into the history of Greek slavery it becomes apparent from Thucydides that the Greeks of the fifth pre-Christian century had already adopted the view that spatial mobility was a right of importance to those who had it and a formidable lack to those who had it not. As Pollux said seven centuries later: "Between free men and slaves stand the Helots of the Lacedaemonians and the Penestae of the Thessalians." It was generally conceded that the bondage of the half-free Helots of Lacedaemonia was more

onerous than full enslavement at Athens or about Delphi. Against the full slaves there was no such savage application of the doctrine of frightfulness as, for example, was displayed against the Spartan Helots. For each year the Ephors declared war upon the Helots so that these officials might initiate martial law in dealing with the group without being called to account later for a military action not approved by the Spartiates. Under ordinary circumstances deprivation of their right to move was the bond employed in constraining them. This is clear in Thucydides' account of the reward given to those Helots who had fought courageously in a Thracian campaign in 424 B.C. The Spartan Apella voted that those Helots who had fought with Brasidas "should be free and should dwell wherever they wished." Since they had already a recognized status under their Helot condition, the new element of the freedom given to them was their right of movement, collectively applied.

When writing his *State of the Laws*, Plato showed that he was conversant with manumissions with continuing bondage services, though he would have them granted by civil action, not by trust purchase through a god. Manumissions of this class actually are handed down in the wills of the philosophers of the Peripatetic School—Aristotle, Straton, Lycon, and others. In these testaments the liberations were effected by voluntary action of the slave owners.

It is this *paramoné* manumission which explains a statement of Aristotle to the effect that craftsmen, meaning free artisans, live in a condition of limited slavery. He did not need to amplify the idea for his Greek readers. Expanded it meant that the artisan, when he made a work contract, disposed of two of the four elements of his free status, but by his own volition and for a temporary period. The whole concept of labor and life involved is peculiarly Greek. Men are not completely free, said Herodotus, because "law is a master standing over them." Under the Greek idea freedom and enslavement merged one into the other over a vast part of life. Dion of Prusa, living at the turn of the first Christian century, was not a philosopher of first-rate quality. For that precise reason he is useful to us. In his essay "Regarding Slavery and Freedom" Dion says: "Tens of thousands of people who are free sell themselves so that they are contractually enslaved, sometimes on terms which are not very easy, but are very harsh in all respects." This is the attitude of a man, of a better than average training, from the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean. It should not be surprising, therefore, when we read in the decrees of the Macedonian Ptolemies, who ruled Egypt after Alexander, about "debtor slaves who are free," or when they speak of the purchase in

their Palestinian dependency, of "free persons of the lower class who are slaves." Where the line of cleavage is so lightly marked the concepts of free and enslaved flow with easy transition one into the other. The revenue laws of the second Ptolemy, entitled Philadelphus, were put into effect in 259-258 B.C. They set up a group of state monopolies, including oil production and banking, with a partial monopoly in the field of textiles. In these laws the nome (provincial) officials were enjoined not to permit the men appointed to work in the processing shops of the government oil monopoly to move out of the nome in which they worked. If they should cross over from one nome to another they were subject to arrest by the concessionaire who held the contract to produce the oil in that shop or by the higher nome officials. These employees in the oil monopoly were free men, working under a contract with the government; but their mobility, both occupational and spatial, was restricted to the nome in which each one of them lived.

In the case of still another free group, and in this case one numerically much larger, the Ptolemies again set up legal limitations upon the right of movement of their subjects. These were the royal peasants who worked, under contract, the agricultural lands of the Ptolemaic god-kings. In their contracts the peasants swore upon oath that they would remain each year upon the farm lands which they worked from the time of the plowing and sowing through the time of delivery in kind of their rent. Out of a document dated 107 B.C. the following translation of the peasants' oath is taken: "I will be visible daily for you and for the agents of the Queen, remaining in the places [designated] for those engaged in working the soil, without recourse to temple refuge or to any secular protector." The obligation to work, that is, the binding of the peasant to his occupation as state farmer, is here a consequence of, and inseparable from, his physical fixation at a given place.

In still other ways the situation in Greco-Roman Egypt reflects the fact that the limitation of the privilege of free movement was a vital principle in the process of adjustment of the relations between the Egyptian state and its subjects. In those Egyptian marriage contracts, for instance, which are specifically Greek in character, the wife often agrees not to absent herself from the home by day or by night without her husband's consent, a provision which appears to be wholly economic in its motivation.

The recluses, called *katochoi*, in the precinct of the Serapis temple were persons who isolated themselves from the world by devoting to the god their right of free movement. Voluntarily they restricted themselves to residence in the sacred precinct until they should receive again from the god their option of going whither they pleased. Significantly, the word for their release by

the god from their local fixation is the precise technical term which is used in the Delphic manumissions when a freedman under bondage services is liberated from the infringements, to which he had agreed, upon his economic activities and his privilege of free movement. In both cases the Greek word for the release is *apolyxis*.

With every people among whom arise the problems of liberty and encroachments upon liberty, the free choices and the negations of these free choices which distinguished freedom from nonfreedom must necessarily differ. In Roman slavery a surprising alteration presents itself in the concept and the discussions of enslavement from those which the Greeks had developed. Among the Romans one fails to find any trace of emphasis upon freedom of movement as a part of the idea of liberty. This Roman failure to assert the importance of the concept of mobility is strikingly conveyed in the definition of liberty which emanates from the legalist Florentinus, writing somewhere in the period 140-220 A.D. "Liberty," said Florentinus, "is the natural capacity of doing what each person pleases unless he is prohibited from so doing either by force or by law." Here the Greek idea of unhampered mobility as one of the ingredients of freedom is completely lacking.

In his *Elementa Philosophica de Cive* Thomas Hobbes averred that slavery, in all of its forms, might be expressed entirely in terms of freedom of movement. If, then, the privilege of unobstructed movement seemed so important a factor in the substance of human liberty to the Delphic priests and to Thomas Hobbes, why does it fail to appear in Roman legislation and Roman discussions of slavery? The answer seems to lie in the fundamental position of the *familia* in Roman society. This structure of the great household, including the wife, all the children, the clients, and slaves, lay under the supreme authority of the *pater familias*. The Roman legalists came to define this power, as it was exercised over his wife and the blood members of the family, as *patria potestas*, over the slaves of the great household as *dominica potestas*, or owner's authority. When a slave was manumitted, as freedman he moved into a position similar to that of a client in the family organization. His former *dominus* became his *patronus*. The *pater familias* had controlled the work services and the movements of his slaves. Also the clients of his household were indirectly affected in their freedom to move by the custom of salutation of the *patronus* at his place of residence at fixed intervals. Since the freedman now rose out of the level of his former servile domination into the range of the patronal domination of the clients it was an easy shift of the control over his right of movement from the old *dominica potestas* to the patronal authority which the head of the household maintained over his clientage.

At some time in the later Republic Roman legislation fixed upon a term called *obsequium*, reverent obedience, to characterize the correct attitude of the freedman toward his former owner. It also fixed in precise terms what the bondage services were to be which were required of all freedmen. These were called *operae*. As compared with the contractual agreement between the former slave-owner and his present freedman in the Greek *paramoné* manumission the Roman statutory fixation of these services was rigid. Both the reverent obedience and the labor services were to endure throughout the life expectancy of the freedman. It is this Roman rigidity which explains, since it created them, a number of fundamental differences between Roman slavery and manumission and their results from those developed among the Greeks. The Greek slave, for example, if owned by two masters, could be freed in the part owned by one of them and retained in enslavement in that part belonging to the other. Half slave, half free. Roman law refused to recognize partial freedom. Part slave, full slave, was an accepted dictum of the Roman law.

The Romans, whether this explanation be right or wrong, paid not the slightest attention to mobility. Slaves could not have it. Freedmen and clients simply did not have it. Despite this complete neglect of mobility in their theory, in the highly co-ordinated system of the empire the Romans in their ruling practice came, in the end, to the point of binding the great mass of their free subjects to their jobs, and thereby to the places of their domicile, through statutory restrictions upon that very feature which they failed to recognize. This fact has long since been presented in his brilliant studies of the Roman colonate, published in his younger manhood by a former president of our Association, Professor Rostovtzeff. The peasants of the empire were eventually nailed down at the place of their *origo*, their nativity. Then came, in its turn, the binding of the *collegiae*, the craftsmen groups. By long custom these skilled craftsmen had tended to associate, naturally enough, by local groups belonging to the same town or city. The first step was to bind them to the towns in which they worked, to the places of their legal residence. In an imperial constitution one reads: "To the members of the workingmen's corporations it is not permitted to live beyond the boundaries of their city." The right to move away was gone from the craft workers.

Thus the fiscal system of the Roman Empire bound its farmers and handicraftsmen to their work by restricting their mobility to the places of their domicile. Thereafter it fixed the well-to-do classes also to the locale of their responsibility, which was that of collecting the taxes in their districts and of paying these in to the state officials. The social structure thus created was not a slave system. It seems more aptly to fall within the scope of "involun-

tary servitude" as that term is used in the thirteenth amendment to our Constitution. Without question it widened enormously the expanse of the social and economic area between slavery and freedom and confined therein a much greater proportion of the subject population than ancient slavery had ever done.

From 154 A.D. we have a decree of the Roman prefect of Egypt regarding persons who had left their native districts during a peasant revolt in order to escape the burdens of compulsory government services. The prefect ordered such persons to return to their homes and not to wander about in parts of Egypt foreign to them, like hearthless and homeless men, leading lives of wretched brigandage. If they should not return, as directed, they were to be arrested and sent to him for punishment. This is a characteristic example of the way in which the empire, in its eastern sectors, put its clamps upon the mobility of its free, non-Roman subjects.

The Greek term for the *coloni* of the eastern part of the empire was *enapographoi georgoi*, meaning only "registered farmers." Their registration, and the localization consequent upon it, was one which attached the peasant to the village of his registration. The old Greek term of the indentured freedman's condition—*paramoné*—continues in use in the east regarding these farmers. We have a large body of correspondence between the great estate owners in Egypt, the Apion-Strategus family of the fifth and sixth centuries, with their managers. In these documents the managers sometimes report upon new tenant farmers and give guarantees for their permanence upon the estate. The outstanding clause is invariably the same. The manager engages that the peasant whom he has registered upon the estate will "remain without intermission and spend his time upon his holding with his family and his wife and herds and all his possessions." Sometimes there is this addition: "And never will he leave the same nor go apart into another place." Mention of the services due from him as workman of the estate is rare, always brief in statement, and obviously secondary to the elimination of his right of movement.

Considered also from the point of view of the later imperial constitutions the term commonly applied to these peasants, *ascripti glebae*, and even more its customary translation, "bound to the soil," is none too exact. A decree of Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius, datable between 384 and 389 A.D., puts it thus: "A law passed by our ancestors detains the *coloni* by a kind of eternal right so that they are not permitted to depart from those places whose fruits nurture them nor to desert those places which they have once undertaken to cultivate." Again, under Honorius and Theodosius an imperial re-

script declares: "We have ordered them so to adhere to the soil that they ought not to be moved away from it for even a moment." Another rescript says: "Granted that they seem, in status, to be free men, nevertheless they are thought to be slaves of the ground for which they have been born and they have not the capacity of departing whither they wish or of changing their places." In all of these imperial decisions it is the loss of self-mobility of the *coloni* which receives emphasis in the legislation.

In Egypt of the sixth and seventh centuries, just preceding the Mohammedan conquest, Greek leases of the peasants dealing with the farms of the great landowners, in the majority of the preserved documents, are extended either for the life expectancy of the tenants, as upon the Apion-Strategus big estates, or for an undefined period terminable only at the will of the big estate owner. In such contracts the *colonus* had no voice about changing his tenantry. He moved out when thrown out.

The restrictions upon individual freedom of movement which seemed so important to the priests of Apollo reappear in the canons of the church respecting manumissions made by members of its priesthood. In 633 A.D. the Council of Toledo ordained that priests might liberate a part of the slaves that they had acquired, "in this wise, that as free persons they remain under patronage of the Church with their *peculia* and their descendants, carrying out the useful services enjoined upon them in full measure as far as they can do so." *Manēre*—"to remain"—is the verb found here, the Latin form of the Greek *paramenein* which appeared in the Delphic manumission formula and in the later Greek developments of the half-free peasants and handicrafters. The compulsory labors in the church canon are limited to the capacity of the freedman to carry them out, again reproducing an idea present in the Delphic formula of the second century B.C.

In symbolic form the acquiring of mobility by a new freedman appears in a Lombard manumission ceremony of the ninth century of our era. The slave who was to be freed was taken by his owner to a crossroad. Thence he was permitted to go upon whichever of the four roads he might choose. This is also found, in explicit expression, in the Lombard documents granting liberty to slaves: "Let him have license and power to walk from the crossroads and live where he may wish." The legal terms of this statement again seem to have been taken over—through Byzantine law, presumably—from the ancient Greek formulas. In Bavarian law the slave, if a Roman, is to proceed through opened gates and depart in whatever direction he may desire to walk. In the Germanic law of Henry I the right is stated thus: "He who manumits his slave . . . is to establish for him roads that are free, assign

open gates and place in his hands a lance and a sword or whatever are the arms of freemen."

The restrictions upon movement applied to the villeins and serfs in the medieval manorial organizations of France and England have long since become textbook clichés. Rarely could the villein leave the plot which he cultivated, at least if he wished to take with him his livestock and other belongings. Throughout the Middle Ages, through the period of declining serfdom into modern times, and spatially from Russia to the British Isles, a similar general pattern reappears, though widely diverging in its details. Fixation of labor by contractual or statutory infringements upon its mobility seems to reappear as a constant of the methods of labor control. Under the Russian and Uigur system of the *kabalas* from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, debtors bonded themselves or their dependents, in case of default in payment, to serve their creditors in lieu of interest. The engagement entered into is that the bonded person "lives in the family" of the creditors. Again, we have a status of nonfreedom of persons who were fixed in their lives between slavery and freedom and tied by restriction upon choice of habitation, as in the Greek *paramoné* of freedmen.

In early Germanic society, in Poland under the Wisluga system, in Hungary until the right of free movement was restored to the agricultural laborers in 1838, we find the same general method employed for the immobilization of labor, though with manifold differentiations. In all of the groups whose status lay between a fairly complete liberty of action and total enslavement two phenomena are recurrent. The first is that all of the groups had fixed rights which were fully accepted by social custom and legally acknowledged. The second lay in the fact that all of them were either restricted in, or completely deprived of, any right respecting choice of domicile. In all of these manifestations loss of the right to move freely is the common denominator of their partial enslavement.

It may easily happen that restrictions may be placed upon the privilege of voluntary mobility for reasons which lie quite aside from any motivation of labor control and that these may produce results of primary importance, though quite without design, in that precise domain. This occurred, for example, in England in the seventeenth century in the application of the parish poor laws. For fiscal reasons poverty-stricken laborers were not admitted by one parish from another, lest they add to the burden of the local parish relief. As a result of this the poor could not move from their home parishes. Restricted in his right of movement the ordinary laborer was dependent upon the limited opportunities of local employment in his own parish, and his liberties were really controlled by the officials of that parish.

As much as any other discrimination upon them, restrictions upon the right of movement of Negro freedmen in the United States tended to immobilize them in the area between liberty and slavery. In the New England states they remained under the necessity of showing a pass if they wished to go beyond the bounds of the town in which they lived or to appear upon the streets after nine o'clock at night. In some states of the South in the early nineteenth century the conditions imposed upon freedman movement were peculiar, so far as I know, to the American scene. In several states legislative compulsion was put upon the freed Negro requiring that he move. In North Carolina the manumitted Negro was forced, so far as the state laws were concerned, to emigrate from the area of the state's jurisdiction within ninety days after manumission. In Virginia it was within a year. In Tennessee, Alabama, and Florida the time permitted for emigration was not specified in the respective state codes. Application of these laws was practically nullified, it is true, by resort to the right of petition to the county court or to the state legislature. With the support of character recommendations by white persons such petitions for permission to stay were customarily granted, and the colored freedman was permitted to remain in that state in which he had lived as slave.

In some states immigration of free Negroes from other states was forbidden. It was probably because of this elimination of the slaves' ability to move and the restrictions placed upon the Negro freedman's right of mobility that Mr. Justice Joseph P. Bradley, in his opinion written in 1883 upon civil rights cases, was led to recognize the loss of mobility as one of the six "inseparable incidents of the institution of slavery."

In the pursuit of some compelling ideal in times of peace, and more drastically under conditions of warfare, when unusual powers of compulsion are granted to governments, far-reaching restrictions are placed upon individual mobility of all the population and accepted almost without complaint. Although these restrictions must often, in wartimes, be decreed without consultation with those against whom they apply, nevertheless in democracies they are to be regarded, in principle, as imposed by general consent. Under powers of compulsion acceded to by their subjects the governments of the United States and Great Britain have, for the period of the war, placed important checks upon the free movement of their populations. In Britain mobilization and transfer of its labor potential by government, both spatially and occupationally, has been carried out upon a wide scale. In the United States the limitations upon mobility imposed upon our people have not been onerous, applying chiefly to the free right of travel of the general public.

Quite aside from the imperious compulsions of the war effort, in the last

two decades infringements upon the mobility of employees have been appearing in the United States which have projected the problem of the right of free movement into a new sphere. The locale of this projection lies entirely outside the boundaries of slavery and quite beyond the limits of anything which can correctly be classed as helotage. It may serve, however, to emphasize the historical continuance of restrictions upon spatial mobility as a method which is constantly and easily employed in the field of the relations between labor, whether free or enslaved, and those who employ labor. The new application appears in the adoption by some of the labor unions in the United States, under agreement with the employing companies, of the seniority rule. Under this type of agreement seniority in the plant or, in other cases, in a department of the plant, determines the question of the lay-off and of rehiring upon the job when business revives. One who accepts a position in another shop loses the seniority which he had in his previous job and plant. At the first depression affecting the trade in which he is engaged he may be laid off along with any junior in the new plant. The desire for security in the job dictates the result that the seniority rule tends to operate against the union member's desire to move from his present job or to change his domicile to a new locality in search of better conditions of living and of employment.

The sovereign states signatory to the Slavery Convention adopted by the assembly of the League of Nations in 1926 pledged themselves to abolish slavery "progressively and as soon as possible" and "to prevent compulsory and enforced labor from developing into conditions analogous to slavery." By these words they recognized the continued existence of actual slavery and that conditions of labor compulsion were at hand which lie just beyond the boundaries of enslavement—and further that a little change might transform these into slave conditions. "Between free men and slaves stand the Helots and the Penestae." According to the intent and application of this phrase of Julius Pollux, slavery and even helotage, which lies just beyond the periphery of enslavement, have disappeared in most parts of our modern world in the sense that they are no longer condoned or accepted by advanced world opinion. The vocabulary of the slave system, nevertheless, remains in constant use. The ancient words are the same; but their content is different. Except where actual private slavery or semiservile conditions, deriving from labor compulsion, still persist the word enslavement denotes another bundle of restrictions upon personal liberty. Fragile they may be; but they still are shackles—the necessary shackles which bind people together in the unavoidable process of adjustment between human beings who must work together

in their social relations. The necessity of adjustment is the constant in these relations. In the application of this social constant, infringements upon freedom of movement, as applied to individuals or to social groups, are a first recourse of the empowered party in the combination. They may be imposed by external compulsions or they may be self-applied. In either case the free option of movement, as an instrumentality in the process, becomes a vital factor in the stabilizing of the relations between work-giver and worker. As such an instrumentality the priests of Apollo at Delphi isolated it over two thousand years ago and clearly defined the importance of the option of movement as one of the four essentials of human freedom.

The Olney-Pauncefote Treaty of 1897

NELSON M. BLAKE*

FOR several reasons this seems an appropriate time to review the story of the birth and death of the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty. The negotiation of this pioneer agreement to submit to arbitration almost all controversies which might arise between two great nations was a landmark in man's long search for a substitute for force in international relations. The incident occurred, moreover, at an interesting moment in Anglo-American relations. For a century and a quarter before 1897 there had been almost continuous bickering and hostility between the two countries; for a half century thereafter there was to be growing understanding and co-operation. And, finally, the fate of the treaty is illustrative of the difficulties besetting the path of presidents and secretaries of state who try to make a substantial American contribution to the cause of peace.

The treaty was a typical product of nineteenth century liberalism. Since men of good will were coming to hate war, there was a rising demand throughout the Western world for treaties which would commit nations in advance to submit their controversies to arbitral bodies. The movement was strong in both Great Britain and the United States; the House of Commons in 1873 passed a resolution favoring the principle of international arbitration; the two houses of the American Congress followed suit the next year.¹ It was natural to hope that the two English-speaking nations might set an example to the world in agreeing to a general arbitration treaty. Abundant precedent seemed to be offered in the agreements by which the two countries had since 1795 submitted numerous specific issues to decision by either mixed commissions or special arbitral tribunals.

In 1887 Randal Cremer, member of Parliament and organizer of the Peace Society of Working Men, took the initiative in securing signatures for a memorial in favor of an Anglo-American general arbitration treaty. He appealed first to working class representatives in Parliament, but other names proved easy to secure and the document was eventually ornamented with the signatures of 234 members of the House of Commons. A delegation headed by Cremer and Lord Playfair, distinguished scientist and prominent in the

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¹Merle Curti, *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (New York, 1936), pp. 94-96.

Liberal party, bore the memorial across the Atlantic and presented it to President Cleveland. Andrew Carnegie, the instant friend of any such appeal on behalf of peace, arranged the details of the interview and probably provided some of the English representatives with their passage money. Cleveland was friendly, though cautious.²

Congress took the matter up again in 1890. Without a dissenting voice, a resolution was passed requesting the President to invite negotiations for a general arbitration treaty with any government with which the United States had diplomatic relations.³ Three years later the House of Commons responded with a resolution, also unanimously adopted, expressing the hope that the British government would co-operate in the project.⁴

Despite the apparent unanimity of opinion in both countries, the diplomats for some time shrank away from the great practical difficulties involved in phrasing an arbitration agreement. Impatient with this laggard statesmanship, 354 members of Parliament signed a second memorial urging the United States government to take the initiative in the matter. This was taken to Washington early in 1895 by the zealous Cremer.

Prospects for a treaty seemed bright. Enthusiastic groups on both sides of the Atlantic were agitating the issue; President Cleveland was known to be friendly; legislators in both countries had been committed to support of the proposition. Most encouraging of all, actual work on such a document was in progress and the diplomats handling the negotiations—Secretary of State Gresham and British Ambassador Sir Julian Pauncefote—were sincere and eager for success.

Two developments, however, prevented the consummation of a general arbitration treaty in 1895. One was the death of Gresham and his succession by Richard Olney, who was at first much less cordial to the project. The second was the rise of a serious mood of resentment in the United States over British policy in the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Why should this country bind itself to refer all future disputes with England to arbitration at a moment when the latter was reserving for herself a free hand in dealing with weak South American states?⁵

But, in the anxious days following Cleveland's special message of Decem-

² *Parliamentary Debates*, fourth series, XIII, 1240-41; Wemyss Reid, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lyon Playfair, First Lord Playfair of St. Andrews* (New York and London, 1899), pp. 364-66; Curti, pp. 154-55.

³ *Congressional Record*, 51 Congress, 1 Session, XXI, 2986.

⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, fourth series, XIII, 1273.

⁵ Howard Evans, *Sir Randal Cremer: His Life and Work* (London, 1909), pp. 163, 157; *Advocate of Peace*, LVII (Mar., 1895), 62. Assistant Secretary of State Alvey A. Adee advised Olney against haste in continuing the negotiations which Gresham and Pauncefote had begun. Adee to Olney, July 10 and 12, 1895, Olney Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

ber 17, 1895, on the Venezuelan boundary dispute, the movement was powerfully revived. Peace-loving elements in both Great Britain and the United States were shocked at the irresponsible talk of war which swept over America. Both in public discussion and private conference there was more and more talk of the possibility of setting up an arbitral tribunal to settle not only the Venezuelan question but future controversies as well. The British journalist, Henry Norman, wrote a special series of articles from Washington for the London *Chronicle*. He suggested that the United States and Great Britain negotiate a general arbitration treaty and that the Venezuelan boundary controversy then be submitted under its terms.⁶ Although the fact was well concealed, Norman's dispatches were actually written on the basis of interviews with Secretary Olney. His suggestion may, therefore, be assumed to have been a feeler thrown out by the American government.⁷ The journalist polled the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and found encouraging support for the idea.⁸

The subject of a general arbitration treaty was to some extent included in the unofficial negotiations on the Venezuelan issue inaugurated during January.⁹ Serious interest in the proposal was reflected in speeches by Lord Salisbury, the prime minister, and leaders of both the government and opposition parties at the opening of Parliament.¹⁰

On March 5, 1896, Lord Salisbury initiated formal negotiations. His proposal was a cautious one. Cases involving national honor or territorial claims were not covered, the procedure in other cases was cumbersome, and under most circumstances the governments would not bind themselves to accept the decision of the arbitral tribunal.¹¹

Olney and Cleveland urged a bolder scheme. They wanted all disputes to be arbitrable unless Congress or Parliament should declare that the issue was one involving national honor or integrity and withdraw the particular case from the operation of the treaty. They asserted, moreover, that the decisions of the arbitral tribunals should be final.¹² To this Lord Salisbury raised numerous objections. He particularly feared that the precedent of obligatory arbitration applied to territorial cases would cause claims to be raised against the British Empire by irresponsible powers in all parts of the world.¹³

⁶ Quoted in *New York Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1896.

⁷ Norman to Olney, Jan. 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1896, Olney Papers.

⁸ *New York Tribune*, Jan. 10, 1896.

⁹ Olney to Bayard, Jan. 14, 1896, Olney Papers; Reid, pp. 419-20.

¹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates*, fourth series, XXXVII, 42, 53, 110.

¹¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1896, pp. 222-24.

¹² Olney to Pauncefoot, Apr. 11, 1896, *ibid.*, pp. 224-28.

¹³ Salisbury to Pauncefoot, May 18, 1896, *ibid.*, pp. 228-31.

Penciled comments on the margins of a copy of Lord Salisbury's note reveal the great personal interest of President Cleveland in the cause of arbitration. Against the prime minister's complaint that compulsory arbitration would result in miscarriages of justice, Cleveland wrote, "So must every human expedient for adjusting conflicting rights." To the objection that uncertainty of litigation was a bad thing for the inhabitants of a disputed district, his marginal comment was, "Diplomacy may be protracted and war affects the lives of human beings by destroying it." Opposite still further difficulties raised by Salisbury, Cleveland wrote, "Without arbitration, diplomacy. If that fails war and sacrifice of life and retrogression in civilization."¹⁴

Olney's official reply to Lord Salisbury compared the British and American positions in these words:

Under the British proposal the parties enter into an arbitration and determine afterwards, when they know the result, whether they will be bound or not. Under the proposals of the United States the parties enter into an arbitration, having determined beforehand that they will be bound. The latter is a genuine arbitration; the former is a mere imitation, which may have its uses, but, like all other imitations, cannot compare in value with the real article.¹⁵

Thus matters stood in July, 1896, when, in the hope of winning the support of public opinion, both governments published their correspondence on the issue. Olney's advocacy of arbitration with as few reservations as possible appealed to peace-lovers in both countries. Letters from three university presidents—Low of Columbia, Angell of Michigan, and Gilman of Johns Hopkins—expressed approval of his position.¹⁶ Andrew Carnegie complained to Gladstone that Lord Salisbury's attitude seemed to belittle the whole arbitration movement, while English Liberals like John Morley and James Bryce asserted that they preferred the American plan over the British.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the popular demand for an arbitration treaty had grown to impressive proportions on both sides of the Atlantic.

In England resolutions calling for a permanent Anglo-American arbitral tribunal were passed in a meeting held at Zion College, London, on January 14. A committee headed by the bishop of Durham was named to promote the cause and secure signatures for a great petition. A conference of the International Arbitration League, presided over by Sir John Lubbock, passed similar resolutions, as did also the Federation of Free Churches.¹⁸ Dr. Darby of the London Peace Society worked energetically for the proposal.

¹⁴ Preserved with Cleveland Papers (Library of Congress).

¹⁵ Olney to Pauncefote, June 22, 1896, *Foreign Relations*, 1896, p. 234.

¹⁶ Olney Papers.

¹⁷ Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie* (New York, 1932), I, 432-34; J. R. Roosevelt to Olney, July 25, 1896, Olney Papers; London Times, Oct. 2, 1896.

¹⁸ *Advocate of Peace*, LVIII (Mar., 1896), 54.

while Randal Cremer was successful in securing the support of over five thousand labor leaders.¹⁹ In March a crusader of splendid energies, W. T. Stead, took up the movement. The English *Review of Reviews*, which he edited, gave publicity to the letters of such eminent advocates of arbitration as Lord Rosebery, Herbert Asquith, William Watson, and Herbert Spencer.²⁰ Meetings and memorials were frequent and Lord Salisbury could not have forgotten the matter had he wanted to. Within his own ministry the attorney-general, Sir Richard Webster, was known to be a warm friend of the movement, while Balfour was sympathetic.²¹

Events ran a parallel course in America. The American Peace Society of Boston and the Universal Peace Association of Philadelphia redoubled their efforts, while church groups—especially the Quakers—took up the project with great energy. Resolutions calling for a permanent court of arbitration were passed at many colleges.²² Peace demonstrations were held in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, while at Washington a great Arbitration Conference convened on April 21 and 22. The Washington meeting attracted four hundred delegates from almost every state. Ex-Senator George Edmunds of Vermont presided; Chief Justice Melville Fuller, General Nelson Miles, ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, President Angell of the University of Michigan, and Charles Francis Adams all appeared, and Carl Schurz made one of the principal speeches.²³

Since lawyers as a class are not likely to be visionary, it was a significant development when the New York Bar Association appointed a committee to draw up plans for an international court to settle differences that might arise between Great Britain and the United States. Troubled by the problem of constructing a court where the representatives of the litigants would be judges, the committee broadened their plan to include other nations as well. After its unanimous adoption by a special meeting of the association, the plan was presented to President Cleveland in April, 1896. He showed great interest in the subject, talked with the committee for an hour, and asked for a copy of the document for Olney's use.²⁴

The movement was likewise given recognition by the American Bar As-

¹⁹ Evans, pp. 182-84.

²⁰ Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W. T. Stead* (London, 1925), II, 87.

²¹ Evans, p. 184; Blanche Dugdale, *Arthur James Balfour, First Earl of Balfour* (London, 1936), I, 230.

²² Copies of resolutions adopted at Oberlin College, Doane College, Puget Sound University, Mount Union College, and Pacific University are in the Cleveland Papers.

²³ Curti, p. 141; the memorial adopted by the conference is in the Cleveland Papers; the text of Schurz's speech is in Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1913), V, 260-76.

²⁴ Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting*, 1899, pp. 43-46.

sociation. The principal feature of its annual meeting in August was an address on international arbitration by Baron Russell of Killowen, the lord chief justice of Great Britain. The English lawyer proved to be a rather lukewarm champion of the principle, but his visit at least served to dramatize the improvement in Anglo-American relations.²⁵

Not everyone had faith in the project. E. J. Phelps, former United States minister to Great Britain, wrote that he had more confidence in high-minded diplomacy than in difficult mechanical instruments like arbitration treaties.²⁶ The New York *Tribune* could see difficulties;²⁷ the New York *Sun* was hostile; the San Francisco *Chronicle* warned, "Let us not deceive ourselves. The great battles of the world are yet to be fought."²⁸ On the British side, the Conservative publicist, Frederick Greenwood, cast serious doubt on the advisability of any arbitration treaty,²⁹ while another writer reminded English readers of the sharp practices which the Americans always employed in presenting claims and in carrying out arbitral decisions.³⁰ But President Cleveland remained sanguine. He assured a visitor early in August that international arbitration would come soon unless Salisbury prevented it.³¹

Lord Pauncefote was a sincere friend of the movement. He tried hard to get a treaty in July before he left for a vacation in England, and he renewed negotiations soon after his return in the fall.³² Soon after the settlement of the Venezuelan difficulty, Pauncefote and Olney worked out the text of a treaty which the two governments would accept. Lord Salisbury became greatly interested in the project at the end. According to Lady Salisbury, he "worked like a nigger over it."³³

The Olney-Pauncefote Treaty, finally signed January 11, 1897, represented a victory for the American contention that a general arbitration agreement should cover all types of controversies and should provide a final decision in most cases. Pecuniary claims not exceeding £100,000 were to be subject to the final decision of a tribunal composed of one arbitrator from each country and an umpire chosen by the two; all larger pecuniary claims and other con-

²⁵ Russell of Killowen, "International Law and Arbitration," *Forum*, XXII (Oct., 1896), 192-216; *London Times*, Aug. 21, 1896.

²⁶ Edward J. Phelps, "Arbitration and Our Relations with England," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII (July, 1896), 26-34.

²⁷ Feb. 17, 1896.

²⁸ *Chautauquan*, XXIII (Apr., 1896), 231.

²⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 23, 1896, clipping in Olney Papers.

³⁰ Herbert W. Wilson, "The Working of Arbitration," *Fortnightly Review*, LXVI old series (Dec. 1, 1896), 785-94.

³¹ Unsigned memorandum in Cleveland Papers for September, 1896.

³² Olney to Cleveland, July 16, 1896; Olney to Pauncefote, July 24; Pauncefote to Olney, July 29; Pauncefote to Olney, Nov. 13; Olney to Pauncefote, Nov. 15; Pauncefote to Olney, Nov. 15; Pauncefote to Olney, Dec. 28, 1896, Olney Papers.

³³ Henry White to Olney, Jan. 13, 1897, *ibid.*

troverted matters except territorial claims were to be submitted to such a tribunal of three, but unless the decision of this tribunal were unanimous an appeal might be taken to a second tribunal of five, two from each country plus an umpire chosen by the four; territorial claims were reserved for a tribunal of six members, three from each party with no umpire, and were not to be final unless agreed to by at least five of the arbiters; in cases where there was disagreement over the choice of an umpire he was to be named by the king of Sweden.³⁴

Letters of congratulation poured in to Cleveland and Olney from peace societies, churches, bar associations, university groups, and commercial organizations.³⁵ Grateful for this support, the President and the Secretary of State tried to secure a sufficient mobilization of public opinion to impress the Senate. Olney secured the help of F. R. Coudert and ex-Senator Edmunds, who were regarded as authorities on international law.³⁶ A prominent New York lawyer, John J. McCook, was enlisted for the task of securing the help of the churches. Under McCook's prompting great church meetings in New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Chicago passed resolutions urging the Senate to consent to the ratification of the treaty.³⁷

Also working for ratification was the National Arbitration Committee headed by William E. Dodge, a public-spirited New York merchant. This group sent out fifty thousand circulars to ministers and three thousand to other leading citizens urging that they work for the treaty. To the senators and to editors throughout the country the committee sent a brief refuting the objections which were being raised to the document. Numerous public meetings were organized and the state legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Alabama, and Minnesota were induced to pass resolutions favoring the ratification of the treaty. Each senator was beset with petitions.³⁸

But opposition to the treaty developed with equal rapidity. The *Chicago Tribune* referred with brutal directness to Canada and the West Indies, asserting that Americans wanted "to get rid of foreign influence on the North and South American continents. . . . We don't want to be tied up with any

³⁴ *Arbitration with Great Britain* (58 Congress, 3 Session, *Senate Documents*, no. 161), pp. 2-7. Lord Salisbury insisted on the principle of not permitting an umpire on tribunals deciding upon territorial issues, thus making an award impossible unless two of the arbiters voted against the case of their own country. This is an interesting point because English scholars have been severely critical of the policy of the United States government in insisting upon a very similar procedure on the Alaskan boundary question in 1903.

³⁵ Cleveland and Olney Papers for January, 1897.

³⁶ Olney to Coudert, Jan. 4, 1897; Olney to Edmunds, Jan. 13, 1897, Olney Papers.

³⁷ McCook to Olney, Jan. 15 and 16, 1897, *ibid.*

³⁸ W. E. Dodge to Cleveland, Feb. 10, 1897, Cleveland Papers. See also circulars of the National Arbitration Committee, *ibid.*

general arbitration treaty."³⁹ The treaty was damned as "Secretary Olney's Mugwump-Tory scheme" and it was asserted that in our previous experience with arbitration we had always been the losers. "It would be small business," thought the *Tribune*, "for this powerful republic . . . to trust its rights to the decision of a foreign potentate of any kind."⁴⁰ William Randolph Hearst, who was just beginning the New York phase of his career, implied that international Jewry was behind the treaty; the New York *Journal* asserted that there were on file in the State Department memorandums prepared by Baron Nathan Rothschild urging the advantages of an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain.⁴¹ The New York *Sun* was somewhat more subtle in its attack. It called upon the Senate to consider the document with the "greatest deliberation," spoke gravely of the danger of allowing the king of Sweden to name umpires, and inquired anxiously how the treaty might react on our relations with other European powers, especially with our traditional friend, Russia.⁴²

In the Senate the treaty was subjected to much criticism. What W. E. Dodge described as a kind of technical poison spread through the chamber.⁴³ Innumerable questions were raised as to how obligatory arbitration might affect some particular interest of the United States. Some senators were afraid that the treaty might tie American hands in securing an isthmian canal or were impressed by the warning of Benjamin F. Tracy, a former Secretary of the Navy, who feared that the United States might be compelled to arbitrate the Monroe Doctrine or the issue of whether Spain might sell Cuba to England.⁴⁴ Others were reported to be angered by Olney's "utter disregard for the opinion of the Senate and Congress."⁴⁵ Even some of the nominal supporters of the agreement were unenthusiastic. Senator Hawley of Connecticut announced that he was going to vote for the treaty even though there was no provision that a stop should be made to "Great Britain's immemorial policy of territorial extension, seizure, land robbery, bulldozing, and ruthless disregard of the rights of the weaker." But, if there was any wrong, any serious insult put upon their nation and their flag, the American people would fight, treaty or no treaty.⁴⁶

As one observer analyzed the situation, an irreconcilable element led by Senator Morgan of Alabama opposed an arbitration treaty in any form be-

³⁹ Jan. 12, 1897. ⁴⁰ Jan. 16 and 19, 1897.

⁴¹ Jan. 17, 1897. The story was denied in a letter of Adee to Stuyvesant Fish, Feb. 5, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁴² Jan. 13 and 14, 1897. ⁴³ Dodge to Olney, Jan. 21, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁴⁴ Chicago *Tribune*, Jan. 16, 1897. Responding to an appeal by Olney, ex-Senator Edmunds gave out a statement to the newspapers refuting Tracy's views. Olney to Edmunds, Jan. 18; Edmunds to Olney, Jan. 19, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁴⁵ New York *Sun*, Jan. 14, 1897.

⁴⁶ Chicago *Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1897.

cause they wanted war with England or at least an unrestricted opportunity to threaten war whenever they felt like it. The two Massachusetts senators, Lodge and Hoar, headed a faction which was content to amend the life out of the treaty; they were for the treaty but against its ratification; they would ratify a different treaty.⁴⁷ The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* charged that the senators were trifling with both nations and reducing the treaty to a "budget of meaningless phrases."⁴⁸ The English *Saturday Review* lamented that America was "misrepresented by its stupid and mischievous Congress."⁴⁹

But the Senate ignored its critics and refused to be hurried. As early as February 11 Olney admitted gloomily his fear that the treaty was destined to be talked over into the next session of Congress—and perhaps even talked to death.⁵⁰

On March 4 Cleveland and Olney returned to private life and the arbitration agreement was delivered to the tender mercies of a new president and a new Congress. McKinley at once put himself on record as an enthusiastic supporter of the treaty. In his inaugural address he expressed his strong hope that the document would be ratified.⁵¹

Since the Cleveland administration would no longer receive credit, there was hope that the treaty would now be accepted. But the senators continued to make trouble. Although they debated the matter in what were supposed to be secret sessions, the public was aware that the cause of arbitration was not prospering. By March 24 it was known that the Senate had largely emasculated the treaty by accepting three amendments proposed by the Foreign Relations Committee. The London *Times* could not conceal its indignation. "The Senate," it declared, "has done more than wreck an instrument carefully forged by the representatives of two nations. It has struck a blow at the principle of arbitration itself, and at the confidence of the world in the American people. There is in its action a note of levity, of wantonness, and of irresponsible caprice, such as, happily, is very rarely struck by any legislative assembly."⁵²

The Foreign Relations Committee amendments made the consent of two thirds of the Senate necessary for the submission of any dispute to arbitration, made the President's nomination of the American arbitrators subject to the consent of the Senate, and entirely cut out the provision under which the king of Sweden would name the umpire in case of a disagreement over his selection.⁵³ But the mutilation of the treaty did not stop there. The Senate

⁴⁷ London *Times*, Feb. 10, 1897.

⁴⁸ Feb. 15, 1897.

⁴⁹ LXXXIII (Feb. 13, 1897), 163.

⁵⁰ Olney to H. L. Nelson, Feb. 11, 1897, Olney Papers.

⁵¹ James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1905* (Washington, 1907), X, 17.

⁵² Mar. 24, 1897.

⁵³ *Arbitration with Great Britain*, pp. 16-19.

accepted an amendment proposed by Senator Hoar of Massachusetts which forbade the submission to arbitration of any controversy that in the judgment of either power materially affected its honor, territorial integrity, foreign or domestic policy, or involved the question of whether any treaty, once existing, continued in force—a clear reference to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.⁵⁴ Senator Bacon of Georgia secured an amendment forbidding the submission to arbitration of claims against any individual state of the United States, a maneuver designed to protect the Southern states which had repudiated their debts of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.⁵⁵ Minor operations were combined with major until two of the fifteen articles of the treaty were repudiated completely and five others radically altered.

The Senate's attack was made in the face of evidence that the document had the support of a large proportion of the public. The New York *World* sought to poll the opinion of the nation by sending out a flood of telegrams to bishops and church leaders, educators, labor leaders, presidents of chambers of commerce, and editors of daily newspapers. Over 2,000 replies were received and the overwhelming majority was for the treaty. Of 400 newspapers polled, all but 39 favored ratification either in the treaty's original form or with amendments.⁵⁶ Of 36 daily newspapers quoted in the *Literary Digest* and in *Public Opinion* 28 favored the treaty, 4 were critical, and 4 openly opposed.⁵⁷

More petitions and memorials were sent to senators than on any preceding treaty.⁵⁸ An analysis of 302 of these referred to in the *Senate Executive Journal* reveals that 266 favored ratification. Of these 118 were from church organizations, 31 from chambers of commerce, 23 from college faculties or student bodies, and 22 from women's societies. At least 23 of the 36 petitions opposing ratification were from Irish-American organizations. Interest in the treaty evidently centered in the Northeast and the Midwest. Of the petitions favoring ratification 103 came from New England and the Middle Atlantic states, 128 from the North Central states; of those opposing the treaty 21 came from the Middle Atlantic states and 14 from the North Central section. The Southern states provided 24 petitions favoring ratification and none at all opposing; the Mountain and Pacific states were represented by only one petition—for the treaty.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁶ *Congressional Record*, 55 Congress, 1 Session, XXX, 612.

⁵⁷ *Literary Digest*, XIV (Jan. 23 and 30, 1897), 357-58, 386; XV (May 15, 1897), 64-65; *Public Opinion*, XXII (Jan. 21, Feb. 11, May 13, 1897), 68-70, 166-67, 581.

⁵⁸ W. Stull Holt, *Treaties Defeated by the Senate: A Study of the Struggle between President and Senate over the Conduct of Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 157.

⁵⁹ *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America* (Washington, 1909), XXX, 356-443; XXXI, 3-105.

Despite this support, however, the prospects of the scheme deteriorated steadily. Such jingo newspapers as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Journal*, and the *New York Sun* kept up a relentless attack. Allied with them were numerous Irish-American societies and periodicals which were opposed to any Anglo-American arbitration treaty, no matter how limited by amendments. "A Catspaw For England," pronounced the *Irish World*. "Are We Raking British Chestnuts Out Of The European Fire? America Will Be John Bull's Trump Card. Jubilant Britishers Are Anticipating A Full Offensive And Defensive Alliance."⁶⁰ The Irish persisted in labeling the project an alliance and in boldly appealing to all the American prejudice against involvements abroad.⁶¹ On the day of the final vote on the treaty two prominent Irish nationalists were in the Senate lobby working hard to insure its defeat. One was Patrick Egan, former American minister to Chile and very prominent in Republican party circles; the other was Michael Davitt, the father of the Irish Land League and one of the most prominent members of the Irish Nationalist party in the British Parliament. Davitt had timed one of his frequent visits to the United States so as to take part in this particular fight. He wanted, he said, to demonstrate to the English that their hope for closer relations with the United States would be forever thwarted unless they satisfied the Irish aspiration for self-government.⁶²

Both friends and foes of the treaty were much in evidence at a great mass meeting held in Cooper Union, New York City. The sponsors had arranged a program devoted to speeches by such friends of arbitration as Mayor Strong, President Low of Columbia, Bishop Potter of the Episcopal Church, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. Unfortunately for the cause of peace, the hall was packed with a hostile element that almost stole the show. A Tammany judge, known affectionately as "Warwhoop" Lynn, secured the floor and proceeded to denounce England while his admirers howled "Hurrah for war!" and "To Hell with England!" The presiding officer ignored the noisy Anglophobes and declared that the resolutions calling for the ratification of the treaty were carried.⁶³ But the opposition hired the same hall one week later and staged their own meeting.⁶⁴

From the point of view of practical politics the most dangerous enemies of the treaty were the silverites. To them the document was twice accursed. It was associated with the detested Grover Cleveland and it was a tie with.

⁶⁰ Jan. 23, 1897.

⁶¹ *Literary Digest*, XIV (Feb. 20, 1897), 481.

⁶² *Irish World*, May 15, 1897; Evans, p. 185; Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, *Michael Davitt: Revolutionary, Agitator and Labour Leader* (London and Leipsic, 1908), pp. 199-200.

⁶³ *New York Tribune*, Mar. 12, 1897.

⁶⁴ *Irish World*, Mar. 27, 1897.

England, the symbol of the gold power. In the words of the Gadsden (Ala.) *Tribune*:

In our opinion the treaty . . . is a trap set for the American people by the British gold ring and their Tory allies in this country. If passed without amendment it virtually annuls the Monroe Doctrine and the Declaration of Independence of this country.⁶⁵

The famous election of 1896 had had important repercussions on Anglo-American relations. At first the English had been dismayed by the nomination of McKinley, who was known to them only as the high priest of protectionism. But the economic heresies of the Republicans soon appeared as nothing when compared with the financial blasphemy that tumbled from the lips of Bryan. The British governing class followed the American campaign with undisguised apprehension, and they applauded the Republican victory in November as a deliverance from utter disaster, not only for America but for England as well. McKinley was aware of the enthusiasm of the British and entered office with a sincere wish to improve the relations of the two countries.

But England's attitude was bitterly resented by millions of Americans to whom silver was a holy cause. It seemed to prove what the silverites for a whole generation had been asserting—that there existed a conspiracy between London and New York bankers to impose the gold standard for their own profit. A Bryan supporter had stated that the campaign of 1896 was "the most important political battle of this or any other age; a battle which is to determine whether this nation shall be a province of Great Britain and be governed and controlled as that nation is by the money barons of Europe, or whether it shall be, as the fathers intended it to be, a free and independent and sovereign nation."⁶⁶ The Democratic party platform had declared:

Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.⁶⁷

The silver forces lost the election, but they still had it within their power to oppose the ratification of a treaty which was supposed to inaugurate a new era of friendship between the United States and Great Britain. "On the

⁶⁵ *Responses of the Newspapers of the United States to the New York World's Telegram Asking an Expression of an Opinion upon the Pending Arbitration Treaty between the United States and Great Britain* (55 Congress, 1 Session, Senate Documents, no. 63), p. 2.

⁶⁶ William J. Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896* (Chicago, 1896), p. 426.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

whole," wrote one silverite senator to another, "the Treaty is better in the wastebasket or the fire than anywhere else."⁶⁸

On May 5, 1897, the long debate finally came to an end. The treaty had been so amended that it scarcely obligated the United States to do anything. The final issue was not general arbitration at all; the Senate was asked merely to approve an innocuous gesture of good will toward England. Forty-three of the senators were willing to do this, twenty-six were opposed, and the treaty failed of ratification by three votes.⁶⁹ Actually the decision was probably not this close. It was common talk that several senators had voted for the treaty only because they knew that it would fail.⁷⁰

It was the silverites who delivered most of the irreconcilable vote. Of thirty-one senators voting or paired against final ratification, twenty-five, according to the *New York Herald*, were proponents of free silver coinage. Twenty-one of the irreconcilables were from states west of the Mississippi, seven from states east of the Mississippi but south of the Mason-Dixon line. The other three were Quay and Penrose of Pennsylvania and Mason of Illinois. It was alleged at the time that the vote of the Pennsylvania senators reflected the wishes of shipbuilding interests which were opposed to "anything calculated to put an end to war scares and the big appropriations which are railroaded through while the scares are on."⁷¹

But amendment had killed the treaty long before the final vote. Senators like Lodge, Hoar, Foraker, Chandler, and Hawley who proposed and voted for damaging amendments or who indulged in deprecatory comments were as much the assassins of the proposal as the silverites. Very few of the senators, in fact, could resist the impulse to rewrite the treaty. Besides the thirty-one irreconcilables, there were forty reservationists who voted for one or more of the important amendments. How is their hostility to the original scheme to be explained?

It need not be doubted that Irish-American lobbying had been effective. Of sixteen senators from the eight states which had the largest concentrations of immediate Irish stock, four were irreconcilables and nine were reservationists.⁷²

The Irish, however, were not the only Americans suspicious of Great Britain. The English seemed headed for trouble in South Africa, in China,

⁶⁸ John W. Daniel to John T. Morgan, Mar. 12 (22?), 1897, quoted by Holt, p. 162.

⁶⁹ *Arbitration with Great Britain*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ *New York Tribune*, May 6, 1897. Cf. Sydney Brooks, "Anglo-American Arbitration," *Harper's Weekly*, LII (Mar. 21, 1908), 17.

⁷¹ *Chicago Chronicle*, quoted in *Literary Digest*, XV (May 15, 1897), 65. Cf. letter of Olney to Henry White, May 14, 1897, Holt, p. 159.

⁷² The eight states were New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, and California. *United States Census*, 1890, *Compendium*, Pt. III, 79.

and in the Near East. The fact that the arbitration treaty had specified a period of five years was believed to be linked with Lord Salisbury's desire to bridge over a critical period in world politics. Many senators still thought of England as our hereditary foe and were unwilling to extend a hand to her in her difficulties, the more especially since there was great criticism of the policies which she was pursuing in South Africa, in Turkey, and in Crete. One senator remarked:

If we ratify this treaty, within fifteen minutes the news would be flashed around the world that we have made what most nations would regard as a close and special alliance with England, and we do not want to put ourselves into that attitude.⁷³

Senators who wanted the United States free to follow an expansionist policy, who wanted Spain driven out of Cuba and an American-controlled canal built across the isthmus, looked with distaste on a document which might in any way tie this government's hands. Morgan of Alabama and other silverite irreconcilables were jingoes. So also was Mason of Illinois, who voted against the treaty on the final vote. Other prominent expansionists like Chandler of New Hampshire, Lodge of Massachusetts, and Foraker of Ohio were active in the campaign to kill the treaty by amendment.

The cause of arbitration was also hurt by dissatisfaction in many quarters over the results of the last previous Anglo-American resort to arbitration in the Bering Sea case.⁷⁴

But, in the opinion of no less an authority than Richard Olney himself, the most decisive force working against the treaty was the determination of the Senate to dominate the national government.

The Treaty, in getting itself made by the sole act of the executive, without leave of the Senate first had and obtained, had committed the unpardonable sin. It must be either altogether defeated or so altered as to bear an unmistakable Senate stamp . . . and thus be the means both of humiliating the executive and of showing to the world the greatness of the Senate. . . . The method of assault has been as insidious as it has been deadly. A single sound objection to the Treaty as signed has yet to be stated. Yet, awed by the universal public sentiment for the Treaty and feeling compelled to seem to defer to it while in reality plotting to defeat it, Senators have exhausted their ingenuity in devising amendments to the Treaty. Hence, before the Treaty came to a final vote, the Senate brand had been put upon every part of it and the original instrument had been mutilated and distorted beyond all possibility of recognition. The object of the Senate in dealing with the Treaty . . . the assertion of its own predominance . . . was thus successfully accomplished and would have been even if the Treaty as amended had been ratified.⁷⁵

⁷³ Lake Mohonk Conference, *Report of the Third Annual Meeting*, 1897, p. 19.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-9.

⁷⁵ Olney to Henry White, May 14, 1897, quoted by Holt, pp. 159-60. Olney analyzed also

Party lines counted for little. The treaty had been negotiated by a Democratic administration, but its ratification had been strongly urged by the new Republican President. Of the thirty-one irreconcilables, either voting or paired against the treaty on the final vote, sixteen, according to the *Congressional Directory*, considered themselves Democrats, eight were Republicans, and seven were variously classified as Populists, Silverites, Silver Republicans, or Independents. Of the forty reservationists, twenty-five were Republicans, thirteen Democrats, and two Populists. Of fifteen senators who voted for the treaty and against the amendments, nine were Republicans and six Democrats.

But, if analyzing the vote by party affiliations proves little, analyzing it by sections shows considerably more. Whatever strength existed for ratifying the original treaty was largely to be found in the East. The further west one went, the less senatorial support was forthcoming. Of the senators from the Northeast whose positions can be classified, 28 per cent supported the original treaty with some consistency and only 11 per cent opposed the amended treaty. But of the senators from the Far Western states, not a single one supported the original treaty while 60 per cent opposed it after all the amendments had been added. The Southern and Midwestern senators followed such similar lines of division that they may be considered together. Of these 19 per cent supported the original treaty; 38 per cent were opposed to it even in its amended form.

The most characteristic senatorial attitude was that of the reservationists. As Olney observed, the agreement was done to death not by open enemies but by professed friends.⁷⁶ Of the Eastern senators 61 per cent, of the Southern and Midwestern 42 per cent, and of the Far Western 40 per cent did not vote against ratification on the final vote but did support one or more of the mutilating amendments.

Workers in the cause of arbitration could console themselves that not all was lost. The contest had provided publicity for the idea and popular education on the issues involved. Nevertheless, the defeat proved to be much more than a temporary setback. The leadership which the United States had up to then asserted in championing the principle of arbitration was lost.

the other factors which he thought had resulted in the defeat of the treaty. At his suggestion, White allowed the letter to circulate among members of the British ministry where it aroused great interest. Cf. Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York and London, 1930), pp. 125-26, and Henry James, *Richard Olney and His Public Service* (Boston and New York, 1923), p. 149.

⁷⁶ Olney to White, May 14, 1897, quoted by Holt, p. 160.

Since 1897, despite many and vehement assertions of devotion to that ideal, the record reveals that in action the United States has not only lagged behind the advancing practices of the rest of the civilized world but has even retrograded.⁷⁷

The parallels between this contest of 1897 and the more famous and important one of 1919 are obvious. In the latter struggle there was a much larger element of party politics. But we make a serious error if we ascribe the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles primarily to causes which operated at a certain time and involved particular personalities. So long as the Constitution continues to require that treaties must have a two thirds vote of the Senate for their ratification, it will be difficult for any American president to commit the United States in advance to a definite course of action in the event of a threat to peace. The groups which defeated the treaty of 1897—agrarians suspicious of the intrigues of Wall Street, Anglophobes, and legislators jealous of senatorial power—we apparently have with us always.

⁷⁷ Holt, pp. 154-55. For another discussion of the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty and its relationship to the arbitration movement, see Denna Frank Fleming, *The Treaty Veto of the American Senate* (New York and London, 1930), pp. 77-116.

Leadership and Democracy in the Early New England System of Defense

MORRISON SHARP*

I

THE New England system of defense in the seventeenth century, like the New England town, was conceived in the aristocratic traditions of the old country but grew to new vigor under the democratic exigencies of the frontier. England sent well-bred aristocrats into the wilderness that they might command fighting men who kept muskets in their homes for defense of the commonwealth. The new factor was the soldier-citizen, freeman, inhabitant, or ordinary householder with his sons and servants. Only in London had there been anything like the New England militia, where, as in the wilderness, Puritan-inclined gentlemen of wealth and breeding realized that popularly supported, well-equipped, and disciplined trainbands were necessary to preserve their lives, liberties, and fortunes. On the frontier, where common men seized hold of greater shares of substance and dignity, they developed within the old traditional aristocratic leadership new traditions of majority rule, popular nomination of officers, local self-government, and almost universal manhood suffrage when they elected trainband officers, served in fighting companies, and maintained other branches of their system of defense.

Early New England society approached a total unity for certain major purposes. Among these were the unhampered rule of the Congregational aristocrats in their church without a bishop and their state without a king, expansion of the frontier under unquestioned title to the land, and defense against all disturbers of the peace—political, economic, and religious. In short, all of New England was by virtue of its purposes and organization a total system of defense of which the trainbands and fighting companies were most important parts.¹ The men of New England were enrolled into town trainbands and the trainbands into county regiments for drilling and for inspection of powder and arms. The trainbands and trainband-regiments rarely or never fought as military organizations. Their officers, as trainband

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¹ The term "militia" seems to have been applied in the seventeenth century to any body of nonprofessional soldiers. It was a loose term connoting no specific duties or type of company or regimental organization. It was used almost interchangeably with "trainbands" or "trained bands."

and regimental officers, did not lead the men into battle. Their duties were limited to drilling their men, keeping the muster rolls, and inspecting the home-stored supplies of powder, lead, and guns. For fighting, the New England colonies raised special fighting companies of men drafted out of the ranks of the trainbands and led by specially commissioned officers. Though the same men filled both kinds of companies, the trainbands were only civilians under arms subject to civil law, while the fighting companies, under martial law, were real soldiers bent on "good ruff worke."²

In such a system of defense, leadership cannot be understood by listing the kinds of officers and their duties, but rather by studying the many ways free-men, both clergy and magistracy, dominated their common citizen-soldiers. In theory, as expressed in law, the old English system of centralized authority running down from king to lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, sheriffs, constables, muster masters, and captains, existed also in New England, that is, officers were imposed upon regiments. But in practice the New England militia was a popular force arising out of the needs of the people and embracing all of them.³

These needs were the outgrowth of life and dangers of the New World, for the people, going forth in companies, were subduing and civilizing the wilderness. The migration of the original settlers of Cambridge to Connecticut was typical; they formed a company in three distinct senses: a company of soldiers, a company of land seekers, and a company of religious men. Defense, wealth, and faith were their unity; soldiers, aristocrats, and ministers their leaders. It may seem somewhat surprising that the clergy, although excused from training, kept closely in touch with trainbands, fighting companies, and other defense activities. But their leadership was indispensable in the New England system of defense.⁴ From their pulpits they maintained unity and discipline in their godly communities; they opened training with prayer and closed it with prayer; they voted in trainband elections; they gave

² "Here is yet good ruff worke to be done [on the Pequots]." Israel Stoughton to John Winthrop, July, 1637, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, third series, LI, 285. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Proc. M. H. S.*)

³ "Their military commissioned officers are elected by the soldiers of the severall Companyes. Their Charter [of 1663] directs that such officers be appointed by the Generall Assembly, or by the Governor and Assistants, in cases of exigence." "Disorders and Irregularities" Number Five from the "Report of the Earl of Bellomont, on the Irregularities of Rhode Island. Boston, November the 27th, 1699," *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, ed. John R. Bartlett (Providence, 1856-65), III, 386. (Abbreviated hereafter as *R.I.Col.Recs.*) "I further inquired of Governor Cranston about the Constitution of their militia, with relation to the appointment of officers, etc. He answered, their military officers were chosen by the people, but commissioned by the Governor." "Lord Bellomont's Journal, etc.," *ibid.*, III, 390.

⁴ Even in Rhode Island, where less store was set by theocracy, theology, and discipline, problems of "Invasions forreine and domestick" were at one time, "committed to the Judge and [three] Elders." *Ibid.*, I, 64.

advice in trainband quarrels; and, in time of war, marched with their soldiers to exhort, strengthen, and advise,

This tie between the defense activities and the clergy was not a new social pattern of the frontier.⁵ Its beginnings lay in the conception of sin in the seventeenth century as it pertained to military disaster. According to current English, not necessarily Puritan, thought, "The Plague proceeds from the hand of God, War from the hands of men; and sins of men provoke the justice of Almighty God both to visit and chastise them."⁶ War, to an Elizabethan officer, was "ordained by the Almighty himselfe, as a scourge upon the people, to make them feeble and knowe their sinnes."⁷ Another English officer of the Tudor period explained the rise of the Turks as due to the wrath of God who

can levie an invincible Armie, when and where him lysteth, to vex us and to punishe us, and utterly to destroy us . . . and as he useth them for the punishment of the worlde, so doth he occupie the same also to the comfort and deliveraunce of the righteous and to make way for the Scepter of peace [that is, of true religion] to come to her regement and orderly occupation.⁸

Similar views of the danger from the wrath of an aroused God found very concrete expression in the pre-Civil War military laws of Charles I and in the military laws of both sides during the contest. There was nothing peculiarly Puritan in a sense of the immanence of God in the military, as well as the civil, affairs of men. Swearing was prohibited because by the "act of blaspheming and swearing by the name of the sacred Trinitie, they [soldiers] commit greater villany and offence before God, then if before the world they did commit most wicked acts, or infinite errors."⁹ Sir Thomas Howard, an officer of Charles I, provided that the blasphemer,

shall for the first offence make a publique acknowledgement with detestation of his fault before the *Preacher* of his *Regiment*, and all others present at the time and place of *Divine Service*: and be kept three days in prison with bread and water. The second time, he shall have a red-hot iron thrust thorow his tongue; and after that, be ignominiously for ever turned out of the Armie.¹⁰

These laws for the enforcement of piety and discouragement of blasphemy, including the red-hot iron as a curb on the unruly member, were repeated

⁵ "The Indian raids then, were God's judgement for the [moral] shortcomings of New Englanders." Thomas J. Holmes, *Increase Mather: A Bibliography of His Works* (Cleveland, 1931), I, 226.

⁶ Anon., *A Declaration and Manifestation of the Proceedings of Both Armies* (London, 1642), p. 6.

⁷ Barnabie Rich, *The Fruits of Long Experience* (London, 1604), p. 41.

⁸ Geoffrey Gates, *The Defence of Militarie Profession*, etc. (London, 1579), p. 15.

⁹ Edward Davies, *The Art of War and Englands Traynings* (London, 1619), p. 35.

¹⁰ Sir Thomas Howard, First Earle, and Earl Marshall of England, *Lawes and Ordinances of War* (London, 1639), p. 2.

almost verbatim in the *Orders and Institutions of War* of Charles I and in similar codes of his enemies.¹¹ And these were the laws by which Massachusetts governed her troops in King Philip's War.¹²

To the preacher and his congregation, God was the integrating factor throughout their system of defense. Increase Mather taught his people that disaster was due to the "*Degenerate Estate of the present Generation in New England*."¹³ Second generation worldings, by departing from the pure faith of their fathers, had brought upon themselves war and defeat, starvation and pestilence. When Indians burned the town of Dartmouth, Plymouth Colony advised the victims to resettle compactly

together, att least in each village, as they may be in a capassitie both to defend themselves from the assault of an enimie, and the better to attend the publicke worship of God . . . whose carelesnes to obtaine and attend unto, wee fear, may have bine a provocation of God thus to chastise theire contempt of his gospell.¹⁴

The doctrine of special providence for good or evil justified as intimate a connection between pastor and captain as that between blockhouse and meeting house. Therefore, according to the most advanced thought of the age, it would have been of the utmost folly to provoke God so that He would not go "forth with our Armies as in former times" by neglecting to maintain the closest bonds between the militia and the clergy. Any other course would have justified God to "withdraw from the English, and take part with the enemy."¹⁵

The influence of the clergy upon the training field cannot be measured, but their restraining power seems to have been of no small consequence.

¹¹ *Military Orders and Articles* (Oxford, 1642 [written in ink: 28 August, 1642]) is another royalist code; Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre*, etc. (London, 1642), puritan; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre*, etc. (London, September, 1642), puritan; Henry Hexham, at the same time, translated out of a Dutch military manual an almost identical set of laws, and forty years later these were incorporated in James II's *Rules and Articles of War for the Better Government of His Majesties Land-Forces*, etc. (London, 1685). See Henry Hexham, *An Appendix of the Laws . . . for Marshall Discipline* (Hagh [The Hague?], 1643).

¹² "Laws and Orders of Warr to Keepe Iniquity out of the Camp" (1675?), *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VII (Jan., 1853), 60; see also Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston, 1853-54), V, 49 (Oct. 13, 1675). (Abbreviated hereafter as *Mass. Bay Recs.*) This summary of military laws includes the (red) hot iron treatment.

¹³ Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England* (London, 1676), p. 14; also his *An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New England* (Boston, 1676), p. 17, and, to the same effect, N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *A Continuation of the State of New-England; Being a Farther Account of the Indian Warr* (London, 1676), p. 1. That these views were commonly accepted and not the product of one tortured sensitive nature is proved by their embodiment into a resolution and unanimously passed by the joint committee of elders and both houses of the General Court. Mather, *Brief History*, p. 18.

¹⁴ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England* (Boston, 1855-61), V, 177. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Ply. Col. Recs.*)

¹⁵ Mather, *Brief History*, pp. 15, 21.

Governor Winthrop, himself a colonel in the militia, wrote of a great two-day training at Boston, "About 1200 men were exercised in most sorts of land service; yet it was observed that there was no man drunk, though there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town, not an oath sworn, no quarrel, nor any hurt done."¹⁶ And the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," who was undoubtedly well acquainted with training fields, thanked God that he had lived in New England twelve years and never "heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunke, nor ever heard of three women Adulteresses, in all this time, that I can call to minde."¹⁷ It seems reasonable to suppose that had the New England training field been like the English training field, a roaring mess of drink and profanity as pictured by responsible English officers at the time,¹⁸ these two Puritan gentlemen could hardly have written as they did. If the clergy were not always on the New England training field in person, they were always there in spirit.

On the march and in the midst of battle the pastors shepherded their flocks. The Reverend Mr. Newman of Rehoboth led his congregation and a few Mohegans to attack King Philip in July, 1675, thus almost opening the great struggle.¹⁹ Not only from pulpits exhorting the people to subscribe to war loans but actually in active combat service the New England ministry sustained its leadership.²⁰ One of the three ministers accompanying the army in the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675, was Mr. Samuel Nowell.²¹ "He behaved with wonderful courage and activity in the face of death, when balls whistled on every side of him, yet escaped."²² Another minister of great value to his people in time of war was the superbly capable Captain Whiting, minister of Hartford, who, with Major Treat, never led his fighting companies into ambush.²³ When not in the heroic role of leading their flocks to battle, the clergy were conscientious citizens in other sectors of the system of defense. There is the example of Reverend Andrew Gardiner, who, although the clergy were excused by law from standing watch as from training, was

¹⁶ John Winthrop, *Journal*, ed. James K. Hosmer (New York, 1908), II, 42 (Sept. 15, 1641).

¹⁷ Nathaniel Ward (pseud., Theodore de la Guard), *The Simple Cöbler of Aggawam in America*, etc. (London, 1647), p. 61. Ward clothed his extravagant humor in piety as "If these sinnes bee among us prively, the Lord heale us." But Increase Mather did not take social sinning quite so lightly: ". . . and that whereas Swearing hath been frequently heard," *Brief History*, p. 18. This is part of the "Reformation" agreed upon by the General Court, both houses, and the teaching elders.

¹⁸ Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre*, etc. (London, 1639), *passim*.

¹⁹ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, fourth series, VIII, 233n. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Coll. M. H. S.*)

²⁰ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, V, 96 (May 5, 1676).

²¹ N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *A Continuation of the State of New-England*, p. 5.

²² Samuel Niles, "History of the Indian and French Wars," *Coll. M.H.S.*, third series, VI, 182.

²³ N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *The Present State of New England . . . till the 10th of November 1675* (London, 1675), p. 14.

mistaken in his clerical garb for an Indian and slain while on duty with the watch.²⁴

In yet another example the unity of the clergy with the fighting forces may be shown, this time by the story of Mr. Stone, the chaplain in the Pequot campaign of 1637. The magistrates had planned that the expedition would sail up the Thames River and assault the enemy as Endicott had tried and failed the year before. Both captains of the second expedition saw the folly of a direct attack upon a well-warned and fortified Indian encampment deep in a swamp. Instead of giving up, however, the captains proposed to slip around into Narragansett Bay and attack overland on a westward march from an unexpected quarter. The problem was, therefore, twofold: to defeat the Pequots and to satisfy the magistrates. The officers explained the political and tactical aspects of their strategic problem to Mr. Stone, who went off to seek divine guidance. He got what he sought. God told him to attack through the Narragansett country. That it was God's advice and not the advice of some evil misguiding imp of Satan was doubly proved: first, as the preacher rose from his knees there stood before him a Mohegan war party with six dripping Pequot scalps; and second, the plan succeeded.²⁵

The immediate presence of God hovered over the training field as everywhere else in early New England. It gave unity and purpose to the militia and a fighting power to protect life and property unmatched in the other colonies. Many militiamen were slain in defeat and a few in victory, many homes and whole towns were burned and even deserted, but Massachusetts at its worst never suffered the wholesale massacres that overtook Virginia, New York, and the less godly people around York, Maine.²⁶ In Connecticut during King Philip's War not a town was burned and not a fighting company ambushed or defeated. The New England militia, that is, fighting companies, trainbands, and systems of supply, were the New World "Ironsides" whose discipline and tenacity justified Increase Mather to exult:

²⁴ John Pike, "Journal," *Proc. M.H.S.*, first series, XIV, 139; John Marshall, "Diary," *ibid.*, second series, XIV, 23; Niles, "History," *Coll. M.H.S.*, third series, VI, 261.

²⁵ (Captain) John Mason, "History of the Pequot War," *Coll. M.H.S.*, second series, VIII, 134. (Captain) John Underhill, "Newes from America," etc., *ibid.*, third series, VI, 23.

²⁶ For the worldliness and consequent visitation of divine wrath upon the fishermen of York, Maine, see Niles, "History," *ibid.*, VI, 177. Major-General Daniel Gookin (1612-87) brought to New England and its government a vivid memory of inefficient colonial defense and consequent Indian massacre. His father, Daniel Gookin, had been in Virginia just four months when the great massacre of March 22, 1621/2, destroyed 347 of the 4000 settlers; and twenty-three years later while Daniel, jr., and his family were preparing to quit ungodly Virginia in April, 1644, the colony was again almost overwhelmed. Gookin was a splendid example of piety and military efficiency. Had his humanitarian advice concerning the use and protection of his Praying Indians been followed, Massachusetts might have come through King Philip's War as unscathed as did Connecticut. See Frederick W. Gookin, *Daniel Gookin 1612-1687* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 42, 71.

It hath been observed by many, that never any, (whether Indians or others) did set themselves to do hurt to *New-England*, but they have come to lamentable ends at last. *New-England* hath been a burthensome stone, all that have burthened themselves with it, have been cut in pieces.²⁷

II

The vigorous leadership which so distinguished the Puritan colonies in the seventeenth century was typically English in its emphasis upon the privileges and the duties of clergy and aristocracy. Winthrop, Dudley, Cotton, and Mather agreed with Barnabie Rich, who gathered out of his *Fruites of Long Experience*,

Thus giving Nobilities her due, I preferre the Noble to be most worthy of this great command [of an army], knowing that the bare tyle is more effectuall to draw a reverant regard, and to enforce a more dutifull obedience in an Army, then [*sic*] the largest Commission.²⁸

Military titles treasured in diaries, letters, court records, and deeds show how in the English wilderness of New England colonels explored the forest, majors surveyed, captains solemnized marriages, and sergeants kept inns. A list of those present at the General Court of Massachusetts reads as if a few civilians were meeting with the general staff. The four deputies chosen to open the proxies at the General Assembly of Rhode Island, May 1, 1677, were "Capt. Peleg Sanford, Mr. John Whipple, John Sanford, and Capt. John Greene."²⁹ Among the eighteen general officers of the colony chosen at that election were one major, four captains, and one lieutenant. Pacifist Rhode Island was no exception. The leading soldier and the leading citizen were one and the same.

The early New Englanders, probably because of necessity, followed in theory and practice the current English ideal that "*the Souldier and the Citizen Make but one man.*"³⁰ Physicians and surgeons were exempted from specific military services because it was taken for granted that they would attend the troops.³¹ On the other hand, sailors, constantly away and therefore hardly available for training and war service, were expected to keep on hand their justly apportioned stock of arms.³² Samuel Willard preached before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company,

It is an ill time, when the *Trumpet* of War is sounded . . . for a people then to have their Forts to build, their Arms, Ammunition and Provision to seek, and their Souldiers Untrained. . . . Men, Women and Children, Young and Old; none

²⁷ Mather, *Brief History*, p. 50.

²⁸ Rich, p. 15.

²⁹ *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 565.

³⁰ William Barriffe, *Mars, His Triumph*, etc. (London, 1639), p. 4.

³¹ "Dudley Records," *Proc. M.H.S.*, second series, XIII, 269.

³² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 5-6.

are exempted. . . . Do you not know that whether you will or no, you must be Souldiers?⁸³

In Connecticut the Council called the people to total war when the news of the Pequot attack arrived, with orders

that none should go to work, nor travel, no, not so much as to church, without arms. A corps of guard of fourteen or fifteen soldiers was appointed to watch every night, and sentinels were set in convenient places about the plantations, the drum beating when they went to the watch, and every man commanded to be in readiness upon an alarm, upon pain of five pound. A day of fast and prayers was also kept.⁸⁴

Though Plymouth Colony developed the usual set of legal exemptions from training, watch, and ward, its basic law stated, "That all and every person within the colony be subject to such military order for trayning and exercise of armes as shall be thought meet agreed on, and prescribed by the Governor and Assistants."⁸⁵ Even widows with estates contributed to the maintenance of the watch.⁸⁶ No one was permitted to "acte in such wilfull way of his owne as may or shall apparently tend to the over throw of himselfe, family, neighborhood, society, or towneshipp wherein hee is scittuated or concerned."⁸⁷ In theory, and to the best of their abilities, the New England colonies maintained a system of total defense. Even in Rhode Island, where the militia was chronically at its worst,⁸⁸ "All [were] to traine or pay, without exception," and to maintain ample stocks of firearms and ammunition.⁸⁹

So it would be a mistake to assume, as certain critics of the Puritans have assumed, that the Puritan aristocracy were merely parade ground leaders and not fighters.⁴⁰ That the Puritans hired excellent soldiers—Standish, Underhill, Patrick, and Gardiner—was true, but they also produced fighting officers as competent as any of their hired men-at-arms. These peaceful, educated, pious gentlemen from the English midlands proved their worldly wisdom by engaging less-than-Puritan Elizabethan commandos fresh from

⁸³ Samuel Willard, *The Man of War*, etc. (Boston, 1699), pp. 16, 27.

⁸⁴ P. Vincent, "True Relation, etc.," *Coll. M.H.S.*, third series, VI, 36. See also *Ply. Col. Recs.*, V, 176. In December, 1675, Plymouth provided for daily drill of soldiers in the towns. *Ibid.*, V, 183.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 22 (Jan. 2, 1633/4).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 24 (Apr. 1, 1653).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 192 (Mar. 10, 1675/6).

⁸⁸ The conscientious objectors of Rhode Island kept the colony's system of defense in a constant state of decay, disturbance, and revision. The Rhode Island system of defense is a topic that had best be treated separately.

⁸⁹ *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 549 (1676).

⁴⁰ "They could make preparations for defence, or direct hostilities; but the utmost indulgence of fanatical conceit, or the most presumptuous confidence in their own judgement, did not prompt them to come to the front when their respective colonies were threatened by savages or Frenchmen." Oliver A. Roberts, *History of the . . . Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, 1637-1888* (Boston, 1895), I, 1.

the battlefields of the Low Countries to teach them the art of war.⁴¹ From the first days of settled government in the New England forest, teachers and pupils patrolled warpaths together.

There were, of course, even in this soldier-citizen society, according to New England laws, certain exemptions: magistrates, deputies to the General Court, deacons, teaching elders, and a servant of each of them; officers of the General Court, the colony treasurer, the auditor-general, and the surveyor-general of arms; the president, fellows, students, and ten servants of Harvard College; school masters, physicians, surgeons, millers, constant herdsman, masters of ships over twenty tons trading in foreign ports, and, finally, ferrymen and the hangman—all these were excused from ordinary trainings. In addition, most of these leaders and also sergeants and commissioned officers in the trainbands, were excused from the military watch and ward, that is day and night guard duty in time of danger.⁴² Additional privileges to "the better sort" were free pasturage of horses, and much greater pay at general muster time or for certain other services.⁴³ The legal exemptions and privileges were some of the distinctions that marked off leaders from followers in the Puritan frontier of early New England.

Those excused from training were, however, required to possess ample stocks of arms and thus helped to maintain local supplies of guns and gunpowder. From the beginning of settlement every person (excepting magistrates and ministers and their servants) had to be "furnished with good and sufficient armes allowable by the captain or other officers."⁴⁴ These supplies, maintained by the groups freed from training, therefore, came within the militia system or at least under the supervision of the militia officers. Furthermore, every man who "found" a musket was also held to finding in addition "one pound of powder, 20 bullets and 2 fathoms of match."⁴⁵ All persons exempt from training but burdened with the finding of these arms and able

⁴¹ For example, Myles Standish and John Underhill. Standish's inclination toward marriage seems to have fitted him into the somewhat restricted Puritan code, but Underhill never was able to sublimate his reckless energies sufficiently to avoid the wrath and suspicion of outraged husbands.

⁴² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 210; II, 194, 221-24; III, 265; IV (pt. 1), 14, 85, 147; V, 30, 33. *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1850-90), I, 48; II, 229. (Abbreviated hereafter as *Conn. Col. Recs.*) "And noe excuse to be taken as sufficient for non-trayneing as lawfull, but age, nonage, sicknes, lamenes, or publique barringe of office at that time in the Commonwealth." *R. I. Col. Recs.*, I, 403.

⁴³ Captain Joshua Hubbard (one of Peter Hobart's tempestuous brothers) was "freed from paying any rates for the public charge of the town during the time that he is chief officer of the town for the exercise of the military company." Thirteen voters dissented. Solomon Lincoln, *History of the Town of Hingham* (Hingham, 1827), p. 30. This freeing from payment of taxes because of military leadership seems to have been a unique case.

⁴⁴ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 84 (Mar. 22, 1630/1). Connecticut tried the current English practice inherited from the late medieval days of Philip and Mary of assessing men arms according to categories of wealth. *Conn. Col. Recs.*, II, 285.

⁴⁵ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 85 (Apr. 12, 1631).

to use them were ordered to appear with "their compleat arms before the military commaunders twice in the yeare to bee exercised, except magistrates, elders of churches, phisitions, scholars and surgeons."⁴⁶

Even Governor Winthrop, though he distrusted "The Artillery" because he saw in it the makings of an armed conspiratorial faction,⁴⁷ did not allow himself to be left out of trainband activities. By the possession of a large collection of muskets, pistols, armor, bandoleers, a bullet mold and files, and even parts of a crossbow he set a high standard for civic responsibility.⁴⁸ Loaded with honors and almost worshiped in his lifetime, as colonel of the Middlesex trainband regiment he staged a sham battle against his old rival, ex-Governor Dudley, colonel of the Suffolk regiment.⁴⁹ These officers of the court room and of the council of war loved the pageantry of roar and shout and gay color of a regimental muster. With the title and its perquisites went the center of the stage and prestige and leadership.⁵⁰

Indeed, military titles attained high favor in colonial society. John Hull, one of America's first big businessmen, recorded his progress upward and onward in Boston society by his catalogue of military titles. John Hull, goldsmith, was a prosperous merchant; John Hull, corporal, was married by the governor to the daughter of Edmund Quincy;⁵¹ but John Hull, captain of the eighth Boston company of trained soldiers, was even more than the colonial treasurer, John Hull. He began his career in Boston when God planted him "under the ministry of Mr. John Cotton," and

he made me also, according to the talent he betrusted me with, in some small measure serviceable to his people, and also gave me acceptance and favor in their eyes, and, as a fruit thereof, advancement (I must needs say) above my deserts. I was chosen and accepted a corporal, under the command of my honored Major Gibbons, about the 29th of the 3d month, 1648.

After, when the town divided their one military company into four, I was chosen to be (and accepted) a sergeant, upon the 28th of 4th month, 1652.⁵²

This and similar verbiage when he was elected captain in 1654 is more than he gave to all of King Philip's War. Outside of a few perfunctory notices of burnings, Hull wrote, "See history of the war, printed 1676." Still he aspired to even greater military honors and was satisfied in the year that

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 31 (Sept. 27, 1642).

⁴⁷ Winthrop, I, 260.

⁴⁸ *Proc. M.H.S.*, second series, VII, 43.

⁴⁹ Winthrop, I, 300; Joshua Scottow, "Narrative," *Coll. M.H.S.*, fourth series, IV, 298.

⁵⁰ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, II, 256; III, 137.

⁵¹ Samuel E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), p. 146. Hull's marriage and elevation to the corporalship occurred about the same time.

⁵² John Hull, "Diary," *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, III (Worcester, 1850, 1857), 145-60. It is only fair to note, however, that as treasurer of the colony, he did more than his share in winning King Philip's War. The sums of money he loaned to the colony during the crisis were never repaid in his lifetime. See also Morison, p. 181.

he was "chosen by the town of Westfield for their deputy to the General Court," for then he "was also chosen by the [Ancient and Honorable] Artillery Company for their captain."⁵³ Thus, with a minimum of real military interest he rose to social and political heights in the system of defense.

The careers of a great number of other aristocratic leaders of Massachusetts Bay are also noteworthy for their identity of military with civil leadership: Governor Winthrop, trainband colonel; Governor Dudley, trainband colonel; Governor Endicott, commander-in-chief and active captain of fighting forces; Israel Stoughton, gadfly among the aristocrats, first captain of the Dorchester trainband, selected to lead the expedition against the Pequots in 1637 (but Mason and Underhill arrived on the scene too soon), soldier in the service of Oliver Cromwell, deputy and assistant of the colony;⁵⁴ Edward Johnson, author and captain; James Oliver, prominent merchant, captain of "The Artillery," leader of a fighting company in the Great Swamp Fight;⁵⁵ Edward Gibbons, freeman 1631, deputy for Boston, captain of "The Artillery," assistant in the General Court, major-general, and possibly an associate of pirates;⁵⁶ Daniel Denison, assistant in the General Court from 1654 to his death in 1682, faithful servant of the system of defense in all ranks from the lowest to the highest;⁵⁷ and finally, the ferocious Richard Davenport, friend of Hugh Peter,⁵⁸ friend of Endicott, captain. Richard Davenport was a superlatively pious Puritan. His every other sentiment was one of worship and praise, yet he relished slaughter of both prisoners and battle opponents at whom he rushed with no caution. On the Pequot expedition he overtook some fugitives, twice ran his pike through one man, then dispatched two more he caught in a death struggle with a fellow English soldier. But a third Indian took refuge under the soldier's body until Davenport and "the Lord gave him his wound in the belly, and soe lost his prey; all which time a crew stood shooting upon mee at 12 foot distance; they stook eleven aroos in my coat and hat, and cloths and flesh."⁵⁹ As Davenport described the mending of the wound in his armpit, his account bears all signs of a clean record of facts. This fighting pious Puritan aristocrat may have had more than his fair share of ferocity and extraordinary adventures, he may not have been typical, but at least he led and was socially acceptable among "the better sort" of Puritan society.

⁵³ Samuel Sewall, too, was captain of "The Artillery." He was John Hull's son-in-law and also chief justice. See *Coll. M.H.S.*, sixth series, I, 217.

⁵⁴ Roberts, I, 31, 119.

⁵⁵ *Coll. M.H.S.*, fifth series, I, 105n.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 233n.; Morison, p. 147.

⁵⁷ *Coll. M.H.S.*, fourth series, VIII, 533.

⁵⁸ Hugh Peter, an active artillery officer under Gustavus Adolphus, was one of the original organizers of the Massachusetts system of defense. Then he returned to Europe to take part in the military and political opposition to Charles I.

⁵⁹ *Coll. M.H.S.*, fifth series, I, 246-47.

Plymouth colony began its existence with a first-class fighting governor, Edward Winslow. He treated directly with the Indians, conducted exploration parties into the interior, disputed the Dutch on the Connecticut River, and died at sea while in command of an expedition against the Spanish West Indies.⁶⁰ He was appointed to this, his last, command by Oliver Cromwell, another Englishman of similar aristocratic, Puritan, and fighting tendencies. The fighting son, Josiah Winslow, closely paralleled his father's career: assistant, governor, commissicner of the United Colonies, and commander-in-chief of the English forces in the biggest battle with the Indians on New England soil, the Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675.⁶¹ The high regard in which the quiet people of New Plymouth held their fighting aristocrats is further indicated by the honor shown to Major William Bradford, wounded in the Great Swamp Fight and called by John Cotton, "a great part of our glory";⁶² the fame of Captain Benjamin Church, the fighting carpenter who "got" King Philip; and the political advancement of his lieutenant, Jabez Howland, elected deputy to the General Court fifteen years later.⁶³ All these gentlemen combined civil and military leadership of a high order.

Connecticut, too, valued her fighting leaders. No name ranked higher than that of the professional soldier and founder, Captain John Mason. Deputy, magistrate, deputy-governor, assistant, chief military officer of Connecticut for a generation after his victory over the Pequots, and chief of Indian relations for Connecticut and for the New England Confederation, Captain John Mason was an outstanding leader among the Puritan aristocrats. Another leader of Connecticut Puritanism was the devoted, slow, charming, tolerant, and wealthy Wait Winthrop, brother of the fighting Fitz-John. Wait Winthrop captained the New London trainband at the age of twenty-three, served as captain of a fighting company throughout King Philip's War, and during the last generation of his long life held a major-generalship in the Massachusetts militia. His record in the fighting forces of the three colonies is unique.⁶⁴

Even in pacifist Rhode Island the soldier and the civilian leader were one and the same. Roger Williams, preacher of nonviolence, founder of the colony, commissioner, assistant and deputy in the General Assembly, assumed the burdens of fighting leadership in his old age. When the Indians burned Providence, the colonial Assembly sent him and his trainband com-

⁶⁰ Niles, "History," *Coll. M.H.S.*, fourth series, V, 348.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 233n.

⁶² John Cotton to Increase Mather, *ibid.*, VIII, 228.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 231.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, sixth series, V, xiv, 26.

pany to re-occupy and hold the line.⁶⁵ In this final struggle, Roger Williams acquitted himself like any other practical Englishman of his time. Whether in diplomacy, in political theory, in civil government, or in fighting he was always the leader.

All of this evidence of the fighting abilities of the Puritan clergy and magistracy may seem to be utterly at variance with the system of exemptions from trainband service found in the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Rhode Island, New Haven, and Connecticut colony records. From a perusal of the laws alone, military service would seem to have been abandoned to the indifference and indolence of "the worser sort." Compulsory militia service in the eyes of seventeenth century English gentlemen was held to be degrading. To be exempted from trudging up and down and across and around the village common while elders and gentlewomen, Indians and "goodies" looked on was one of the privileges associated with those "bred to learning" and to sainthood. However, the practical Puritan brusquely brushed aside tradition and good form whenever he and his men had to go through with "good ruff worke." No matter how their civilian privileges were written into law, the aristocracy maintained a tight grip on the active leadership of trainbands, fighting companies, fortified towns, stocks of powder and arms, watch and ward, and all other sectors of the system of defense. Once they had established their social position with their fellows in terms of privileges written down in the books of law, then they freely assumed the burdens of domination for the very survival of their little cities of God tucked away in the wilderness.

III

Throughout the seventeenth century there was no one set procedure by which officers of the trainbands obtained their commissions. According to law, only the General Court (or Assembly) was empowered to grant commissions. Nominations or elections (the terms were almost interchangeable) of trainband officers were confirmed by one of the county courts or by the General Court.⁶⁶ Yet in the case of John Sanborne, a nonfreeman who was

⁶⁵ *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 547. This use of the trainband as a fighting company is almost a unique case in early New England history. And in this case, the trainband was brigaded with the fighting company of Captain Arthur Fenner.

⁶⁶ "None but the Generall Court hath power to make and establishe lawes, nor to elect and appoynt officers as Gouvernor . . . Capitaines, Leutenents, Ensignes, or any of like moment." *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 117 (May 14, 1634). "It is only in the power of the Generall Court . . . to nominate, choose, appoint, and impowre all commission millitary officers . . . and for all inferior officers in companies, they are to bee chosen and appointed by the commission officers of that company." *Ibid.*, IV (pt. 2), 422 (May 19, 1669). "Their military commissioned officers are elected by the soldiers of the severall Companys. Their Charter directs that such officers be appointed by the Generall Assembly, or by the Governor and Assistants, in cases of exigence." "Report of the Earl of Bellemont," *R. I. Col. Recs.*, III, 385-86. Governor Cranston claimed,

elected captain of the military company of Hampton, the Essex Quarterly Court referred his confirmation to the General Court.⁶⁷ Again, when the Portsmouth trainband elected two nonfreemen to be their officers, the General Court ordered them "to officiate in those places till they are admitted to the Fredome of this country."⁶⁸ Though no law specifically denied commissions to nonfreemen, the General Court of Massachusetts declared that "it is the intent and order of the Court that no person shall hencefourth bee chosen to any office in the commonwealth but such as is a freeman."⁶⁹ Even though his fellows might nominate him, a popular leader from the less favored parts of Puritan society would have been checked by the law and the courts and tradition. On the other hand, such a leader was very likely to be granted freemanship.

The system of freemanship, by which the aristocrats maintained their domination of political and religious affairs, was used in the same way to monopolize commissions in the trainbands and fighting companies. To insure aristocratic purity of the officers' corps the procurement of commissions was hedged about by a long, complicated procedure. After a freeman had received the nomination or election of his fellows in the trainband,⁷⁰ he had to run the gamut of the courts. The county court confirmed the nomination, while the General Court (or Assembly) granted the commission which was then handed down from one higher officer to another. These courts and the hierarchy of officers were composed of freemen, elected by freemen. So, to become an officer of a trainband one had to be elected to freemanship by a court composed of freemen, voted upon by all members of the trainband and other freemen in the town as well, and then be confirmed by a county court of freemen who had been elected by freemen only. There was still the commission to be procured from the General Court (or Assembly), a body of freemen distilled from the whole body of freemen.⁷¹

In a small town, or for that matter in almost any town, enough positions could be created to take care of almost all of the social leaders by dividing

"ther military officers were chosen by the people, but commissioned by the Governor." *Ibid.*, III, 390.

⁶⁷ George F. Dow, ed., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County Massachusetts, 1636-1683* (Salem, 1911-21), III, 199 (1666). (Abbreviated hereafter as *Essex Quart. Courts.*)

⁶⁸ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, IV (pt. 2), 326.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 188. See also *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 190. Few generalizations may be drawn from the Rhode Island system save that it was changing and being neglected all of the time.

⁷⁰ There seems to have been almost no popular nomination of officers by the fighting companies. The fighting companies were raised, officered, and directed by the central authorities.

⁷¹ In a curious fit of mental aberration the General Assembly of Rhode Island just after receiving their second charter, denied the right to vote for militia officers to freemen. Three years later they recovered their sense of what was proper. See *R. I. Col. Recs.*, II, 116, and III, 10.

foot companies and by creating companies of troopers. Each company had five favored positions—captain, lieutenant, cornet, quartermaster, and sergeant—and no one could hold two such positions. Furthermore, limiting the companies of troopers to only half as many men as in the foot companies provided many more positions of authority suitable for those who kept horses.⁷² This process of multiplication of titles may not have been conscious, probably it was not, but as it worked out, there were plenty of titles for “the better sort.”

Upon this basis of freemen electing, checking, and confirming each other in civil and military affairs, it may appear that New England was ruled by a narrow oligarchy. However, a study of these elections, confirmations, and checking as they affected the aristocratic leadership of the trainbands and fighting companies may alter that opinion, for the jealousies and rivalries among freemen contributed to democratic self-government through the popular choice of military leaders. The most fundamental concession to the demand for popular leadership within the trainbands and other militia activities was the granting of almost full manhood suffrage in the election of officers. The law read:

All persons of any trayned band, both freemen and others, who have taken the oath of residents, or shall take the same, and being no covenant servant in household with any other, shall have their votes in nomination of those persons who are to bee appointed capitaines, or other inferior officers of the same band, provided they nominate none but such as shalbe freemen.⁷³

To be sure, voting was only a nomination and the choice was limited to freemen only; but the very habit of annual elections schooled the people in the democratic processes, especially in electing to leadership their “meetest person.” An officer’s loss of popularity with his men gave another freeman a chance to rise, and an opportunity for the arms-bearing nonfreemen to become politically active in civil, church, and military affairs. The Hingham militia case, which developed into a tug-of-war between the clerico-magisterial group against the commoners, arose out of rivalry between two freemen, one willing to supplant the other in the affections of the soldiers. Pastor Peter Hobart became the leading figure in this town trainband quarrel which soon involved the General Court and the entire colony and finally brought the deputy governor to trial for arbitrary government.⁷⁴ The militia quarrel that upset Newbury for two years and thereby seriously weakened the northern frontier also arose out of “the dissensions and disagreements that con-

⁷² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 265, 398; IV (pt. 1), 80, 86, 257; *Conn. Col. Recs.*, I, 48, 281, 381; *R. I. Col. Recs.*, I, 121; II, 190, 206, 207, 214, 217. In Newport and Portsmouth, Rhode Island, there were six elected military positions in 1642: Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Senior Sergeant, Junior Sergeant, and Clarke. *Ibid.*, I, 121.

⁷³ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, I, 188.

⁷⁴ Winthrop, *passim*.

tinued to disturb the peace and harmony of the church." John Emery, freeman, led one faction while Archelaus Woodman, freeman, led the other until peace was restored by two major-generals sent out by the General Court.⁷⁵ These little but bitter struggles for leadership illustrate the precarious unity of the Puritan frontier in which town, church, and trainband adjusted themselves to the new demands of a new order wherein the body of the people with arms in their homes could hardly be coerced.

Even in fighting companies slightings of authority by a significant body of men could hardly be controlled, and when some of the freemen supported the mutineers, the central authorities were reduced almost to helplessness. While no precedents were apparently set by the Hinksman (or Henschman) mutiny in King Philip's War, the mutiny did show that the General Court could not afford to insist upon obedience to its appointed commanders against the wishes of the men and of some of their leaders from the body of freemen. Captain Hinksman was a brave and capable officer who had won undeserved unpopularity for his wisely lenient treatment of the Indians. His unpopularity and that of his friend Captain Guggins (or Gookin) was intensified by the bitter taunts of the aristocratic Captain Oliver and by the rabble-rousing speeches of the ex-pirate Captain Mosely. The result of these attacks upon Captain Hinksman and Captain Guggins was the soldiers' loss of confidence in Captain Hinksman and their mutiny before the Roxbury Meeting House as they were about to set out on the march. The General Court, realizing that it had no power with which to bring the mutineers into line, dismissed Captain Hinksman and appointed another captain in his place under whom the soldiers apparently did nothing.⁷⁶

Another compromise by authority and aristocracy for the sake of harmony and defense was winking at leadership without commissioned officers. The citizen soldiers of Haverhill seem to have lacked leaders to such an extent that they appeared before the Essex County Court "destitute of an officer to exercise or command them." The Court thereupon ordered "all the inhabitants of Haverhill who have a right to vote for the election of officers . . . [to] meet and elect their 'meetest person' sergeant, to be confirmed at this court or the court of Norfolk." Another part of the record indicates that the sergeant so elected was to be confirmed only by the major of the county.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ John J. Currier, *History of Newbury, Mass., 1635-1902* (Boston, 1902), pp. 41, 84, 496.

⁷⁶ George M. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (2d ed., Leominster, Mass., 1896), p. 53; N[athaniel] S[altonstall], *Present State of New England*, p. 13. "Very few at his [Captain Hinksman's] Funeral, his own Servants, a white and black, carried him to, and put him in his Grave. His Wife and children following and no more, or but one or two more." Samuel Sewall, "Diary," *Coll. M. H. S.*, fifth series, V, 100 (Oct., 1685).

⁷⁷ *Essex Quart. Courts*, I, 142 (Mar., 1648). From both the official records of the court and from the "Waste Book" kept by the clerk unofficially.

To be sure, the magistrates held onto their check rein of supervision; still, there was a people's choice.

Nevertheless, freemanship among the Puritans was generally confined to members of the church with "an interest in society" and was the basis of religious, civil, and military domination. The leaders of Connecticut wrote into their fundamental laws that property qualifications were to be used to limit the much misunderstood term "the people" to those possessed of a substantial amount of land. In Plymouth, leadership maintained itself in much the same way, although the liberal democratic tendencies of that colony stood out by not emphasizing church membership as a *sine qua non* for the full citizen. Myles Standish was a freeman, captain of the town company, but not a member of the church. Even in the democracy of Rhode Island,⁷⁸ discrimination against the lower classes developed when the common lands were enclosed by those who had gradually monopolized economic, and, as a result, political power.⁷⁹ These were the men who used their freemanship to exclude "the meaner sort" from military leadership.

Thus a confused, unconscious, but implicit struggle for democracy underlay every little meetinghouse trainband quarrel in which the nonfreeman majority pitted itself against the tradition of leadership by well-born gentlemen.⁸⁰ In vain with honeyed phrases did the reasonable and astute Winthrop plead for the aristocratic old order against the Hingham trainband rioters. The men of Hingham, like those of other trainbands and fighting companies, would be governed only by officers whom they chose from among their friends and neighbors.⁸¹ Even though some irate aristocrat should brand the following hint from the deputies of the General Court to the magistrates as "Acts illegal," it was true that among men who owned their guns and used them daily to fill the family pot "A good understanding . . . continued and increased betwixt governors and governed . . . is the cheife strangth of this commonwealth, as of all others."⁸²

⁷⁸ From the very first the democracy of Rhode Island was hedged about with saving clauses, as for instance: "It is ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the Government . . . is a DEMOCRACIE, or Popular Government; that is to say, It is in the Powre of the Body of Freemen." *R. I. Col. Recs.*, I, 112 (1641). Five years later a similar demonstration of cautious radicalism declared a faith in "democraticall" government. Yet in setting up the trainband system it was "the Body of the people, viz.: the Train Band" who chose their officers for presentation "to the Magistrates for their approbation." *Ibid.*, I, 93 (1639).

⁷⁹ Samuel H. Brockunier, "Roger Williams and Early Rhode Island Democracy," *American Historical Review*, XLII (Apr., 1937), 433.

⁸⁰ The proportion between freemen and nonfreemen is a debatable question, but evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the freemen were a minority. See Morrison, pp. 340-41.

⁸¹ "Wee have for some time past, and at present doe live (beeing but a small place) under the Conduct of our loveing friend and neighbour, JoHN Hoyt, senior, our Chosen and established sergeant and chiefe military officer here, hee beeing (as wee conceive) suteable for us." *Essex Quart. Courts*, IV, 429.

⁸² *Mass. Bay Recs.*, III, 310.

Some Bryce-Jameson Correspondence

LEO FRANCIS STOCK*

IN 1905, John Franklin Jameson came to Washington from the University of Chicago to succeed Professor A. C. McLaughlin as director of the Department (later Division) of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Until his retirement, in 1928, his office was a clearinghouse of historical interests in the United States. As he expressed it, he was "a sort of *proxenos* of the historical fraternity." The editing of the *American Historical Review* was carried on by him and his staff, and the headquarters of the American Historical Association were then located in the offices of his department. His correspondence was enormous, his contacts universal.

Among his closer friends was Viscount Bryce, who, from 1907 to 1913, was in Washington as the British ambassador and who, from 1906 until his death in 1922, was the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association. His *American Commonwealth* (1888) Jameson considered "the greatest of his works and the most important book ever written about the United States." As some of the letters here printed show, Bryce never lost interest in American political happenings. When announcement was made in the press of his appointment to Washington, Jameson wrote to the ambassador (December 24, 1906), "We are delighted at the prospect of having you with us for some years, and especially in such a capacity. No one could be so perfectly *persona grata* to our people, and especially to those of us who are interested in historical and political studies."

In Washington, mutual intellectual interests, numerous walks, and frequent exchange of notes concerning individuals, books, places, and current events, enriched the friendship between these two scholars. Both enjoyed walking. Shortly after Bryce's arrival, Jameson wrote (April 17, 1907), "I know of an excellent walk on which I should like to take you, if you would permit me." At another time Bryce wrote, "I shall hope within the next few days to suggest a time for another walk." The letters here published make mention of other excursions of this kind. They also show honest disagreement in opinions. The writers could, for example, take sides in a discussion

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over the relative popularity of the French and English people in America, and Jameson could question the British handling of the Irish question, though neither loved the Irish as a race.

Dr. Jameson's friends will see in his letters the remarkable Jameson they knew and loved—scholarly, obliging, wise in his judgments, possessing rare humor, having historical precedents and allusions at easy command, and able to embellish a fine style with apt quotations of verse and prose.

These letters were selected from the files of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The Jameson letters are printed, without signatures, from carbon copies. Bryce's originals are both typewritten and in his own handwriting; the former, in most cases, are considerably lengthened by additional matter written with pen and ink. Permission to print the letters from Lord and Lady Bryce was obtained through the aid of the Honorable Harold Butler of the Ministry of Information, London, from Messrs. Warren, Murton, Foster, and Shaw, acting for the executors of Viscountess Bryce, who was the executrix and sole legatee under the will of her husband.

November 27, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I did not wish to take more of your time this morning; but your mention at the end of our conversation of the dinner of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution on December 10 leads me to venture a suggestion. No doubt for any formal remarks which you may make you have either already selected a subject or may easily select one which would be more to your satisfaction than anything in the direction of which I write. But it seems quite possible that in conversation an opportunity might arise, if you thought fit to use it, to speak a useful word which rather needs to be spoken to some at least of the Trustees.

What I allude to is not a matter of my own department or one which concerns it otherwise than indirectly. I believe that all historical scholars who take any interest in the affairs of the Carnegie Institution have felt and must feel that while a reasonable amount has been done for history and political economy, the Trustees have in general most lamentably neglected to deal with the humanities in anything like the same manner in which they have dealt with the physical sciences. The most serious criticism which has been made upon their conduct has been that they have over-emphasized the latter. The criticism is perfectly just. With the federal government spending, here in Washington and elsewhere, such enormous sums in the furtherance of certain of the physical sciences, a strong case could be made out for the statement that it was the duty of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution to over-emphasize humanistic studies, which in this practical country are relatively less well endowed. Anyhow, the course which they pursued was marked by striking inequality. It has always been their statement that they had no intention of neglecting philological, literary and other such researches. But in point of fact, while they have done something for these by scattered grants, they did not at the beginning appoint advisory committees in these sciences as they did in the physical sciences, political economy and history,

It is a bit confusing to read equal praise for the late Paul Y. Anderson of the *Post-Dispatch* and his managing editor, O. K. Bovard, on the liberal side, and Frank Gannett, the chain publisher, on the conservative. It will be recalled that Gannett organized the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government. Regarding the conservative New York chain owner, Villard says that if Gannett seems not always to work for the progress of all the people, "it must again be charged to his temperament, perhaps to his associations with the men of whom he sees the most, rather than to any deliberate espousal of non-progressive doctrines or policies."

Among the columnists who do useful service "because of their independence," Villard mentions Paul Mallon, Mark Sullivan, and Ray Tucker, the latter a bitter critic of the New Deal, incidentally; perhaps even more critical than Sullivan. The late Ray Clapper gets no praise. The names of Marquis Childs and Ernest K. Lindley do not appear. There is an implication on page 76 that Walter Winchell should be horsewhipped.

Among the chapters that reveal Villard at his old-time best are those on the Washington newspapers, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the aforementioned *Post-Dispatch*. Villard regrets that the *Monitor* "has leaned to the side of war and American participation in it." One of the most intelligent analyses of the action brought by the government against the Associated Press is contained in *The Disappearing Daily*. The criticisms of slackness in present-day reporting and editing of domestic news is justified.

The book gets its title from the first chapter which discussed the trend toward newspaper mergers and one-publisher communities.

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IDEAS IN AMERICA. By Howard Mumford Jones, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 304. \$3.00.)

Ideas in America is a collection of nine occasional addresses and four independent essays published within the last ten years by Howard Mumford Jones. In the present volume they are grouped under three heads: "The Need for Literary History," "Studies in the History of Ideas in America," and "The Responsibilities of Contemporary American Literature."

Dean Jones's qualifications for writing on such comprehensive themes are marked and manifold: a broad experience in the United States including connections with seven far-flung universities; a sense for regional conditions and a disregard for regional resentments; wide reading; intense industry; an assimilative mind; a crusading spirit; and a gift for expression. He tends to be ponderous and pontifical among fellow students; he is at his best as a scholar-evangelist before the laity.

bureau chief of the *Daily News*, is a confession of an uneasy conscience? O'Donnell, it seems, "has earned the especial dislike of Mr. Roosevelt because of his searching criticism of the President himself" (p. 195). "Many readers [of the *Washington Times-Herald*] seek the column of John O'Donnell, Mr. Roosevelt's pet hate among the correspondents" (p. 192). Villard says O'Donnell is a "desirable astringent to those of the Roosevelt 'fellow travelers,'" and while he recalls that Roosevelt awarded, through another correspondent, the German Iron Cross to O'Donnell, he overlooks the fact that the *Daily News* man in June, 1943, wrote as a plain statement of fact that contraceptives and prophylactic equipment were to become government issue for the WAC, a story denounced as false by Director Oveta Hobby and denied in a formal statement by Secretary Stimson.

A mild opening begins the chapter on "Colonel McCormick and the *Chicago Tribune*," and in fairness to Villard it must be said that he makes no such apologies for them as he does in the case of Patterson and the *Daily News*. "There was nothing unpatriotic or un-American in the *Chicago Tribune's* desire to keep the country out of the second World War," nor can the *Tribune's* report of the disposition of Japanese battleships at Midway be regarded as improper. Nevertheless, Colonel McCormick sometimes uses freedom of the press illiberally and "has none too great a regard for the truth." The author returns to his old-time attitude when he remarks, "On international questions the *Tribune* has generally been cynical, reactionary, militaristic, and jingo." But this is not quite up to the vigorous criticism of the *Tribune* written by Villard in an older day: "It is foremost in its brazenness, it is unsurpassed in the brutality of its use of power, and there are few equal to it in the unChristian spirit of its editorial page."

Villard frankly states his attitude toward Roosevelt. He is entirely opposed to F.D.R.'s continuance in office; Roosevelt has abused his power; Roosevelt's administration has been full of absurdities, inconsistencies, faults in administration; and apparently Villard approves the view that the President in peacetime committed acts of war. Villard digresses to remark that Mrs. Roosevelt's newspaper column is "an incredibly banal, mawkish, and disingenuous diary." There never was such a violent *volte-face* as that of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch's* support of Roosevelt in 1940 after its "able and unanswerable editorials had heartened the anti-war forces all over the country."

In 285 pages there is one oblique comment on the early phases of the New Deal which may be counted as favorable and there is a complimentary reference to Roosevelt's termination of the use of force in the Caribbean. Villard justly reproves the President, in our opinion, for the unjustified use of the censorship at the International Food Conference and on other occasions. But Villard generally views Roosevelt with a jaundiced eye, on one count no doubt because the President favored a strong anti-Axis policy which Villard apparently feels brought us into the war. We can surmise also that the author fears a New Deal program because it does not conform to old-fashioned liberalism.

his earlier thinking is revealed, as for example in the essay on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, but his comments on the McCormick-Patterson press and other journalistic manifestations are (to use the softest indictment this reviewer is capable of) anile.

Credit Villard with a sincere opposition to all war. But he naively allows himself to join up with reactionary isolationism apparently without seeing that McCormick-Patterson Toryism is not pacifism. Villard has warm praise for the isolationist press, although he does save a shred of his critical faculty by paragraphs of criticism of the methods of Colonel McCormick. Even then he blows so hot and cold that the reader is at the mercy of his inconsistencies. Every publisher and paper that opposed our entry into either World War I or World War II receives a garland of posies. Every newspaperman or daily that warned against the Central Powers or the Axis is either omitted from mention or receives reproof for its interventionist attitude. Too often Villard is applauding an isolationist-reactionary, forgetting his old liberal tenets.

The New York *Daily News* of Joseph Medill Patterson is described as having "solved well the problem of producing a decent, intelligent honest newspaper for the masses." According to the former editor of the *Nation*, the *Daily News* expresses informative and intelligent opinions on its editorial page. In fact, there is no stopping the paper; "the bitter hatred of the Washington Administration and its great following and the warmongers affects it not at all." Approvingly, Villard says it has probably the largest circulation in the world. No doubt this proves something, but he hasn't convinced this reviewer that the news in the Patterson journal "is on the whole adequate." Confessing that the paper shortage helped the paper "along the road to better taste and standards," Villard cites the following evidence: The paper dropped such features as "How He Proposed," "Embarrassing Moments," beauty and love answers, one comic strip, all comic-strip overlines, and so on. A magnificent stride toward the higher cultural level!

The *Daily News* "no longer plays up the nude female form." Score again for the paper! But although "it has emphasized sex less and less . . . it still delights in a nice, big sex murder." Sex murders are in; ordinary sex stories are out. Another star in the crown of the *Daily News*!

To get on to more significant Villardiana, it is significant that the paper's anti-Roosevelt and isolationist policy has so bemused the newspaper analyst that he offers this gem: "The *Daily News* does not crusade or undertake deliberate propagandizing." Can Villard have overlooked Patterson's attacks on lease-lend or on Willkie, "the Republican Quisling," or on Great Britain, advised by the *Daily News* before Pearl Harbor to settle with Germany on "the best terms possible"? Has he overlooked the series of Batchelor cartoons, the skull-faced whores labeled "World War I" and "World War II" portrayed in the act of seduction of Uncle "Sap" (Sam) and American youth?

Can it be that Villard's so frequent reference to James O'Donnell, Washington

the region. His main goal seemed to be to secure as much land as possible. The search for substitutes—silk, hemp, cotton, flax, millet, and other crops—continued by experimentation, especially in the years of damage caused by drought or insects. The years 1883-1902 completed the transition from soft to hard winter wheat. By 1898 Turkey wheat was accepted as "our standard hard wheat." It required years of advertising and selling, however, to make a place in the market for Kansas flour. In the late 1870's listers, "the first significant new tillage tool introduced into the Prairie-Plains region and developed there," were in use in Kansas. Grading, marketing, and pricing problems are not discussed.

Agricultural historians will welcome this study. Many similar ones are needed. Some readers will challenge the author's position favoring "the common people following their instincts" against the advice of experts and will disagree with his laissez-faire philosophy. Had the university at Lawrence and the agricultural college at Manhattan been on the same campus, the author might have been exposed to a differing view. None can deny that he provokes thought. Most of the data were gathered from early Kansas newspapers, and little attempt was made to portray the position of Kansas in the perspective of the larger picture of United States agriculture. At first glance the illustrations appear to be more suitable for a technical bulletin, yet they are valuable for the person unfamiliar with the details of farm implements. The type is exceptionally readable. A few errors escaped the proofreader: sorghum, seventies, man, and occasion are misspelled on pages 23, 45, 93, and 162, respectively. The lack of uniformity in the length of the chapters and the grouping of the footnotes at the back of the volume detract somewhat from a work of this kind.

Naval Preflight School, Iowa

MERRILL E. JARCHOW

THE DISAPPEARING DAILY: CHAPTERS IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EVOLUTION. By *Oswald Garrison Villard*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. vii, 285, x. \$3.50.)

For a great many years Villard has been respected for his liberal outlook on journalism and his clear-eyed appraisals of American newspapers. *The Disappearing Daily* is a bewildering reversal of his old-time form. The hard truth may as well be stated at once: With the exception of a few excellent chapters, several of which are taken from his earlier *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, the volume under review is biased, inconsistent, and uncritical.

The fatal shortcomings of the book result from a pattern of political and social attitudes which are allowed to overwhelm the author's objectivity. While his nineteenth century brand of liberalism is not a fetish which will bother the reader greatly, although it colors his writing, his pacifism and his unyielding antagonism to Roosevelt and the New Deal so obscure his judgment that many of the essays in his book are simply myotic tracts or propaganda pieces. Occasionally a glint of

to many. But he was essentially a modest man. The underlying motive of his activities was the simple one of leaving "something where there was nothing."

A self-made man in the best sense of the term, McCarthy left many things where there was nothing. And the things he left were of the spirit. His contributions sprang from his personality. If the psychological approach to biography is ever useful, it is essential to understanding a character like McCarthy. He needs a psychological biography to reveal the mainsprings of his methods and his contributions to American life.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. LEISERSON

WINTER WHEAT IN THE GOLDEN BELT OF KANSAS: A STUDY IN ADAPTION TO SUBHUMID GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT. By *James C. Malin*, Professor of History, University of Kansas. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1944. Pp. 290. \$3.00.)

THIS study is part of a research program dealing with farm operator analysis and adaptation of agriculture to a subhumid environment in several representative regions of Kansas. Its focus is Riley, Geary, Dickinson, and Saline counties, a transition area from the bluestem pasture region to wheat country, in the years prior to 1901-1902. The material is organized under three headings: "Beginnings"; "The Soft Winter Wheat Boom, 1872-1882"; and "The Emergence of the Hard Winter Wheat Régime, 1883-1902."

The first winter wheat was planted in Geary County in 1855, but throughout the early years more spring wheat was grown than winter wheat. Prior to the Civil War the demands of commerce and of army supply created a sellers' market, in which corn, hay, and livestock dominated. With the coming of the railroad, to Lawrence in 1864 and to Denver in 1870, however, a change became apparent, and the pendulum began to swing away from the stockman toward the small farmer. Most of the pioneer farmers tended to perpetuate the pattern of agriculture they had learned in other areas, though the newspapers and some leading citizens emphasized the need for adapting farming to the Kansas environment. There was some search for drought-resistant crops, but the process of adaptation to environment was necessarily slow. By 1872, in the upper Kansas Valley, soft winter wheat was a leader, a position it maintained during the ensuing decade. Far-reaching changes which were destined to influence the future course of Kansas agriculture occurred during the 1870's. Among these were the introduction of a new hard wheat and of new varieties of sorghums, the appearance of alfalfa, and the adoption of new machinery. At least three headers were in use in Saline County in 1874. This machine, says Professor Malin, "should always be identified with the Plains region." Much of the speculative spirit was in evidence, a fact which resulted in a considerable turnover of farm operators. In general the average farmer gave little thought to the matter of the ideal size of farm unit suited to

to tackle. He made contributions to constitutional law and he organized co-operatives for marketing butter. Before economic planning became a current concept, he induced the Wisconsin legislature to establish a state board of public affairs to plan development of the state's resources, to promote "better business, better farming, better living." He worked out the problems of practical administration for most of the social legislation for which Wisconsin became famous. A forerunner of the New Deal, he was a braintruster for the LaFollette movement, a Bullmooser with Theodore Roosevelt, a New Freedom Democrat with Woodrow Wilson. Football coach, historian, professor of political science, and practical politician and economist, he pioneered in university extension work, and he devised the state system of continuation schools for the "educationally disinherited in Wisconsin."

Fighting ill health most of the time that he was performing herculean tasks, McCarthy was a strange figure to his contemporaries. He worked his way through Brown University as a stagehand in a local theater. Slight of build and with none of the physical attributes of an athlete, he became the university's football hero by the power of his spirit. Just as he had to overcome the coaches' doubts of his athletic ability, so he had to struggle with the faculty's skepticism as to his scholarship. One of the men he early convinced was the head of the history department, Professor J. Franklin Jameson, who gave him then and later understanding friendship and support. He chose his own courses, and acquitting himself excellently in these, he disregarded the fixed college curriculum. There was reluctance to graduate him with a B.A. degree; but thirteen years later the university awarded him an LL.D. at the same time that it so honored Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court of the United States. He directed the research of Wilson's Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914, worked with Hoover in the Food Administration, and with the Army to build soldier morale in World War I. Legends began to grow about McCarthy and his accomplishments, some implying malevolent methods and powers.

Dr. Fitzpatrick's biography lays the foundation for understanding this strange and brilliant personality. It brings together with sympathy and understanding the record of McCarthy's life and work, his contributions to the progress of Wisconsin and his influence on the liberal movements of the nation. Something of the spirit of McCarthy emerges from the facts of this record, but the personality is hazy, the lines of the figure blurred. Dr. Fitzpatrick was perhaps too closely associated with McCarthy to have the necessary perspective to give us a clear picture of the personality, the mind that was the man McCarthy. Again and again Fitzpatrick feels it necessary to defend McCarthy against criticism which often took the form of calumny. His seemingly superhuman accomplishments easily led to misunderstanding. But McCarthy needs no defense. He needs to be explained so that people will understand him. The overwhelming confidence of the man that enabled him to do so much in spite of odds and handicaps appeared egotistical

ripe for a completely integrated system of world security" and ready to take a responsible part in it. The record is enhanced by a frank, perspicacious narrative in a style smooth, direct, and accurate in the adjectives, which flavor and point up the inner meaning of the facts.

The three major concepts are pursued in eleven of their phases, dealt with in fifty-three chapters, held together by introductory interpretations and sectional prefaces.

"Security and the Monroe Doctrine" hold the author's attention through twenty-nine chapters and more than half of his pages. Continental security has preoccupied the American mind from the establishment of the Old Northwest to the occupation of Iceland. Isthmian security and policing in the Caribbean, which concerned us for less than a century, developed into a policy of hemispheric security, culminating in the solidarity of the good neighbors. The doctrine of collective security, born in the war of 1914-18 and taking form in the League of Nations, is followed through its contradictory American course into the present war, which is its exhibit A. Three chapters in this part strip the glamour from "freedom of the seas."

"Expansion and the concept of manifest destiny" are discussed in fifteen chapters devoted to aspects of continental, Caribbean, and Isthmian expansion and expansion in eastern Asia and the Pacific. The subjects of some of these chapters cover, from a different angle, the same ground as in the preceding part.

"Neutrality and isolation" fill nine chapters devoted to the phases of foreign enlistment, impressment and the right of search, and finally neutrality and belligerent control of commerce. The author counts neutrality as dormant since 1918, and dismisses the 1935-39 legislation simply as an obscuration of the American public vision toward the events leading to the present war.

Other concepts which motivate United States foreign policy—the legal order, humanitarianism, championship of independence for peoples—are only incidentally referred to. Another set of case studies might well be undertaken to spell out their meaning and effect on the whole pattern of United States diplomatic activity.

Washington, D. C.

DENYS P. MYERS

McCARTHY OF WISCONSIN. By *Edward A. Fitzpatrick*, President of Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 316. \$3.50.)

CHARLES McCarthy is a legendary figure in Wisconsin; he was something of a legend prior to his untimely death in 1921. Son of an immigrant shoe worker, he became adviser to presidents, creator of new social and political techniques. Best known as founder of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library and the legislative reference and research movement, his range of interests was astonishingly broad. No problem of political or social life was too big or too small for him

the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Latin America for communication to those governments. The purpose of this statement, which was based upon the celebrated Clark memorandum (published in 1930) and is here published for the first time, was to define a war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine as a war of defense, within the meaning of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris, by pruning away, through historical exegesis, the T. Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.

The two sequent volumes contain selected documents illustrating some of the bilateral negotiations of the United States with forty-seven of the sixty-one independent states of the world. The greatest amount of space is given to China (civil war, Sino-Soviet conflict over China's eastern railway, relinquishment of extra-territorial rights, treaty tariffs), Nicaragua (United States intervention), and Canada (liquor smuggling, fisheries, boundary waterways). As in the volumes for 1928 no negotiations are recorded with Argentina.

The historian and student of international law and politics is always grateful for the many documents that the State Department chooses to print. In the multifarious diplomatic activities of modern times the printed portion of the expanding total requires ever greater space, although we do not know what fraction of the whole is represented by the printed documents and we may wonder what the principles of selection are. These 1929 volumes do not reveal the criteria. There is no editorial preface, no explanation of any kind.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN ACTION: A SERIES OF CASE STUDIES.

By *Richard W. Van Alstyne*, Professor of History, Chico State College, California. Foreword by Graham H. Stuart. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1944. Pp. xvi, 760. \$5.00.)

THESE "case studies" dispense with a general framework of chronology in order to focus attention on the evolution of policy. This device of treatment squeezes the precedential substance out of history and puts it significantly together, to give the book a real topical interest and an unusual value for interpreting the present.

Mr. Van Alstyne finds that American diplomacy has responded to the three concepts of security, expansion, and neutrality. The "cases" center upon those incidents which, in the author's judgment, shaped and clarified those concepts. This use of historic material to exhibit the evolution, or dissipation, of ideas avoids the common temptation of mistaking acts of state or political emotions for the voice of God. It produces a panorama of maturing development. On an early page it is shown that the United States never was and never intended to be isolated; on a final one that neutral rights "were nothing but a boomerang in the great struggle of the 20th century." The author concludes "that the United States is

Scholars will be grateful for these volumes and will hope for the early appearance of others in the series. They will appreciate the separate indexes and the black-type inset sentences in the text, which facilitate the location of items relevant to a specific subject.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1929. Three volumes. [Department of State, Publications 2018, 2033, 2062.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943, 1944. Pp. cxxxii, 1035; cxxxix, 1132; cxiii, 885. \$2.25, \$2.50, \$2.00.)

"To promote peace is our long-established policy," declared President Hoover in his annual message to Congress (December 3, 1929), which serves as the traditional introduction and covering document for these stout volumes. "Through the Kellogg-Briand Pact a great moral standard has been raised in the world . . ." continued the presidential message. "Through it a new outlook has been inaugurated which has profoundly affected the foreign policy of nations." So everybody seemed to think, and who then could have imagined that the "new outlook" would be toward war and not toward peace and that long before the customary fifteen years had elapsed between the writing and the publication of the documents in these volumes, in fact within the next brief decade, the global war of our times would have begun and the Kellogg-Briand Pact have been relegated to the position of an interesting historical museum piece!

The first volume consists wholly of documents of general international concern. For example, there are President Hoover's efforts to arrange acceptable conditions of American membership in the International Court of Justice, membership in which was not considered by him, as the tribunal was then constituted, to be "the slightest step toward entry in the League of Nations"; and there are the efforts toward naval (preceding the London Conference of 1930) and land (Geneva Conference) disarmament—futile diplomacy, be it added, which paved the way for disarmament by example, and appeasement. Even while looking down the peaceful vista of the "new outlook," the nations carefully negotiated treaties anticipating war: the Geneva Conference of 1929 for amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick of armies in the field and the treatment of prisoners of war, to which a section is devoted in this volume. Other general negotiations illustrated here by the documents are safety of life at sea, narcotic drugs, counterfeiting, abolition of import and export restrictions, treatment of foreigners, naturalization, dual nationality of women, aerial navigation, trade-marks, radio communication—all subjects of increasing significance in international relations. The most important single document in Volume I, indeed in all three volumes, is a statement on the nature of the Monroe Doctrine (February 28, 1929) made by Secretary of State Kellogg as one of the last acts of his office and dispatched to

upon the proper representation of the smaller states, the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the principles to be followed in the terms of peace. The smaller states used their special sessions to expand upon their claims to fuller representation.

On this matter of representation the great powers faced serious objections by their lesser colleagues to their assumption of control of the Conference. The announcement to the plenary session of January 25, 1919, that each of five commissions set up to report upon assigned problems would be composed of two members from each of the five great powers and five members from the other states aroused warm protests from the delegates of the latter, eleven of whom spoke out vigorously, among them Sir Robert Borden of Canada. M. Clemenceau replied bluntly that the great powers had won the war and were entitled to make the peace; that they preferred to ask for help in doing so but that it was for them to say how such help should be given. However, this issue was raised again and again, with resulting adjustments of representation in a number of instances.

No one who reads the minutes of the Council of Ten can fail to be impressed with the weight of responsibility carried by its members, much of it unnecessarily. The number and variety of the extremely difficult problems dealt with called for extraordinary mental effort. Different types of issues were handled concurrently. Such matters as the Polish-Russian-German hostilities, the growth of Bolshevism, and the failure of Germany to execute the terms of the armistice had to be interwoven with issues of procedure—the official language of the Conference, the treatment of the press, etc.—which consumed much of the time needed for consideration of the basic problems of a highly complicated peace settlement. The pressure for an early peace was felt constantly. It is apparent that the men concerned with “high policy” in peace conferences to come should not be burdened with lesser, though by no means unimportant, tasks.

Although volumes of heterogeneous documents have, for a reviewer, something of the appeal of an encyclopedia, there is compensation in the sense of intimacy he comes to feel with the statesmen whose labors are reviewed. Their worries, their abilities and deficiencies, their bigness and their littleness are clearly etched out in the quick give and take of argument. Humor seldom lightens these pages, but eloquence and idealism balance routine exchange and self-interest. President Wilson's speeches on the League of Nations are well known. The spirit that inspired them never flagged and is expressed on many pages. Wilson's courage, patience, humanity, and rhetorical skill were needed most on the question of the mandate system, when he had to overcome a solid front of opposition. His appeal for a new deal for colonial peoples could come only from one who realized that the love of freedom is of the nature of men everywhere. Lloyd George obviously felt his influence. Clemenceau did not escape it. These three dominate the documents, though Sonnino speaks frequently. The Japanese delegates said little.

way in which it was carried out. In contrast to this tone of fairness to Wilson, however, there is an overtone which pervades the book almost from beginning to end, that weights the argument in favor of Wilson's critics. This overtone is partly the result of Professor Bailey's predilection for declaring that something was a "flagrant," "extraordinary," "costly," or "reverberating" blunder, as he does in discussing the Italian territorial settlement, before he analyzes the situation, with the result that whatever reservations and explanations are entered later tend to be lost from sight. The things that stand out are the blunders and not the extenuating circumstances. When these blunders are piled one upon another and driven home with adjectival extravagance, the total picture of Wilson's efforts for peace is somewhat out of focus.

If one is seeking to discover what the peace actually was, how it was arrived at, what it achieved toward a better ethnic map of Europe, what it promised for world peace and security, why it failed ultimately, and what the achievements and failures of Wilson were in relation to all this, and also what relevance his acts have for the present, he will be disappointed in this book. If he is a casual reader, he may be misled by it. If, however, he is able to disregard the implications of its title and many of its chapter headings, and if he has sufficient background knowledge of its subject matter to make a discriminating selection and appraisal of data, he will find much that is useful in the way of fact and comment and much that is provocative of further study.

Tufts College

RUHL J. BARTLETT

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919. [Department of State.] Volumes III and IV. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. iv, 1062; iv, 880. \$2.00 each.)

VOLUMES I and II of these papers, published in 1942, covered, respectively, the periods of preparation for the Paris Peace Conference and of the Conference itself, from November 11, 1918, to the first meeting of the Council of Ten on January 12, 1919. The bulk of the volumes under review—1,443 out of a total of 1,755 pages—consists of the minutes of the Council of Ten (Jan. 12–June 17, 1919), and of the Council of Foreign Ministers (Mar. 27–June 25, 1919), together with appended papers. The remainder is devoted to directories and to eight plenary sessions of the Preliminary Peace Conference (Jan. 18–May 31, 1919), six plenary sessions of the Peace Congress—the title applied to the meetings at Versailles, Saint-Germain, Paris, and Neuilly-sur-Seine, at which the conditions of peace were presented to and accepted by the representatives of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria—(May 7–Nov. 27, 1919), and three sessions of the "Powers with Special Interests," *i.e.*, the smaller states (Jan. 27–Mar. 6, 1919). The plenary sessions of the Preliminary Conference are of interest principally for the expression of views

This is the story of a wise and eloquent leader, believing at once in the rule of an educated elite and in the eternal rectitude of the common man. Wilson evolved from a Manchester School individualist into a progressive apostle of the use of the powers of government to promote economic freedom and security. He saw the role of the state as that of an impartial arbiter, acting always to maintain competition. He saw the problem of world order as that of establishing a concert of equal and sovereign nations, pledged together to keep the peace and to coerce the peacebreaker. Diamond does not trace out or evaluate the specific policies by which Wilson sought to realize his hopes. But he sets forth the processes by which the hopes were shaped and dissects Wilson's thinking with a sufficiently sharp scalpel to reveal its inadequacies and its inevitable failure. His monograph is an admirable contribution to the meaningful literature of American history and political science.

What is startling and tragic is that Diamond's closing sentence is equally applicable in 1944 to the leaders of America and Britain, even as they face again what looks like victory in the same war which Woodrow Wilson won and lost: "He was able to see the outline of the great problem of the 20th century, but his training and temperament unfitted him to achieve its solution."

Williams College

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

WOODROW WILSON AND THE LOST PEACE. By *Thomas A. Bailey*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xii, 381. \$3.00.)

IN this volume Professor Bailey undertakes to examine the relations of Woodrow Wilson to the establishment of world peace, beginning with Wilson's first pronouncements on the subject and concluding with his submission of the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate in 1919. Professor Bailey's method is to consider critically the alleged blunders that Wilson made, and his objective is to reveal the actual blunders so that peacemakers of the present may not repeat them.

Professor Bailey's catalogue of Wilson's errors, blunders, unfortunate acts, and failures to prevent such acts is large. It includes his Sussex ultimatum, his armistice negotiations, his appeal to the American people to support his peace program, his selection of the Peace Commission, his visit to Italy, his failure to visit the French battle areas, the selection of Paris as the place for the conference, reparations, the Italian territorial settlement, Shantung, the war guilt clauses in the treaty, and many other items. He includes virtually all of the criticisms that Wilson's critics have lodged against him or against the Treaty of Versailles.

It could scarcely be doubted that it is Professor Bailey's intention to weigh these criticisms in a judicial fashion and to sift truth from error. He observes that in some cases Wilson had to concede a point in order to achieve a more important one, that frequently he acted in a given way because he had no better alternative, and in his conclusion he admits, and this is a large admission, that the "sins" of the treaty were not sins at all but that everything depended upon the

licist intimate at the senator's office at the time, though not sympathetic to his memory, has informed the reviewer of his belief that Lodge's main purpose was to get votes for his own brand of reservations. At least four occasions are known when the senator was willing to compromise for the needed votes. Nevertheless, Lodge worked hard to keep the United States out and took credit for doing it.

The author evidently shares the view he cites that the real memorial to Henry Cabot Lodge is the catastrophe of the present war. Perhaps the summary epitaph of this life might be the senator's words of June 9, 1915: "Our efforts will fail if they are tainted with the thought of personal or political profit or with any idea of self-glorification."

Washington, D. C.

THOMAS K. FORD

THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF WOODROW WILSON. By *William Diamond*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 4.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 210. Cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

WHATEVER may be the consolations of philosophy in a time of troubles, the consolations of history are numerous and solid. Not least among them is the reflection, comforting alike to pessimists and optimists, that the crises of today are but those of yesterday writ larger and that the burning issues of tomorrow fiercely consumed the nation and the world on the day before yesterday. Whether this is the case only when one deals with the career of a prophet, or perhaps only when one deals with the problems of an age incapable of solving its problems, deponent sayeth not. At all events, William Diamond's brilliantly reasoned and gracefully written analysis of the economic ideology of Woodrow Wilson is as fresh as tomorrow's newspaper. Here is the "New Deal," then called the "New Freedom," beginning with the same hopes and ending with the same frustrations. Here is a domestic reformer "condemned by the irony of fate to deal chiefly with foreign affairs," as Wilson put it. Here is Frederick Jackson Turner, warning the President (like an earlier Clarence Streit and equally in vain) that any effective international organization must restrict national sovereignty and have legislative authority with real power behind it. And here is Thorstein Veblen saying of the Covenant, as many must now say of the program of the United Nations, that "it contemplates no measures for avoiding war by avoiding the status quo out of which the great war arose."

Mr. Diamond's study, in short, is no dry-as-dust compilation of Wilson's articles and speeches dealing with economic problems. It is a tract for the times, a social history of Wilson's generation and a fascinating intellectual biography. Its preparation was suggested by Charles A. Beard and pursued to a highly successful conclusion with the aid of the Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, plus a full and useful documentation from published sources.

source book for all future time of one of the most critical turning points in human history. Fortunately Professor Bartlett has done his job so well, that it will never have to be done over again.

Rollins College

HAMILTON HOLT

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS: HENRY CABOT LODGE.

By *Karl Schriftgiesser*. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944. Pp. 386. \$3.00.)

THIS is a play-by-play account of how politics saturated the "scholar" and of what it did to the ego of a gentleman born and bred. Platform rhetoric, parliamentary dexterity and patriotism were the principal equipment of a career now recorded from end to end two decades after its close. This biography has no hero unless it be party loyalty.

Mr. Schriftgiesser as a competent journalist does a detailed and even intimate story of a life which reflects no sympathy. Apparently no one ever loved the senator beyond the call of duty. Bishop Lawrence, his classmate of Harvard, 1871, tried his hand at a tribute and made hard work of it. This account of a careerist's career is built up out of the newspaper files, the *Congressional Record*, the subject's books, and the memories of veteran political reporters.

After Mr. Lodge learned how to get elected he spent forty years at the job of keeping in office in order to have his way in public affairs. Event after event of national importance falls into that pattern in these pages. The author makes a point of neat and succinct narrative, and quotes contemporaries to place Lodge in the scene. Henry Adams serves as the Greek chorus, with such penetrating remarks as, "the most dangerous rock on Theodore's coast is Cabot."

During Lodge's life he was reputed to be a great man. Adams groomed him for a scholar and he acquired the knacks of that trade. However, ambition and a then serious desire to play the useful part an independent gentleman could in public life led him into the ways and wiles of politics. More and more his career became one of getting the votes for whatever the party called for or whatever appealed to him. In 1904 President Eliot of Harvard had to give the senator, then fifty-four, a degree; he awarded it to one "with long vistas of generous services still awaiting him." Eliot died with his hope unsatisfied.

Senator Lodge began learning how to handle treaties as early as 1897, and by 1902 put his creed into a paper on "The Treaty-Making Powers of the Senaté." His exploit with the treaty of peace with Germany and the League of Nations in 1919 takes up nearly a third of this biography. As related it spells out as a persistent plot of a political cabal to defeat an idea both before and after it existed.

The long-continued attack on the Covenant is here recounted as actuated by partisan and personal hatreds. The data for such a picture are plentiful but easily exaggerated. The rancorous feature of this picture is possibly overdrawn. A pub-

the national, professional, civic, and religious organizations of the land. But a "small and deadly" group, principally in the United States Senate, realizing they could not defeat it by frontal attack when it was embodied in an international treaty, smothered the idea by amendments to the Covenant conceived on the "divide and conquer" policy. Finally the issue became so confused that the Senate refused to confirm the treaty and the League to Enforce Peace died a natural death.

Professor Bartlett has had access to all the living and printed sources of information in the preparation of his book. He not only has the training and scholarship to get the facts but the judgment justly to appraise them. He sums up the parts played by Taft and Lowell admirably. They were both high-minded, honest men. But when the crisis came they both flinched and compromised. Taft saw the proper path intellectually, but he put a faction of the Republican party above the world. Lowell had a mind keener than Taft's, though not so sound, and he was less partisan. Harvard-Boston Brahmin that he was, he was at heart akin to Lodge, but, like Taft and Lodge, he hated Wilson. One of Lowell's frequent sayings at the executive committee meetings of the League to Enforce Peace was that when you have a difference with an opponent it is wise "to lay down a golden bridge between you and him so that he can walk over it." But I noticed that when the bridge was down Lowell did most of the walking.

Elihu Root was the *deus ex machina* of the debacle of the League. He was probably the nearest approach to a Talleyrand that America has produced. It was Root who was the principal adviser of Lodge, and, to a lesser degree, of Taft. He undoubtedly did more behind the scenes to help the opposition than any other man. Root was arrogant, clever, and powerful, and he hated Wilson with all the fury of Lodge but with more reserve. Wilson was Root's peer in dignity and intellectual ability and his superior in the art of expression. Root evidently envied him. Root can possibly best be explained by the fact that he was the attorney first, last, and all the time. When he was Secretary of State, he was attorney for the people and served them faithfully. When he was attorney for the brewers, he put their interests above the people's. In the League issue he was attorney for a faction of the Republican party as represented by Harding and the "Irreconcilables."

Had Taft and Lowell not crumbled and had they supported the League with the fighting spirit shown by Borah, Johnson, and Lodge in opposing it, the United States might have joined the League, and thus might have prevented the present world war.

I suspect that the verdict of history will pronounce Borah, Johnson, and Lodge, and all the others under the behind stage leadership of Root, as being guilty of the greatest political crime in the history of the United States by men in high office.

Now that the essential program of the League to Enforce Peace has been adopted at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference—for it is only by co-operation between the nations that lasting peace and security can be achieved—this book should be a

or in foreign relations, on the basis of race, creed, or color. This American policy, which was based of course on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, was somewhat incomprehensible to European autocracies who were following a program of cynical *realpolitik* diplomacy.

The volume sheds light upon many interesting aspects of modern history, not the least of which is the overwhelming evidence that active anti-Semitism as an instrument of national policy existed, many decades before the rise of Nazism, in the Arabic states and in Rumania, Poland, Austria, and, yes, Germany.

On the whole, this work makes a greater contribution in the variety and significance of the revealing materials assembled than in the way they are presented. Its scholarly apparatus is inadequate and it certainly does not bear the mark of careful historical scholarship. Moreover, it is not sufficiently analytical. The social and economic background of the correspondence is not satisfactorily explained in the somewhat thin and threadbare narrative. We have here not history itself but valuable raw materials for history. Some day they should be synthesized and interpreted with a greater emphasis on the relation of these events to the main currents of the modern world.

College of the City of New York

SOLOMON WILLIS RUDY

THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE. By *Ruhl J. Bartlett*, Professor of History, Tufts College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 252. \$2.50.)

THIS book is the history of the rise and fall of the American propaganda organization known as the League to Enforce Peace, which originated, formulated, supported, and popularized the League of Nations idea in the United States between the years 1914 and 1920. It converted Woodrow Wilson, as Colonel House assured me, and Wilson more than any man framed the Covenant of the League of Nations at the Versailles Peace Conference and brought it into being.

The League to Enforce Peace was born at a series of four dinners given at the Century Club in New York City in the winter and spring of 1915. It was based on four propositions—namely, that the United States should join a League of Nations in which, first, all justiciable disputes should be referred to a court; second, all nonjusticiable or political disputes should be referred to a council of conciliation; third, the League members should use force against a nation that goes to war without first taking its case before the court or council; and fourth, the members should meet periodically for discussion and legislation.

With ex-President William H. Taft at the head of the organization, President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard as chairman of the executive committee, and with the political blessing of President Woodrow Wilson, the League grew in power and prestige, until at the end, its program was endorsed by a majority of the political leaders of the nation, by most of the state legislatures and virtually all

worth, how to supplement him where he is short, we childishly tire of hearing Aristides called the Just, and we ostracize.

Get our subject far enough back into history, and beatification is easy. Our author does well to remind us that Lincoln "as Chief of Government was a misfortune," that "the class and party hatred of him was even more bitter than that against Washington or Franklin Roosevelt." "He moved public opinion by the things that he did, rather than through the gadgetry of public relations experts, or massaging editors' backs." "In a time of crisis it is more important that the President be a master of this public opinion leadership than of the other tasks of the office: Lincoln succeeded chiefly because he was poet and prophet and seer."

Ohio State University

HENRY R. SPENCER

AMERICAN INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF JEWS IN THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1840-1938.

By *Cyrus Adler* and *Aaron M. Margalith*. [Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Number 36.] (New York: American Jewish Historical Society. 1943. Pp. xiv, 419, xxxv, 14.)

THE formation by the American military commissioner in Rome of a committee to restore the property of Italian Jews and the establishment of a temporary shelter for European refugees at Oswego has recently focused attention upon the attitudes of the United States government toward the persecuted and hounded peoples of the world. This scholarly publication of the American Jewish Historical Society proves that today's actions are by no means new or unprecedented but deeply rooted in the fundamental traditions of American diplomacy. Hundreds of original documents, covering one hundred years of American foreign policy, are presented here to establish this thesis. They show that the United States, almost alone among the Western powers in the nineteenth century, was always ready to afford unselfish aid to the oppressed minorities of the world and that this policy was in no way motivated by subtle imperialist purposes. The reason that so much of the American diplomatic activity was concerned with the Jews was that they, in this period as from time immemorial, constituted the scapegoat for tyrannical governments.

Again and again, American presidents and secretaries of state expressed the sentiment of liberal America by protesting against persecution of unfortunate Jews in the Near East, Poland, Russia, Rumania, and Central Europe. It does seem, though, that many of these representations had their inception in formal protests by various Jewish organizations in the United States against the treatment accorded their co-religionists abroad. In general, the American representations seem to have been remarkably successful in inducing foreign governments to relax the harshness of their anti-Jewish legislation, except in the case of the long drawn out dispute with tsarist Russia. Notable always was the American insistence that the United States could not recognize any distinction whatsoever among its citizens,

ment of 1787; (1) chief of state, a dignity corresponding to monarchy; (2) chief of government (premiership, administrative responsibility for the faithful execution of the law); (3) and (4), more specific, chief conductor of foreign relations and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. These four, it should be mentioned in passing, are dealt with not in the analytic juristic spirit of the constitutional lawyer but, fittingly, as factors of our living polity, our working constitution. Out of the public life as it actually functions have developed two additional facets of the President's power, (5) chief of party and (6) leader of public opinion. Incidentally one may speculate on the wonder, if not the horror, with which George Washington would have contemplated this change that has resulted from the current of democratizing developments. But the father of his country did not shrink from innovation upon what his generation inherited. Do we?

Little attempt is made to assess the relative weight of these six presidential functions, but the book abounds in keen appreciations, which range over our whole national history. Naturally our author must select, and his selections and omissions will disappoint readers, variously. The eight men who receive extended study are Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt. Most of the other two dozen presidents are let off with a bare mention. Indeed, over one third of the total space is devoted to telling the story and applying the criteria to Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, on whose much debated careers the material is vast, both printed matter and the views of living observers. Some fifty names in this last category, the author's consultants, are mentioned in the introduction; they impress the reader as of notable weight and credit.

As we run through the list of eight men, subjected to examination by these six criteria, one remarkable fact stands out: They are infinitely various, they are all so all-too-human. President X rates 95 per cent on one count; on another he was a miserable failure. President Y surprises us again by another algebraic sum of pluses and minuses. Assassination in 1865 enabled one to escape the fiery trials of a postwar reconstruction and to emerge a national saint. What might apoplexy have done to another in 1919? What may be ahead of us?

The author's dominant interest (notwithstanding the book's title) in personalities rather than institutions, results in a disappointing neglect of two topics which one would expect him to treat: the cabinet and the confidant. If presidential power grows to superhuman proportions, it cannot be effective save through human agencies which will enable a mere man to project himself beyond himself, both for receiving impression from outside (private secretary, press conference, digester of pressure-group and more public-minded opinions) and for communicating himself to the outside world, by the "executive ability" to achieve results through the loyal co-operation of trusted agents. At this point, we as a people that would govern ourselves have much to learn. We get a great man (once in a long time) into the White House, and we know not how to use him for all he is

Mr. Wish's portrayal, painstaking as it is, hardly justifies a full length book. It is only slyly critical, letting Fitzhugh condemn himself out of his own mouth, and it does not sufficiently treat the times which made the man. Fitzhugh's matrix received its form from the slave economy, and a knowledge of this economy is too much taken for granted. Herbert Wender's study, several years ago, of the series of Southern commercial conventions, took the better turn on it, showing how sectional advantage was solemnly rationalized. Further, if Fitzhugh was to be set forth as an exponent of Southern thought, then contrary views, notably those of Helper, or such as were expressed in Virginia after the Southampton insurrection, should have come in for fuller attention.

Fitzhugh, a Virginia country lawyer of sleepy little Port Royal beside the muddy Rappahannock, in default of paying clients, wrote briefs for the slaveholding class and thought to be remunerated in general gratitude. Ironically, he did not reap even this retainer, because much of his work was unsigned, in newspapers, and all of it was so pat to the purpose, that he became a kind of folk song, the author forgotten. When he is recalled, as in this book, which concentrates on the man with slight regard to his environment, he is resurrected only to seem preposterous. He was not incredible if one remembers the influences upon him, but Mr. Wish, except occasionally, has missed the opportunity to show how a lopsided society may deform the mind of its devotee.

New York City

BROADUS MITCHELL

THE USE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER, 1789-1943. By *George Fort Milton*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 349. \$3.00.)

THE capital problem of effective social action, especially of government by the people, is leadership. This book grapples with that problem. If not sober history, if not accurate science in politics and administration, it is the work of a highly appreciated publicist. Here is an interpreter of the day's work whose view is enriched by a long-run awareness of the past. He has the editor's courage to utter today's judgments, because that is the point at which conscience must direct action. As the book covers a full century and a half, a vast field where hundreds of biographers and social analysts have wrought, Mr. Milton takes the risk that at many points his judgments of men and events will be debated. Not debatable is the author's competence and high public spirit.

Presidential power has not developed continuously; there has been ebb and flow. Crisis has occasionally evoked mastermind and master will; but there have been exceptions, like the fumbling of Madison in 1812. There have been long desert periods when, in Bryce's words, "great men are not chosen president."

Six criteria are presented, for application to those men worth considering, who prove to be just eight in number out of the thirty-two men who have attained to the presidency. Four of the six functions are mentioned in the docu-

linians love to tell, their like were occurring on many a local scene. The theme of the book is one man's fight for the public control of industrialism.

The book is not without its flaws. The date at which Walter Clark went to the state supreme court is set down once as 1889, a second time as 1899; 1889 is correct. The vacancy on the United States Supreme Court which Clark, but for his advanced years, might have had, was filled by James Clark McReynolds, not by John Heston Clarke; the "wrong Clark" went up two years later. The author follows the caption in the official reports in making Mr. Chief Justice Taney the author of "the opinion of the Court" in the Dred Scott case. Taney, for all the blame heaped on him personally, wrote *an* opinion, not *the* opinion, in that historic case. The opinions of all nine brethren must be carefully screened to capture "the opinion of the Court." As a device of art Brooks habitually weaves Clark's language into his narrative; the sparing use of quotation marks—it would be pedantic so to enclose every captured phrase—leads him at one point to attribute to Clark a sentence quoted from Waite, C. J., in *Munn v. Illinois*.

But on the whole Brooks's *Walter Clark* rises quite above the level of its kind. It far outclasses Fairman's life of *Samuel Miller*, which is saved from boredom only by the inclusion of the Justice's indiscreet letters. And, if it does not excite quite as much as Horton's *James Kent*, the difference is in drama. For there is told how a Tory judge forced a reactionary legal system on an unwilling republic; here the story concerns a democratic judge locally voicing opinions which his more highly placed brethren later turned into immortal utterances. Again proof is offered that the law reports are one of the richest sources of cultural history.

Yale Law School

WALTON HAMILTON

GEORGE FITZHUGH: PROPAGANDIST OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Harvey Wish*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 360. \$3.00.)

SOME believe that a study of minor writers most accurately reveals the thought of a period because they do not make the current but are borne by it. A good argument may be made for this view, and perhaps the present volume is a case in point. Fitzhugh was habitually quoted, not because his opinions were original or novel but because he voiced the supposed interests of the dominant group in the South. He was amenable to changes in contentions of editors of the chief journals for which he wrote, and he followed the shifts in public thought in his section. This bandwagon climbing involved him in inconsistencies of which he was careless. His uncontrollable volubility made him a propagandist, who is some degrees less scholarly than the faithful apologist. Calhoun had conviction, which brought him close to creativeness; Ruffin had integrity, which did something to mitigate his wrongheaded insistence; but Fitzhugh was plausible only in the sense that he was the perfect partisan.

among "the best families." In another locale Walter Clark might have become an able editor, a professor of law, a rather bookish country squire. He might even have had a brief fling at public life. He couldn't have lasted; for, as his unfortunate campaign for the United States Senate shows, he had no gift for political hippodrome. The state provided an aura of conformity for his proneness to protest. Nowhere else could he as a crusading judge have carried on for three and a half decades.

Thus to him fell the opportunity to carry the creed of Populism—manifest in the Granger movement, the Farmers' Alliance, the People's party, Bryanism, the Square Deal, the New Freedom, the New Deal—to the legal frontier. His life began in 1843 under the autarchic plantation system; it ended in 1924 as capitalism was already exhibiting symptoms of decay. To him it was an axiom that industry is the instrument of the commonwealth. And, as man and judge, he watched with apprehension the emergence of the national economy and did what he could to turn its impersonal turbulence to social ends.

In juristic terms the public welfare was to him the supreme law. Although no Marxist, he was always curious as to whence the law came and to whose benefit it operated. He loved "to challenge to mortal combat the god of the status quo." And, in defiance of what is now called "legal law," he did not hesitate to disregard verbal precedents in securing ancient values amidst novel conditions. He had little sympathy with the doctrine of judicial supremacy. He was, in dissent and for his court, a champion of the rights of children, women, minorities; an advocate of collective bargaining and farmers' co-operatives; a judge unable to discover Constitutional obstacles in the way of social legislation. Many of his judgments on great issues of the state and the economy broke a path for the law upon which Brandeis, Stone, Cardozo, JJ. traveled. He pioneered where F.D.R.'s "packed"—or is it unpacked?—Court has just placed landmarks of the law.

All of this Aubrey Lee Brooks captures in an admirable "life." The book is concrete and dramatic, yet concise. It is pivoted upon Walter Clark's great battles; endows local events with national significance; hews closely to the line of the relevant. And if the author follows his subject off the bench and into extra-curricular activities, it is to record events in the same crusade. A chapter tells of the grouping of railroads into systems, the loss of control to the investment bankers, the creation of a rate structure which has left the South in a state of arrested development. Another probes the story of the public utilities, their conversion of excessive charges into capital structures, their beatific strategy of tax avoidance. A third, concerned with the metamorphosis of Trinity College into Duke University, recites the battle with Kilgo and Duke; parades this united front of God and Mammon for the control of the higher learning; and lights up the course of events with high comedy. And, borrowing a dramatic trick, the author throughout uses "Buck" (James B.) Duke—a fellow citizen of the same generation and in every respect Walter Clark's antithesis—as a foil. If these are tales which North Caro-

goods taken were turned in for national use or were distributed among the soldiery. This is probably true. For centuries it was customary for soldiers to benefit by property captured in war. Experience has shown that this practice led to disorders, drunkenness, and a material lowering of discipline. The enactment of laws, in which the United States has always been a participant, requiring that all enemy property taken becomes national and not personal stores, was intended not for the benefit of the losers but for the maintenance of order among the victors. Such order Mosby's Rangers frequently lacked.

Notwithstanding the method of writing this biography, the author has succeeded in giving an account of Mosby as accurate as any and certainly most entertaining. Most previous biographies, like this one, are based upon memoirs and accounts written years afterwards. During the war Mosby kept no records and made but few reports. Secondary sources are all that are available for the mass of incidents connected with two and a half years of partisan warfare.

In lieu of a bibliography there is a good index, a poor map, and notes, which give a good indication of the author's sources.

Manchester, New Hampshire

CONRAD H. LANZA

WALTER CLARK, FIGHTING JUDGE. By *Aubrey Lee Brooks*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. x, 278. \$3.00.)

A book like this should be at once a biography, a chapter of local history, an event in the shaping of a culture. For Walter Clark was a man after his own manner; his work bore the indelible idiom of the Old North State; his career was shaped by the conflicts which attended the rise of industrialism.

Walter Clark, who belongs to the vintage of Aitgeld and Reagan and Tom Watson, is the jurist of the Populist movement. As a man he was austere and ambitious, fiery and industrious, visionary and downright realistic. He was widely read, little given to frivolity and the glad hand, more skilled at persuasion than at compromise. He loved the human race in the abstract; did not like to have his fellow men around; gave his all to humanity. He was concerned to serve the common people, not content to do their will.

In an intellectual climate other than North Carolina his talents might never have had their chance. The ways of the state provided a protective coloring beneath which he could exercise his freedom. He was a Methodist; kept his allegiance to the Democratic party "regular"; never abdicated the office of Confederate soldier. By editing the annals of the North Carolina regiments, he kept alive the memory of the Lost Cause. He was "quality" linked by blood with the clans of the Grahams, the Thornes, the McKenzies, the Norfleets—and the North Carolina aristocracy has always been "peculiar." It has been well-to-do; yet—the Dukes, Reynoldses, *et al.* aside who were not quality—it has never had more money than it could lay out wisely. As a result the tradition of public service has been mighty

reader might then secure a more informative background for understanding the travelers' reactions chronicled in later pages. The study has few technical errors, although it is discomfiting to have Dr. Berger refer to Sir G.C.G.F. Berkeley as Sir Berkeley, an understandable error among our untitled countrymen.

In a study of this kind the writer need not aspire to provide entertainment. Nevertheless, colorful personalities like Fanny Kemble, Featherstonhaugh, Combe, and their companions should provide the substance for a more popular work. Perhaps Dr. Berger, having established the fundamentals, would like to embark upon such a project.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM E. CHACE

RANGER MOSBY. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 347. \$3.50.)

THIS book is written in the modern biographical style. Instead of limiting himself to material for which there is historical authority, the author assumes ideas which he believes his hero must have had. Conversations are given for which no record exists. This method makes for a very readable account of the life of General John Singleton Mosby, the great partisan leader of northern Virginia during the War of the Rebellion.

Mosby had a very colorful career. He was just about thirty years old when he assumed charge of his Rangers in early 1863. He started with less than a dozen men, but the number increased gradually until it numbered nearly three hundred in 1865. His men had no regular station or camp but lived wherever they pleased and at their own expense. They were assembled from time to time, at designated rendezvous, for particular operations. As word of where and when these rendezvous were to take place never reached everybody and as the men were wholly uncontrolled, the number reporting seldom amounted to as many as a hundred, and often it was much under a hundred.

Mosby, except when absent because of wounds, which happened three times, led his men himself. He never told anyone of his plans in advance, a habit which occasionally led to misunderstandings and defeat. The object of his expeditions was to capture Federal supplies and trains. This was a legitimate military mission, but the supplies captured were appropriated to the use and benefit of the Rangers on a share and share alike basis, always excluding Mosby himself, who consistently refused to accept any loot.

This practice was believed necessary to insure the loyalty and participation of the Rangers. It resulted, after each success, in a general scattering of the men to search for valuables. At times a counterattack led to their losing the gains and to the loss of their own men.

Mosby took the point of view that supplies captured in war were forfeited to the victors by military law and that it was immaterial to those who lost whether

carefully documented, and ably executed—a valuable contribution. It indicates the need for similar studies for the period since 1860.

North Carolina Department of
Archives and History

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

THE BRITISH TRAVELLER IN AMERICA, 1836–1860. By Max Berger, Manhattan High School of Aviation Trades, New York City. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 502.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 239. \$3.00.)

THIS study serves well the purpose for which it was intended—to provide a companion volume to Jane L. Mesick's standard treatise, *English Traveller in America, 1785–1835*. It is also particularly pertinent in days like these, when Anglo-American analyses are assets for common understanding. Travel accounts, as Dr. Berger states, may have limited value in correctly assessing a country's institutions. But in this instance, the synthesis of both similar and conflicting views is so sharply and compactly done as to constitute an indispensable study in the relationships between the British and American peoples.

The voluminous accounts written by more than 230 travelers, mostly of middle and upper class origin, mirrored those who journeyed more than the land they visited. The conservative majority discovered little to commend to their countrymen at home. The liberals readily found the improvements on British culture which they had anticipated. Prejudiced as the travelers were, their assembled comments on American customs and character, government, slavery, religion, and education make an interesting composite picture of the United States through others' eyes. Only incidental interest was exhibited in our growing commerce and industry.

On virtually all topics, general agreement about America was sparse. The travelers' thoughts about this new and strange country were as wide apart as their backgrounds in England. However, they generally admired the high level of literacy and the common school system, and although their opinions about slavery were divergent, the travelers also agreed that sudden manumission was full of dangers.

Most of the judgments passed were superficial. The critical works of the earlier part of the period—those of Harriet Martineau, Alexander Mackay, and George Lyell, to mention only a few, were far superior to those that followed. Yet, it must be remembered that in the entire fifty-year period there was to be found no British critic who was the equal of De Tocqueville.

A few detailed observations on this volume may be appropriate. Two opening chapters on the travelers and on the country of their pilgrimages are particularly valuable. More of the data on the individual travelers, appearing in the comprehensive critical bibliography, might have been included in these earlier pages. The

a trick of chronology. . . . According to this definition, popular history is correct: Robert Fulton was the inventor of the steamboat."

Washington, D. C.

CARL W. MITMAN

AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1790-1860. By *Leslie W. Dunlap*, Assistant Librarian, University of Wisconsin. (Madison: privately printed. 1944. Pp. ix, 238. \$3.50.)

DR. Dunlap's study shows that before the Civil War 65 historical societies were formed in the United States, compared to 833 listed in the 1944 edition of *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook* (excluding supplementary lists). The figures then and now (omitting national and general organizations) are New England, 16 and 136; middle Atlantic states, 11 and 159; Old Northwest, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri, 21 and 269; the South (including the District of Columbia but excluding Missouri), 16 and 105; and the remainder of the country, 1 and 127. That is, before 1861, New England, the middle Atlantic states, and the Old Northwest, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri accounted for 48 of a total of 65 societies, or 74 per cent. Today the same states contain 564 of 796 societies (excluding national and general ones), or 70 per cent. Then as now the South and Far West lagged far behind. In the earlier period the three leading states were Ohio (9 societies), Massachusetts (7), and New York (7). Today Pennsylvania leads (77), followed by Massachusetts (71), and New York (59); while Ohio ranks seventh with 32.

These early societies were similar in most respects to those of our own day. They were formed usually by lawyers, ministers of the gospel, and other leaders of their communities. Private societies like those of Massachusetts and New York were the rule in the East, while in the Middle West the state historical society partly supported by state funds, was already taking shape—as in Iowa and Minnesota. (The third type of historical agency, the state department or commission, had not yet come into existence.) Some societies were strong, while others were weak; the former by 1861 had already begun to build up sizable endowments and several already occupied their own buildings. From the beginning the chief function of all of them was clearly seen as the collection and preservation of historical source materials, and several brought together valuable accumulations. Most of the societies issued publications of one type or another, and their collections were beginning to be used by historians as the basis of their writings.

The present study is divided into two parts. The first (133 pages) describes topically the founding, problems, and activities of the societies, while the second (85 pages) gives a sketch of each of them. Based upon the various societies' publications and the manuscript files of several, the work is well planned, thorough,

reader who may find the critical examination of the texts a bit heavy going, the summaries at the end of each chapter will prove most helpful, as will the introductory and concluding chapters. To the reviewer it seems that the study might have analyzed somewhat more fully the debt of the clerical school to the political and economic thought of Northeastern Federalism. As to the failure of the school to take a more vigorous stand on slavery, was it not due in some measure to confusion in the clerical mind over Biblical support of the institution?

Dartmouth College

W. R. WATERMAN

STEAMBOATS COME TRUE: AMERICAN INVENTORS IN ACTION. By
James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Viking Press. 1944. Pp. x, 406. \$3.50.)

THIS work is a good narrative of the lives and activities of three early Americans—John Fitch, James Rumsey, and Robert Fulton—and of their pioneer work on the steamboat. It is based principally on Fitch's autobiography and on the several biographies, letters, and other papers of Rumsey and Fulton. Worked into their stories are accurate factual accounts of the efforts made by other men both before and during their times to apply steam power to the propulsion of a vessel, so that the entire story of the development of the steamboat is covered rather completely. As page follows page there is portrayed in considerable detail the background, early environment, traits, and characteristics of the three men and their pre-steamboat interests and occupations. The author then develops each man's independent and unique idea of the steamboat and recounts in detail the ways and means—mechanical, financial, and political—used by each one to bring his idea to fruition. Two appendixes contain an annotated bibliography and additional notes to the text, respectively.

The book is considerably more than a compilation of scattered historical and biographical facts. The author is in search of a clearer understanding of the nature of invention as it may be revealed by a study of three contemporary inventors at work on the same idea. The search is prompted by a belief that, in the light of modern history, the concept and definition of invention such as is held generally by historians, sociologists, and technologists, is narrow and limited. The author feels that the effect of an invention on society is too often overlooked in evaluating a new and useful thing. Also that the acquisition of a patent does not necessarily make the acquirer an inventor. With these extended views of invention in mind the author examines his three subjects in detail to determine what constitutes an inventor and an invention. He concludes that, insofar as the steamboat is concerned, new definitions are in order. He writes, in part, "The term inventor then has a meaning only if taken in the sense of a man who was slightly in advance of the procession at the crucial moment when his civilization was already on the verge of the discovery he was about to make. . . . The inventor is not necessarily the most original. . . . The inventor's eminence may be more

dreamed of, whereas today's conservatives are largely antinationalistic and favor a greater extent of judicial review of Congressional power than Marshall ever applied. It would seem, therefore, that if the Constitutional arguments of the liberals and radicals of today are correct, then the arguments of the liberals and radicals in Marshall's day must have been wrong.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES WARREN

ORIGINS OF ACADEMIC ECONOMICS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Michael J. L. O'Connor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 367. \$4.25.)

THIS study is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the intellectual history of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. The appearance of the first teaching of political economy in the American colleges is probably established as definitively as it ever will be. More important is the author's discussion of the origins of the political economy taught and the rise of a number of schools of economic thought. Of these the most persistent and influential was the clerical school. Briefly, it is the author's thesis that the clerical school, which developed during the twenties and thirties in the clerically dominated colleges and schools of the Northeast, modified and adapted the teachings of the classical economists to meet the ruling religious and mercantile interests of its section, after these teachings had been stripped of some of their early anticlericalism and radicalism by later writers. The result was a political economy which, in general, emphasized the role of providence in economic law, stressed the productiveness of the professions (particularly the clergy), defended the mercantile interest more vigorously than the agricultural and manufacturing, and supported laissez-faire and free trade. It was inclined to look askance at the organization of labor and at democracy, particularly economic democracy, although it approved universal education—including political economy properly taught—in the interests of a stable and conservative society. The appearance, in 1837, of Francis Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy*, described by Mr. O'Connor as "the most dogmatic, most conservative, most pious of the clerical books," gave to the school its outstanding textbook. Its influence was as persistent, perhaps, as that of any textbook in American academic history. The success of the clerical school in establishing its sway over the teaching of economics in the Northeast represented the triumph of a group which, as the author points out, was "sectionally, culturally and politically in the minority," albeit "the most influential minority in American history." Its views, he adds, have "exerted a persistent force in institutions such as colleges, which operate on a level not always accessible to democracy."

The study is based primarily upon a careful analysis of the textbooks used by the several schools. Other sources, however, have not been neglected. For the

cases prior to 1835 but also the arguments and political conditions of those who held narrow views of the Constitution and broad views as to state rights, as well as of those who opposed the right of judicial review. In so doing, Professor Haines evidently expects other writers to disagree with some of his conclusions and to challenge some of his statements; and in this respect, he will not be disappointed.

The author's further design is to consider the political affiliations, views, and activities of the Justices, the decisions of the Court and their political relations as a part of the Federal system, together with an appraisal of differing valuations of its work. In this connection, he states (p. 41) that the Court "has been an important political agency from the time of its establishment in 1789 to the present time." The phrase is perhaps unfortunate, since it may be misunderstood as meaning a partisan political agency, though he probably does not so intend it. Certainly, it would be difficult to maintain that all the Justices who served on Chief Justice Marshall's Court held the same political party views, or rendered their decisions purely in accordance with such views.

The cumulative effect of the emphasis placed on alleged omissions in previous histories leaves the impression that Professor Haines is inclined to believe that Federalist party doctrines were generally wrong, that the decisions upholding those doctrines were political decisions, and that the views of the Antifederalists or early Republicans were in many instances more in accord with the Constitution.

Professor Haines, throughout, in assessing influences surrounding the cases treated by him, contrasts the conservative, Federalistic, and nationalistic group with the radical, democratic, particularistic, and liberal group in their respective interpretations of the Constitution, and he states the contentions of these two opposing factions in their bearing on the validity of the early judicial decisions. But such a classification is too neat and uncomplicated. (It resembles Beard's unshaded economic division of the people in 1787-1788.) For the Federalists in some localities had state rights and nonnationalistic views. Sometimes, a purely nationalistic judicial decision gave great comfort to the democratic and liberal elements, as in the steamship monopoly case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*. State rights generally meant state rights for the right state. Economic interests often determined action in different ways, regardless of Federalism or Antifederalism. And when one attempts to ascribe opposition to judicial review solely to opponents of nationalism, it should be remembered that in early times it was Jefferson and his followers who opposed the Court, because it *failed* to declare the invalidity of such Federal laws as the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Bank of the United States Charter, and other Federalist legislation, *i.e.*, because it failed to exercise the power of judicial review.

Even if the author's classification, as applied to Constitutional interpretation, were accurate, it must be accepted with caution in any application today; for our present radicals, democrats, and liberals are the most nationalistic portion of the community, claiming for the national government greater powers and a broader construction of the Constitution than Marshall or the Federalist party ever

Power about the mosquitoes. The only account of travel I missed was Thurlow Weed's lively piece about his trip from Rochester to Albany—which was probably omitted for geographical reasons; but Mr. Mau made up to me for it by introducing me to John Duncan.

The large amount of space assigned to Joseph Smith, his Mormon revelations, and the quick dismissal of the abduction of William Morgan and the Antimasonic debate is somewhat puzzling; but on the whole it is astonishing how these quotations combine in a sustained picture of our early days. At the end there is an advertisement of an Antislavery Society meeting to be addressed by William Lloyd Garrison; and while Mrs. Bloomer answers a correspondent, Reginald Fowler takes up the matter of Jim Crow cars on the Utica and Schenectady line. The fugitive slave, Dan, stops at Eber Pettit's station on the Underground Railroad. The frontier has moved west along with the wheat lands, and our western community has come of age with the increasing national consciousness of its people.

Boonville, New York

WALTER D. EDMONDS

THE ROLE OF THE SUPREME COURT IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
AND POLITICS, 1789-1835. By *Charles Grove Haines*. (Berkeley: University
of California Press. 1944. Pp. xiii, 679. \$6.00.)

IN an article in the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* in 1923, entitled "Histories of the Supreme Court of the United States Written from the Federalist Point of View," Professor Haines advanced the thesis that writers of history of the Court have had a Federalist party bias, and that the "Federalist Cult" is seen in such histories "in its most extreme form," where "still breathes the spirit of recalcitrant federalism," and that such writers have omitted facts expressing the point of view of the other political divisions of the American people. This was a rather serious charge against the intellectual integrity of such writers.

In the present lengthy and comprehensive volume—the product of vast labor—Professor Haines develops this thesis, stating that "those who have attempted to evaluate the contributions of the Supreme Court to American legal and political thought have not infrequently viewed the development of American history from the standpoint of a bias favorable to one of the great political factions which has struggled for ascendancy and power. Thus the story of the Court has usually been told in such a way as to defend and laud the Federalist and Nationalist policies and principles and correspondingly to depreciate and condemn the local, particularist and democratic principles and traditions in American life." The author's design is to counteract these alleged prejudices and omissions on the part of previous writers and to present the argument of other sides in the discussion of some of the underlying issues of American law and politics. Carrying out this design, he sets forth with full, interesting, and often fresh details not only the line of approach of the Federalists with respect to important Constitutional

phia which he served as first president of the board of trustees, of his backing of Dr. Morgan's project for a medical school, and a fuller description of his library, reputed to be one of the best in the city. Curiosity is aroused but not satisfied concerning his antipathy to Franklin and William Allen. The dearth of information on these points is contrasted with a plethora of allusions to forgotten names and incidents which may make the volume difficult reading for the general student of the colonial period.

Brown University

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN NEW YORK FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN TO THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR AS PORTRAYED CHRONOLOGICALLY IN CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS. By *Clayton Mau*, Professor of History, State Teachers College, Geneseo, N. Y. (Rochester: Dubois Press; distributed by the Department of History, State Teachers College, Geneseo, N. Y. 1944. Pp. ix, 444. \$3.75.)

IN this history of the development of western New York, Professor Mau has succeeded admirably in telling his story through contemporary or nearly contemporary accounts. He has purposely steered away from the formal events of textbook history and confined his interest to the fabric of everyday living. The result is a narrative of far greater unity and continuity than this source method of writing would lead one to expect and the links and introductions that must necessarily be supplied by the editor himself are held to a remarkably small minimum.

The first part of the book, dealing with the Indian occupancy and ending with General Sullivan's devastation of the Iroquois towns in 1779, is the weakest and most fragmentary. The Indians as people fail to emerge; they are treated entirely from the white man's point of view and do not speak in their own cause. It seems to me that this entire section might have been omitted with benefit to the book as a whole. For, once Mr. Mau concerns himself with the white settler and his hardships, ailments, methods of clearing land, boundary troubles, his improvisations, early schools and churches, his mills and his liquor, his neighborliness and rambunctiousness and cold calculation, a full portrait of the American citizen in process of self-creation and development emerges with wonderful effectiveness. Mr. Mau's selections have been made with a canny eye. I only wish there were more of them and that some of the pieces ran longer. The old stand-bys, like Orsamus Turner and Arad Thomas, without whose early histories a book of this sort could not possibly be compiled, have been liberally quoted. So also have the best accounts of travel across the landscape. To turn the pages is like meeting old friends for anyone who has done research in early New York history. You begin to wonder if they'll all be in, whether Elder Luther is to have a place, but by gum, there he is. And there also is the dry-voiced canal boatman telling Tyrone

and substantial business was transacted between Australia and the Americas before it was forced upon our attention at the end of 1941.

Tuckahoe, New York

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

RICHARD PETERS, PROVINCIAL SECRETARY AND CLERIC, 1704-1776. By *Hubertis Cummings*. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 347. \$3.00.)

THE life of the Reverend Richard Peters is the story of a Pennsylvania colonist in the years 1734 to 1776. Although Mr. Peters never rose to greatness, he occupied positions of prominence in church and state which brought with them considerable emoluments and social prestige. His first three years in this country were spent quietly as the assistant rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia. Rumors of youthful indiscretions proved to be no barrier to his appointment by the Penns in 1737 to the secretaryship of the land office. In 1743 he became secretary and clerk of the provincial council, a vantage point for surveying virtually every important happening in the colony for the next thirty years.

As principal resident agent of the Penns, Mr. Peters was privy to all the secrets of the proprietary. His duties thrust him into the perennial boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, wherein he encountered the notorious Thomas Cresap, anathema to the Penns and darling of the Calverts. Among the most difficult but at the same time most interesting roles he had to play was that of negotiator with the Indians—his was a powerful voice in the making of the treaties of Lancaster, Easton, and Fort Stanwix. The vicissitudes of the French and Indian War brought him into contact with several of the colonial governors as well as Generals Braddock and Forbes and Colonel Bouquet.

In 1762 Mr. Peters gave up his political career to become the rector of the churches of Christ and St. Peter's. Favored by friendship with the proprietary and influence of the bishop of London, this Anglican divine enjoyed the culture and society of Philadelphia. Prudently, tactfully, and serenely he forged his career, growing adept at combining business with pleasure. He lived in a city torn by strife of contending factions and a society rife with gossip if not scandal, but through it all he pursued an even course. He was a faithful servant to the Penns but never at risk to himself. When it was safe to denounce Whitfield he did so; when Wesleyan doctrines leavened Philadelphian Anglicanism, Peters went along. He was essentially a trimmer.

Mr. Cummings' book is valuable to the specialist in Pennsylvania history because of its contribution to the knowledge of the proprietary side of provincial life. He has delineated the character of Richard Peters against the background of the times without praise or censure, depicting the religious, social, and political life of the colony as his subject might have viewed it. One could wish that he had given a more detailed account of Peters' connection with the College of Philadel-

EARLY AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS IN AMERICA TO THE CLOSE OF 1830. By *Gordon Greenwood*, Lecturer in History, University of Sydney. Foreword by S. H. Roberts. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 184. 10s.6d.)

DR. Greenwood's monograph is a valuable contribution to a subject that is just beginning to be studied. Although some United States citizens may be misled by his title into thinking that he is concerned only with relations between his country and theirs, he quite rightly deals with Australia and South America as well as North America. It is good to have our egotism dashed once in a while.

The opening chapter deals with the perennially fascinating question of how it came about that the Spanish explorers of the South Pacific almost-but-not-quite discovered the Australian continent, a baffling mystery which some good folk have been tempted into "solving" by asserting that in fact they did. On Dr. Greenwood's showing, the evidence is overwhelmingly against such a hypothesis. He then explores the curious role of the American Revolution of 1776 in directing British attention to Australia or, specifically, Captain James Cook's New South Wales, especially the activities of James Mario Matra. Matra was a spokesman for refugee loyalists who wished to resettle under the British flag. As far as Australia is concerned, they lost out, for it was decided to make the new settlement exclusively a penal colony. Of course the revolution also played a part in forcing the selection of a new outlet for convicts sentenced to "transportation." A short sketch is given of the voyage of Vancouver to the northwest coast of North America in 1791, for which the tiny new settlement at Sydney provided supplies. From very early days the North Americans engaged in whaling and sealing off the Australian coasts. As Dr. Greenwood tells the story, the conspicuous figure was the redoubtable Captain Amasa Delano. Next comes the Anglo-Spanish war of 1796, which brought South America into the picture again, and then follows an account of the South Pacific angles of the Anglo-American War of 1812. The last fifty pages of the book deal soberly with trade relations between Australia and North and South America. Dr. Greenwood remarks, "The foreign trade of New South Wales in the first twenty years of the settlement was almost entirely confined to the United States." This may astonish some readers and provoke them to have a look at the book. Appendixes include "Shipping Returns: North American Trade 1792-1830," lists of vessels departing from Sydney for South America and arriving from there 1821-1830, and data on the nefarious rum trade of the early days. A useful bibliography is provided.

Not all of Dr. Greenwood's material is new, but he uniformly handles it dexterously and with good sense. Moreover he gets the episodes into a viable context and into perspective. Hitherto they have mostly been just episodes. The book would have been strengthened had Dr. Greenwood been able to work in American libraries, but as it stands it is a valuable introduction to a subject that steadily increases in interest right up to the present moment. A lot of odd, curious,

to remonstrate with unruly offspring, to check up on the profits of mercantile ventures, to collect sums overdue, to arrange apprenticeships, to hire servants, to negotiate "arbitrations" on matters which might otherwise have gone into court. Even outside the bounds of his colony his influence was very great. The amount of correspondence from founders of new settlements, including men banished from Massachusetts, indicates that Massachusetts Bay was looked upon as the parent center and Winthrop as its leader, even in the years when he was not governor.

The charming personality and nobility of character of Winthrop, revealed so definitely in these letters, help explain the potency of his influence as the great Puritan leader. His sympathy for those in travail of spirit, his tenderness in family relations, his warm friendliness, his sense of humor, and his reasonableness were well known and appreciated and doubtless helped make more acceptable the deflating frankness with which he handled matters of controversy. Troubles of his own he had in plenty, but they did not preoccupy him unduly. Through the carelessness and dishonesty of his steward, his estate suffered and he became involved in a number of disturbing situations over financial obligations. His struggle with antinomianism was practically at an end, but other controversies arose to afflict him, among them the ones with Hooker, who accused him and others in Massachusetts of prejudicing people against going to Connecticut; with Lord Say and Sele for maintaining that the Puritans of Massachusetts were God's chosen people to the exclusion of Puritan settlers in the Caribbean; and with the deputies over the negative voice of the magistrates.

The volume makes an important contribution to social history of the period. It is interesting to see that in comparison with later frontier communities beyond the mountains these early new world plantations seemed to have suffered far less from physical hardships. People appear to have lived comfortably very soon after transplanting, maintaining much the same standards as those enjoyed at home. Minute directions for the building of a house, orders for clothes, inquiries for servants and Indian slaves, inventories of such food items as prunes, "smirna raysons," currants, nutmegs, ginger, "bisketts," and oranges and lemons from Bermuda indicate a fairly high standard of living and a state of moderate prosperity. The leaders were, however, well aware that the plantation could not continue indefinitely on the capital of its backers, small mercantile ventures, and production of food, but must become self-supporting by developing staples of value both to the colony and to England. To that necessity John Winthrop, jr., devoted his attention, and, after a trip to England to procure workmen and materials, embarked on the project of developing mines and iron works. The outcome of this venture as well as the economic expansion of New England belongs to a later story.

Yet the book is not without its virtues. A sincere effort is made to present all the aspects of the varied life of the early Americans. Art, music, candlesticks, cradles, plows, ships, churches, books, and samplers were all parts of the daily experience. If they are presented here in incoherent fashion, it might possibly be explained that they were somewhat incoherent to the people who lived among them. And the almost complete absence of any text makes any real coherence impossible. The older *Pageant of America*, with somewhat fewer pictures, was more successful. Yet the effort to present the whole life of man through pictures is itself a commendable recognition of the fact that man is not a political animal all the time.

Further—and this is the highest tribute that can be paid the book—this album does, despite its failures, often present history through pictures. For pictures are documents. Old maps are as important, as “documentation” of the intellectual or economic life of our ancestors, as personal letters or newspapers or acts of legislatures. So are paintings; so are houses; so are chairs and silver and children’s spelling books. Where this album presents its “documents” as historical documents, it achieves history; where it indulges the antiquarian frailties of its editors and where its text fails adequately to explain the “document” or to relate it to others, it fails to do more than appeal to old antiquarians and young children.

It is a pity such a supreme effort was made to give this album a popular appeal. It is to be hoped that a new edition that will be more adequately historical may be issued. To be successful as history, any such collection must (a) strictly observe the canons of historical criticism and (b) have enough of a unified text to make the collection have meaning. The idea is an excellent one, but it will have to be more excellently executed before it can command the full respect of historians.

Stanford University

MAX SAVELLE

WINTHROP PAPERS. Volume IV, 1638–1644. Edited by *Allyn Bailey Forbes*. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xl, 531.)

VOLUME IV of the Winthrop Papers covers the years 1638–1644 and contains material representing the most important trends in the history of the expansion of New England. Of the four hundred and twenty-seven items printed, about one fourth are printed for the first time. These are interesting and revealing but are for the most part of minor significance. Perhaps the greatest contribution of this volume is the assembling, in easily accessible book form, of letters on main issues from various other publications.

One of the dominant threads running through the book is the extent of the influence of Winthrop’s leadership, which was not by any means limited to matters spiritual. Friends in England and settlers in America burdened him with problems of every sort, of private as well as public concern. They brought him cases of conscience, they sought his advice about taking a wife, they asked him

in the foreword. Why are these pictures put in, anyway? Why is it desirable to include (to cite another example) a picture of the interior of a Finnish bath, taken from Acerbi's *Travels through Sweden*? That, surely, was not the world of our ancestors. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the compilers of this album allowed themselves to slip into the mood of sheer antiquarians all too often. The text, indeed, is often utterly puerile: On page 113, in the chapter on "The Puritans," appears a picture of Cotton Mather; the accompanying text reads:

Mather Was a Puritan . . .
The Reverend Cotton Mather, vain and
irascible, wrote books, and is remembered.

Why say anything at all?

In the chapter on the first half of the eighteenth century there appear reproductions of old maps, drawings of buildings and towns—some of which date as late as 1849 and 1860—houses, furniture, dress, taverns, churches, sermons, ships, books, silver. There is no unity, no coherence, and only the vaguest sort of plan. "A Puritan Face" and "A Gentleman from Maine" are followed by a page on "The Deerfield Massacre," that by pages on "Travel," "The Great Awakening," "Louisb[o]urg," "Currency," pictures of shipbuilding, ropemaking, and so on. Many of the pictures of trades, by the way, are taken from *L'Encyclopédie*, and present scenes which were made from French life and which almost certainly were never duplicated in America.

The same lack of organization appears in chapter ix on "The Self-Conscious Era." For example, the topic "colleges were springing up" appears on page 296, with pictures of the colleges of New Jersey, King's College, and Rhode Island College; a picture of Ezra Stiles appears on page 207; a picture of Harvard appears on page 328.

The last four pages of the book are devoted to the westward movement that followed the Revolution. On pages 408 and 409 there are pictures of Cumberland Gap and the Housatonic River (dated 1872-74), portraits of Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, sections of a road map of 1789, and a contemporary sketch of a frontier clearing. There is also a photograph of a statue of a buffalo which certainly is no flattery to the noble animal itself. Of these, the road maps and the sketch of the clearing are definitely useful and informative historical documents; they ring true, and they are convincing of the validity of this sort of thing. The pictures of Boone and Kenton have some value; the pictures of the Cumberland Gap and the Housatonic River are anachronistic; the picture of the buffalo will have validity only for little children. These two pages, which are neither the best nor the worst in the book, are typical of it. Some genuinely interesting historical materials are mixed with much that is of doubtful value and a good deal that is both worthless and definitely misleading. It appears that in their effort to present many pictures, the compilers of the book often allowed themselves to disregard the methods and the ideals of historical criticism.

American History

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY: COLONIAL PERIOD. By *James Truslow Adams*, Editor-in-Chief; *R. V. Coleman*, Managing Editor; *W. J. Burke*, Associate Editor; *Atkinson Dymock*, Art Director. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. xiii, 411. \$7.50.)

"How did our forefathers dress; what sort of tools or utensils did they use, in what kinds of occupations; what did their houses look like, inside and out; in a word, if we could step into their world, what would we see?"

"No amount of verbal description, however accurate or vivid, can make us visualize the life of the past as can pictures of that life. But the pictures must be authentic; they must be the delineation of that life as seen by those who lived within it, not the interpretation of those who lived long afterward and could only see the earlier life through the spectacles of their own times."

This, in the words of the book itself (p. v), is the ideal and the objective of this book. Oh, that the achievement might be called as laudable as the desire!

The book has a certain organization. It has ten chapters: "From Columbus to Jamestown," "Fishermen, Pilgrims and Down-easters," "The Puritans," "The Hudson and the Delaware," "Maryland," "The Carolinas and Georgia," "Pennsylvania," "The First Half of the Eighteenth Century," "The Self-Conscious Era," "The American Revolution." Of these ten chapters, seven are devoted to the founding of colonies in the seventeenth and (in the case of Georgia) early eighteenth centuries; two are devoted to the eighteenth century prior to the Revolution, one to the Revolutionary era. These proportions seem heavily weighted on the side of the seventeenth century, but the disproportion is partly compensated by the greater length of the later chapters.

The book is an "album," as its title indicates, and parts of it are pretty good history. It is a vast collection of pictures that has been gathered from many sources; the general quality of the reproduction is only fairly good. There is a text accompanying the pictures, presumably to bind them together in a sort of unity; but if this is the purpose, it is a complete failure. For example, on page 103, there is a picture of the deserted grave of William Blackstone; below it is a picture of the old stone tower at Newport. The text beside the picture of the tower reads as follows:

What Was It?

Was this old tower at Newport when Rhode
Island was settled, or was it built
subsequently? Was it an old mill? Was
it some pre-Columbian structure?

Now one might reasonably ask what the deserted grave of William Blackstone and the old tower at Newport contribute, after all, to the laudable aim set forth

TRAVELER FROM TOKYO. By *John Morris*. Foreword by Joseph C. Grew, U. S. Ambassador to Japan, 1932-1942. (New York: Sheridan House. 1944. Pp. 253. \$2.75.)

DISASTER will follow any attempt to discredit the Japanese emperor. Rather the United Nations must convince the people of Japan that their ruler was led astray by the military. Unless we provide the Japanese with release from economic pressure, they will once again produce guns instead of butter. This, briefly, is the peace plan for Japan suggested by John Morris, an Englishman who left India after fifteen years of service to become a technical adviser to the Tokyo foreign office and a teacher in Japanese universities.

Mr. Morris arrived in Japan in fateful 1938, one year after the undeclared war began in China. He remained in Tokyo until the summer of 1942 when he was repatriated. Because of his official position, he was one of the few Britons or Americans not jailed or lodged in a concentration camp after Pearl Harbor.

The author tells how he mingled with the crowds on the Ginza, Tokyo's main shopping street, that Saturday noon when the Doolittle raiders were overhead. "There was not the slightest panic," Mr. Morris reports, but adds that he "heard people starting to criticize the army for having misled them."

Mr. Morris writes enlighteningly of Japanese ways of life, of education, the army, and national thought. He is sympathetic but realistic. He found the Japanese idea of discipline based on fear, with the soldier taught to obey, not to think. He saw recruits knocked unconscious by noncommissioned officers, but watched while private soldiers remained seated in buses and generals stood.

An acquaintance told Mr. Morris that in Japanese eyes the world was divided into enemies, neutral enemies, and friendly enemies. Germany was in the latter category and would have been attacked by the Japanese were the United Nations defeated in Europe.

The author is emphatic that there is not the remotest chance of the Japanese army cracking. It will fight to the death. While he is confident that we can eventually destroy it, he deploras anything but a proper realization of the toughness of our job. Important to us as we near a landing on the Japanese home islands is Mr. Morris' warning that the famed Kwantung army might hold out in Manchuria even after the Tokyo government acknowledged defeat.

Traveler from Tokyo deserves wide reading. It is a helpful manual during war and will be equally helpful in preparing our minds for the peace we will make in Asia.

Ambassador Joseph C. Grew wrote the foreword. I agree with him that this is a "good" book. It is factual, not emotional, and it is entertaining reading as well.

New York City

JOHN GOETTE

The first chapters are illuminating in their presentation of forces which molded Chiang's character. His home was one of Confucian filial piety and strict discipline. In his adolescent years the two greatest influences on him were a military hero, Yo Fei, and the Chinese military classic, *Art of War*.

Mr. Chang is on the whole laudatory of Chiang Kai-shek, at times even giving him undue credit. "By the sheer exertion of a single person [Chiang] China has become a new entity. . . . He has changed the entire course of Chinese history" (p. 152). Surely Sun Yat-sen, father of the revolution and author of the *Three Principles*, cannot be thus brushed aside.

He contends, however, that Chiang is loyal to the three principles. Nationalism, the first principle, interpreted by both the leaders as freedom from foreign control, was achieved, he states, when Great Britain and the United States signed new treaties (1943) relinquishing extra-territorial rights. On the subject of the treaties Mr. Chang has incorporated an unfortunate chapter "The Legacy of Inequality," in which he puts upon the foreign nations the entire blame for the treaties as well as for all the ills of modern China. Historians will grant that the treaties took certain sovereign powers from China but will not exonerate the Chinese Republic and the Manchu dynasty for their own shortcomings. Again, in later chapters, in discussing the civilization of China and her future role Mr. Chang follows the same traditional point of view. China is pictured as a nation habitually united, peace loving, and nonimperialistic. On the contrary her history is filled with warfare from the time of the "warring states" of the Chou dynasty and with wars of conquest, far and wide, during the Han, T'ang, and Manchu dynasties. For the general reader this point of view leads only to later disillusionment.

Democracy in China (the second principle) and Chiang's attitude toward it are matters over which, the author declares, the United States is concerned. In answer to such fears he presents various views, foreign and Chinese. He himself thinks that Chiang will fulfill the promise to grant a constitutional government one year after the end of the war. However he acknowledges that the government today is frankly a one party affair and that Chiang Kai-shek believes that the party is above everything (p. 181). The author sees in the party a lack of democracy, for example, in the practice of "appointment from above" instead of "election from below" (pp. 317-19). He apparently sympathizes with Chiang's continued intransigent attitude toward the Communists.

The book is pertinent coming at a time when China is being counted as one of the "Big Four" and when Americans want to know the strengths and weaknesses of the country and its leader. It is written for the popular reader, but it should be read against a historical background in order to separate valuable information from traditional interpretations.

fully responsible government in the provinces. This is described in some very interesting chapters and, on the whole, may be termed a success. But problems multiplied. The Congress sought to control and absorb other groups in one totalitarian party. The Moslems reacted violently and developed their own policy of Pakistan. Thus the prospect of freedom produced a tragic struggle for power between India's two greatest communities. The war brought grim events: a Congress demand for immediate independence, Mr. Gandhi's rebellion while Japanese armies were on the eastern frontier, the failure of the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Coupland seeks a solution in the final portion of his book. Sir Stafford Cripps had offered full Dominion status following the war, with liberty to secede from the Commonwealth, and Mr. Coupland believes that that offer will stand. Hence the problem becomes one of Indian agreement upon a constitution of India's own making. To facilitate such an agreement, Mr. Coupland outlines what he considers a possible settlement. Two points may be selected for mention. He assumes that provincial autonomy will continue, and the problem is to insure minority participation in provincial government. These governments, he thinks, should be statutory coalitions and should be free from continuous control by the legislatures. He abhors partition in any form. To avoid it he suggests a compromise by which the provinces and native states would group themselves into a number of regions which, constitutionally, would stand between the provinces and the central government. He advocates four such regions (the River Basins Scheme) of which two would be predominantly Hindu in population and two Moslem. Such an arrangement, he admits, would weaken the center but would be far preferable to the Balkanization of all India.

This wise and realistic book might well be read with care both in India and in England; and also, incidentally, in the United States.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

CHIANG KAI-SHEK: ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY. By *H. H. Chang*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1944. Pp. xv, 357. \$3.50.)

THE author states that he wrote the biography of Chiang Kai-shek in response to insistant demands when he came to America to explain China, its people, and its leader. He hesitated because he was far from Chinese sources, a fact which may account for the omission of a bibliography. The book is more his personal opinion of Chiang and recent history than a critical study. Certain facts need to be checked with more scientific material as, for example, those concerning agriculture and landholding. When a complete biography of Chiang can be written this book will serve as a valuable source, not only for the author's own opinion but for that of the official group of China during the war.

surrounding the kings, and of history and saga in the life and work of the historian and chieftain, Snorri Sturluson. We note impulses from the outside world as they fuse with the traditional, culminating in the thirteenth century in *The King's Mirror*, expression of the new culture which was developing in the north. We are carried along as "The Stream Goes Underground," and see how certain traditional forces are kept alive in the folk art, the folk songs, and the folk tales. There follow chapters devoted to the great liberators of thought and ideas, Ludvig Holberg, Henrik Wergeland, Henrik Ibsen, and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. In the final chapter, "The Hour of Trial," Dr. Skard shows how much a part of the life of the nation her literature is. Perhaps never in Norway's history has there been such a general return to the classics. The old songs of Wergeland and Bjørnson, the expressions of a free people, have found new meaning in this time of oppression. At the same time, there has been a steady production of both poetry and prose, but the chief expression of the spirit of survival is to be found in the Norwegian war poetry, notably in the lyrics of Arnulf Øverland and Nordahl Grieg.

For the English-reading public, *The Voice of Norway* is a truly scholarly, and at the same time readable, introduction to Norwegian history and literature.

University of Minnesota

ELLA VALBORG RØLVAAG

Far Eastern History

THE INDIAN PROBLEM: REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA. By *R. Coupland*, Fellow of All Souls College and of Nuffield College, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. 160, 344, 207. \$5.00.)

THIS excellent study of the constitutional problem of present-day India is cast in the form of a report by Mr. Coupland to the warden and fellows of Nuffield College; and no official report could be more tranquil in tone or more impartial in judgment. Yet Mr. Coupland's approach is staunchly liberal. Much of his material was collected during a visit to India in 1941-42, and his book contains a wealth of information on recent Indian politics to which a brief review cannot possibly do justice.

The book is divided into three parts. The first traces the installments of self-government accorded to India by England from their faint foreshadowings in the nineteenth century to the passage of the Act of 1935. This act, Mr. Coupland believes, clearly implied that India might quickly achieve a freedom equal to that of other members of the British Commonwealth.

The second and longest portion of the book follows events and politics in India from 1935 to the end of 1942. The period began with the experiment of

If any group should need a jurist in the near future to draw an indictment of Hitler for breach of the constitution, the right person would be Dr. Brecht.

Library of Congress

VEIT VALENTIN

THE VOICE OF NORWAY. By *Halvdan Koht* and *Sigmund Skard*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 313. \$3.50.)

THIS book by two top-ranking Norwegian scholars fills a longfelt need, for it provides in good readable English an orientation into Norwegian history and literature. Written in two parts, *The Voice of Norway* interprets the spirit of modern Norway—that Norway which has so firmly resisted the Nazi oppressor.

"With law shall we build our land, not with lawlessness lay it waste." With this introduction to Norway's ancient code of laws, Professor Koht introduces his part of the book, which he has titled "Free Men Build Their Society." And this ideal of freedom under law becomes the theme of the book. We see in steady development, from the early founding of the kingdom, the ever-growing system of laws which not only gave every citizen certain rights but also imposed upon him certain responsibilities.

In three most interesting and enlightening chapters, "The Crisis of National Freedom," "Free Burghers and Free Farmers," and "Rising for Freedom," Dr. Koht sketches what is often referred to as the dark years of Norwegian history when, in spite of centuries of foreign domination, the nation preserved its legal existence as a kingdom and its national traditions of freedom and law.

The last quarter of this section of the book is devoted to telling of a society ever striving toward a truer democracy. Carried to its logical conclusion, this ideal of liberty under law has resulted in an insistence on the ideal of justice, not only for themselves but for all men. Dr. Koht ends his part of *The Voice of Norway* with these words:

The terrible experience of foreign conquest and tyranny has not destroyed the Norwegian ideals of law and freedom. On the contrary, the nation is more determined than ever to carry these ideals to victory. No less than in the past, Norway will in the future support international organization under law. In this, she sees the only hope for her freedom and that of all other nations.

Dr. Skard, who is not only an able literary scholar, but also a fine and sensitive poet, gives us in the second part of the book, "Life Unfolds in Literature," an unusually stimulating interpretation of Norwegian literature. He also has chosen to approach the study from the point of view of freedom and law—to show how literature reflects their interplay, as man tries to balance the ideals of personal liberty with the ideals of duties and responsibilities to society. In the Eddic poems we see the people of the past who "belong to a group and act under law." We follow the development of poetry as exemplified in the work of the skaldic poets

inspired by the careful judgment of a highly conscientious jurist. Just because of its cool reserve and strict fairness the book is strong. It will support the verdict of history. Dr. Brecht has also translated some important sources which are not very well known even to the American expert. His critical commentary on them in the appendixes will be highly appreciated.

Some special points may strike the reader. Germany and the Germans never were "totalitarian" before Hitler came to power. Evidence is given by the exact figures of the former elections. Neither revolutionary nor reactionary forces were powerful enough to take over the government, but they were able to prevent the loyal adherents of the Weimar Republic from ruling the country properly and successfully. It would have been a possible solution for the Weimar people to crush their political enemies by violence, to destroy without pity the reactionary as well as the communistic opposition, but such a dictatorial attitude would have presupposed a democratic leader of overwhelming personal strength, and such a man did not exist.

We must be grateful to Dr. Brecht for telling us exactly what he means when he speaks about Fascism. Other authors should follow his example. The anti-democratic wave arose in Germany for concrete political, social, and economic reasons, but there was a good deal of opposition to it. Dr. Brecht, like many other faithful democrats, warned in time—but the Fascist movement in Germany conquered the hearts of the electors. It never reached a majority in parliament, but its adherents constituted such a strong minority that the National Socialist party quite legally, step by step, grew to be the largest existing party and thus came to power. It should not be forgotten that Hitler, when taking over the chancellorship, formed a coalition cabinet with a minority of National Socialist ministers. His trick was to preserve "technical legality," to blackmail all authorities by the threat of revolutionary acts, and thus to persuade hesitating civil servants to follow suit in order to avoid "worse" events. Very bravely, Dr. Brecht, as the speaker of the federal council, asked Chancellor Hitler to respect his oath and to avoid any violation of the Weimar constitution. This speech is a historical document of straightforward German liberalism, reason enough to break the neck of the bold orator.

Very soon after this classic speech, two decisive acts violated even the written law. These were the renewed dismissal of the Prussian cabinet ministers by order, on February 6, and the dissolution of all political parties except the National Socialist party, on July 14, 1933. Dr. Brecht does his very best to analyze carefully all German events during this initial period of the Hitler regime from the strict standpoint of existing positive law, according to the opinion of the majority of experts. But the author is not hiding his personal conviction that there does exist something above law, something natural and eternal which would have justified, even from the standpoint of a progressive lawyer, any kind of violent action of the Germans against Nazi tyranny.

ject? The thesis is not original, nor has the author succeeded in elucidating it more than others have done before him. Furthermore he adds a peculiarly German flavor to his interpretation of Russia. Why, for instance, was Russia to constitute, from the Crimean War to the present, a "Pan-European problem of the first order"? The author's answer is that it is because the United Slavs desire Constantinople! Who are those so-called "United Slavs"? Do they include the Poles, the Czechs, the Bulgarians, or the Croats? And, incidentally, has Mr. Treviranus ever heard of the Berlin-Bagdad Railway project, or of the Pan-German movement with a few of its offshoots in our own day which landed him on the Ontario farm?

The author's appalling lack of knowledge of the Russian language is best illustrated by his mutilations of Russian names. Never has the reviewer seen a book with so many errors. To cite only a few examples: Georg Chicherin is Vassili Chicherin, Petrashevsky becomes Petrasky, Badmayev is given as Badjamev, Yagoda as Yakoda, Tshkheidze as Cheidze, Bulygin as Buygin, etc. It is a welter of names, mutilated beyond recognition. How such a respectable publishing house could allow the appearance of such a poorly edited book is difficult to understand. The cry for at least an elementary knowledge of the Russian language is louder than ever, while the thirst for a comprehension of the lessons of the Russian revolutions still remains unsatiated.

University of Nevada

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

PRELUDE TO SILENCE: THE END OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC. By Arnold Brecht. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xxi, 156. \$2.00.)

THIS is a remarkable book, written by a distinguished lawyer with a good instinct for history, one who could say with the Latin author when speaking of contemporary events, "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" Dr. Brecht was present at almost all cabinet meetings during the crucial years of the Weimar Republic. He was given charge of constitutional and administrative questions in the Reich ministry of the interior. In 1927 he was removed from office at the request of the reactionary nationalist party leader, Dr. Karl Hugenberg, was then taken up by the loyal Prussian administration, which he had to represent in the federal council (*Reichsrat*), and finally was dismissed by the Hitler regime as a politically "unreliable" civil servant. Being a so-called Aryan, although related to distinguished Jewish people, he left Germany and joined the graduate faculty of the New School in New York but was one of the very few victims of National Socialism who continued to visit the fatherland until the summer of 1939. Thus Dr. Brecht may be considered unique in knowledge and personal experience. His book is a most valuable contribution to the history of our time. It avoids any personal touch, any emotional attitude; it cannot be regarded as a volume of memoirs. But it is full of new colorful details, it combines individual impressions with historical facts, and it is

to a preponderance of drunkenness and other crimes? Statistics here merely demonstrate a condition; they do not explain it.

There is an excellent bibliography and index.

Hunter College

GEORGE WASKOVICH

REVOLUTIONS IN RUSSIA: THEIR LESSONS FOR THE WESTERN WORLD. By G. R. Treviranus. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. viii, 303. \$3.00.)

ONE must dig deep wells to get to a source in the Russian past that might explain the causes of the Russian revolutions. The revolutionary spirit of any country, and particularly of Russia, can be understood only in the light of several centuries of social development and economic struggle. How little this simple truth has been apprehended or adequately presented in historical literature! We have mountains of books and articles on the subject, but hardly any of them is deeply rooted in the soil of Russia's history; they are mostly the results of a four-week travel or journalistic sojourn, sudden discoveries of "the great Russian soul" or of "the valorous, magnificent Red Army."

G. R. Treviranus, a former member of the *Reichstag* and of the Bruening Cabinet, at present an *émigré*, lecturer on German-Russian affairs, and farmer in Ontario, was inspired by his inquisitive sons and friends to write a book which would present to the Western world (no more no less!) the lessons it must learn from the Russian revolutions. And so, from words to deeds, and before us is the fruit of the author's labor. What is this fruit? What does it prove? It is a lesson to the Western world—and how many lessons do we need?—that it is difficult to explain such a complicated subject without either love or sympathy, to say nothing of erudition and linguistic equipment. The undertaking is therefore gigantic, but the results are puny.

To begin with, the entire book hardly scrapes the surface of the problem; it deals with the period between 1917 and the present, and makes only casual reference to the revolution of 1905. Where then are the "Revolutions"? In vain must one search through the book—the title of which is so promising—for such important historical episodes as the Time of Troubles, for the numerous peasant uprisings and labor unrest, or for the colorful rebel leaders such as Bolotnikov, Stenka Razin, or Pugachev. The latter two are mentioned once in the most casual way, while Bolotnikov does not even appear. The lessons of Russia's revolutions to the Western world, purported to be shown by the author, simply are not there. Lenin, the author says, "came single-handed, unarmed with any weapons," etc., and so did Christ, both defying a hostile and unjust world. Both brought to the world a gospel for which "millions have died before their time to defend human faith that it will be true—one day." If this is the lesson the revolutions of Russia have given the world, was it necessary to write a whole book on the sub-

tural and educational position of the Jews by the pursuit and cultivation of secular studies. However desirable this might seem to the *maskilim*, or followers of this movement, it was opposed nevertheless, as Rabbi Greenberg points out, by the innate conservatism of the orthodox Jews; by those whose suspicions were aroused concerning the *maskilim's* intent to change the traditional system of education; by the reaction of orthodox Jews to Christian conversions (attributed by the orthodox to the influence of the Haskalah); and it ran afoul of Russian public apathy as well as official indifference, often changing to hostility.

Inasmuch as Jewish efforts alone could never hope to achieve emancipation without help from the constituted authorities, the Russian intelligentsia, and the Russian public, Rabbi Greenberg describes the evolution of the policies of the tsars from Alexander I to Alexander II. The greater part of the work is devoted, however, to Alexander II, whose reign ushered in a period of hope never completely realized. In consequence the Jews of Russia were divided as to the best way to achieve the civic status they desired. The participation of Jews in the social revolutionary movements of the 1860's and 1870's, the development of Jewish "nationalism," the advocacy of the merging of the Jewish and Russian elements to the point of assimilation, all these are symptomatic of the division of thought on this vital question. Against the orthodox were ranged the opponents of the spiritual and cultural separatism, which they believed stood in the way of Russification, and advised like the poet Gordon, "Be a Jew in your tent, and a man in the street." The nationalists held with Goldendach (p. 137) that a Jew deprived of his homeland does not lose his national character; and the revolutionists merely served to "complicate the Jewish situation and add another vexing problem to those already in existence" (p. 159).

There are excellent chapters on the "Cultural and Moral Status of Russian Jewry," "Jews and Russian Public Opinion," "Contribution of Russian Jews to Russian Life and Culture," and the "Economic Position of the Jews in the Reign of Alexander II." Rabbi Greenberg, in his discussion of the problem of alcoholism in Russia in the last named chapter, brings up a question of profound sociological importance, but stops short of providing answers to questions which insistently obtrude. He says that a "government committee, appointed by Alexander II in 1870 to study rural economy, reported that complaints about drunkenness among the peasants came primarily from the Great Russian provinces, fewer from the Ukraine and New Russia, and almost none from the western and Baltic provinces. Since the lowest degree of intoxication existed in Jewish areas and the highest in non-Jewish regions, it follows that it was not the Jew who was responsible for this evil" (p. 170). And further on he says, "Not only do figures prove less drunkenness among the Russian masses living in the proximity of Jews, but they indicate less crime as well" (p. 171). What is the nature of the influence exerted by the Jews on their Christian neighbors to achieve this result? And what moral element on the other hand was lacking in the purely Russian regions which led

Although Dr. Snyder appears to sympathize with the free traders, he presents fairly the arguments of the tariff reformers; and his précis of newspaper and parliamentary debates are excellent. Nevertheless his general picture is out of focus because he fails to portray Britain's domestic economic and financial situation as well as the intra-imperial and foreign relations which made the tariff issue so important and its solution so difficult. For instance, the British agricultural tariff program of 1921 was changed suddenly in a way that appears almost stupid; if in this connection Dr. Snyder had called attention to the collapse of world prices on farm products at this time, attributable to credit policies of our own Federal Reserve Bank, the British action would appear more rational.

The scholarship of this little book is excellent. Among the few slips, that whereby William Huskisson has been rebaptized "John" (p. 3) is the most obvious, and of typographical errors, that which makes it seem as if the Parliament elected in December, 1923, met on November 23 of that year (p. 127) with Bonar Law serving as prime minister six months after his death may confuse the unwary.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

THE JEWS IN RUSSIA. Volume I, THE STRUGGLE FOR EMANCIPATION. By *Louis Greenberg*. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor, Miscellany, XLV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 210. \$3.00.)

THE appearance of this volume in the present state of world Jewish history is most opportune. It is the first of a three volume series dealing with the struggle of the Jews in Russia for civic equality and political freedom up to the end of the reign of Alexander II. Embodying material widely scattered, it constitutes an essential contribution to the study of modern Russian social history. It focuses a strong spotlight on facts generally minimized or treated as incidental to the main story; it serves to supplement the accounts of such works as those of Mavor, Pares, Platonov, Kornilov, etc. The author's work is largely descriptive, non-polemical in tone, written with admirable restraint and word economy, based on sources in German, Russian, Yiddish, Hebrew, and English.

If any basic tenet can be ascribed to Rabbi Greenberg, it is that the condition, status, and treatment of the Jews (as a minority element) are a measure of the culture and civilization of the country they inhabit. In his appraisal, he is accordingly concerned with Russian official and public attitudes toward the Jewish people as well as with efforts on their own part to improve their condition. The latter consideration leads him to devote the greater part of his work to the origins, development, and progress of the Haskalah, a movement traceable to the intellectual ferment of the French Enlightenment. The Haskalah sought to improve the cul-

on factory legislation, technical legal questions, poor-law reform, the Irish church, the Oxford Movement, money and banking, foreign relations, the novelists Scott and Thackeray; and he wrote on all these themes in government reports, pamphlets, articles for the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review* and for the lesser journals and the daily press. Pleading with the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* that he was a slow writer and could give only two hours to his desk daily, in less than a month he could turn out a 30,000 word article on the budget!

How can one account for such energy and such security? One offers the suggestion that it was exactly because Senior was still the Newtonian: the general principles of his intellectual life were so firmly fixed, their application flowed so logically from the all-encompassing grand design, that hesitations and doubts never had cause to enter his secure world. Carlyle was troubled by many unanswered questions; so was the later Mill. Not so Senior. Bagehot said about an article Senior wrote on Ireland: "In truth, the essay is too abstract for a work on a living subject like Ireland. You always feel that you are reading about an economical island in the air." In the light of all that has occurred since, what Senior had to say about factory legislation, the poor laws, trade unions, and many of the other public questions he wrote of so authoritatively carries the same air of unreality.

Mr. Levy has written an excellent book and it deserves wide reading. It is lacking in independent judgments; but, it must be said, it is scrupulously fair, and the unfriendly remarks of Senior's contemporaries are recorded along with the fulsome praise.

Columbia University

LOUIS M. HACKER

THE TARIFF PROBLEM IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1918-1923. By *Rixford Kinney Snyder*. [Stanford University Publication, University Series; History, Economics, and Political Science; Volume V, Number 2.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1944. Pp. 168. Cloth \$2.75, paper \$2.00.)

DR. Snyder reviews the various plans for revising the British tariff system discussed or adopted in the years 1918-1923; and he summarizes the debates on this issue both in and outside of Parliament. The overall picture is one of confusion, hesitancy, and muddling. The election of 1918 gave the Conservatives a majority in the House of Commons. Since 1910 this party had been committed to a policy of tariff reform but it had neither a definite program nor competent leadership. The prime minister, Mr. David Lloyd George, and his Liberal supporters in the then existing coalition were free traders, pledged, however, to make "England a country fit for heroes to live in." This sweeping electioneering promise proved difficult to fulfill amidst the mounting economic confusion and depression of the early twenties.

judicious. It would be better, I fancy, not to describe objections to the export of bullion which were characteristic of mercantilist thought as "inane" (p. 89), or to speak of mercantilist theories of value as "exceedingly befuddled" (p. 97), and the "incredible unimaginativeness of metropolitan thinking" (p. 134) in the days of George III and Lord North was really not so incredible if viewed in its historical context.

But these and a few other critical comments that might be offered are no more than dust in the balance when weighed against the substantial merits of this very useful book.

Columbia University

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

NASSAU W. SENIOR: THE PROPHET OF MODERN CAPITALISM. By S. LEON Levy. (Boston: Bruce Humphries. 1943. Pp. 454. \$4.00.)

S. LEON Levy is a devoted editor and as faithful a biographer as any man might wish; but one is forced to report that the subject of his adoration must remain where history has consigned him. Nassau W. Senior is no "Prophet of Modern Capitalism," as Mr. Levy holds; indeed, the subtitle must have been an afterthought, for nowhere in his book does the author seek to indicate what he had in mind. Senior was an exemplar of the Victorian compromise: a conscientious and righteous spokesman for and defender of the middle-class England which Liberal capitalism was then in the process of building. He moved through his days with dignity and certainty; he was consulted often by persons in high places, and editors anxiously awaited his pronouncements; his private journals—concerned with his travels and conversations in Turkey, Greece, Ireland, France, Italy, and elsewhere—were handed about eagerly. To his contemporaries, he was the "Tutor-General" of the Liberals; yet his interests impress us, a hundred years later, as being woefully circumscribed, and the paucity of the achievement of a long and busy life is a matter for ironical contemplation.

Mr. Levy's labors as editor and biographer have been heroic. In 1928 he published in two volumes a skilfully contrived work, under the title *Industrial Efficiency and Social Economy*, which was made up of Senior's unpublished later Oxford lectures and his addresses, reports, pamphlets, letters, and other writings. It was the intention of this book to demonstrate that Senior was more than a lesser Ricardian; in fact, more than a classical economist. The Newtonian harmony, the mechanical perfection of the awful and awe-inspiring deductive logic—these were gone; in their place was a tentative and experimental scientific method. Senior followed Ricardo and preceded Jevons.

Perhaps so. But Mr. Levy's biography—a fascinating book, by the way, full of those little details of daily living that make a good biography a really first-class performance—does not prove the point. As a politician, a publicist, a lawyer, and a traveler, Senior's activities were prodigious. He was interested in the debate

appears only in connection with emigration and Wakefield's plan of systematic colonization, and even then only in the most casual fashion.

The first of the two parts into which the book is divided has to do with imperialist and anti-imperialist ideology before 1776. The arguments are arranged under headings such as "Colonies as Sources of Raw Materials," "Colonies as Markets," "Strategic and Naval Considerations," "Anti-Colonial Arguments, Misgivings, and Deprecations." The conclusion reached is that prior to the American Revolution "the overwhelming bulk of metropolitan opinion upheld the Old Colonial System" (p. 134). Such anti-imperialist sentiment as there was emanated from "a very small minority of men who had no stake in the profits of Empire but subscribed to more advanced ideas on the nature of the public good than their contemporaries" (p. 149).

The second and considerably longer part of the volume opens with an examination of Adam Smith's attack on mercantilism and the old colonial system. In view of the efforts of certain modern British imperialist writers to show that Smith was opposed to the separation of the colonies from the mother country, Dr. Knorr's critical study of Smith's own words is distinctly refreshing. It is true, and well known, that the author of *The Wealth of Nations* was convinced that no British government would voluntarily adopt a separatist policy and that he proposed a plan of imperial reform as a substitute for separation, but it is fallacious to reason from this, as Dr. Knorr demonstrates, that he was opposed to separation. He believed that it was impracticable, not that it was undesirable. Adam Smith was not sanguine of the triumph of the economic principles which he advocated, and the old colonial system, as is well known, was a long time a-dying. The end did not come till Britain's free-trade legislation of the middle decades of the nineteenth century swept away the old navigation laws and the old imperial commercial preferences, a subject which comes under consideration in a chapter on the fall of the old colonial system.

In summarizing colonial theories from 1776 to 1815 the author concludes that the theorists and politicians who questioned or denied the usefulness of colonies to the mother country were much more articulate than their opponents but that they had little influence on political action. During this period, indeed, a second British Empire was coming into existence with the rapid expansion of British rule in India, the colonization of Australia, and the acquisition of Cape Colony and other colonial possessions in the Napoleonic wars; and the belief that Britain was suffering from excess of population gave to colonies a new value in the minds of many Englishmen. Among the subjects dealt with in other chapters are the colonial and imperial ideas of Bentham, James Mill, and Ricardo; emigration and systematic colonization; the expenses of empire; the pride and prestige of empire; missionary imperialism and the White Man's Burden.

An occasional intrusion of present-mindedness does not harmonize with Dr. Knorr's evident desire, in the main successfully accomplished, to be objective and

The reviewer is delighted to see this book appear without a cloth cover, as the French have done for years, a practice which reduces costs at least one third. Let us hope that other important studies follow the same inexpensive format.

West Virginia University

THOMAS E. ENNIS

BRITISH COLONIAL THEORIES, 1570-1850. By *Klaus E. Knorr*, Stanford University, California. With a Foreword by H. A. Innis. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1944. Pp. xix, 429. \$4.00.)

THIS is the most comprehensive work that has appeared on the subject of opinion, argument, and theory concerning the establishment and maintenance of British colonies. Written originally as a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Professor Jacob Viner, it is essentially a study of ideas as expressed in pamphlets, treatises, speeches, reports of committees, etc., though monographic and other secondary historical literature has not been neglected. A glance through the footnotes shows how extensive Dr. Knorr's researches have been. There is no formal bibliography, but a special index, which serves as a not very satisfactory substitute, includes the names of the authors of all books and articles cited in the text and footnotes and the titles of books and periodicals where the writing referred to is anonymous. We had not lacked valuable historical expositions in the field of British colonial policy and theory. George Louis Beer, to take a conspicuous example, in his pioneer treatises published a generation ago, taught us much about the rationale of the old colonial system, but he was not concerned—not, at least, as a historian—with the British Empire after the American Revolution. The present survey extends, as the terminal dates in the title indicate, from the mid-Elizabethan to the mid-Victorian era.

The author's purpose was to select statements from his sources representative of important currents of thought, and to this end he has presented the opinions and arguments of less well-known writers and politicians as well as those of their more celebrated contemporaries, since he regards the former as usually more typical than the latter. He gives adequate attention throughout to anti-imperial thought. Constant verbatim quotation from sources adds greatly to the value of the book. Conclusions have been drawn circumspectly and judiciously, and pains have been taken to avoid generalizations not supported by sufficient evidence.

The views and theories of colonial writers and politicians are not included. There is no discussion, therefore, of the very interesting imperial ideas of American Revolutionists, such as John Dickinson, James Wilson, and Thomas Jefferson, expressed while they were still discoursing and arguing as British subjects. Nor is anything said about the proposals of colonial reformers who, like Robert Baldwin, Joseph Howe, and William Charles Wentworth, were at the same time British colonists. Considerable attention is given to the theory of imperial trusteeship and the White Man's Burden, but, strangely enough, the movement for responsible government in colonies receives no consideration. Lord Durham ap-

by comparison than in all other fields of historiography where the so-called original sources count for more.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

JULES FERRY AND THE RENAISSANCE OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM.

By Thomas F. Power, jr. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1944. Pp. x, 222. \$2.75.)

THE role of Jules Ferry as the political force in the new era of France overseas is presented in scholarly manner by Thomas F. Power, jr., in *Jules Ferry and the Renaissance of French Imperialism*. This well-documented study is a welcome addition to the books in English on nineteenth century France.

After describing the situation in France at the time Ferry became premier in 1880, the author follows with chapters on Tunisia, Oceania, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Egypt, and Indo-China.

Jules Ferry was anticlerical, as were so many of the republican leaders of the 70's and 80's. He was a professional politician, among those from journalism, including Grevy, Gambetta, Brisson, and Floquet. Others prominent at this time included the rich manufacturers Casimir-Perier, Rouvier, and Waddington; two teachers, Dupuy and Simon; two engineers, Freycinet and Sadi-Carnot; and the doctor-journalist Clemenceau.

It was a period when the people, the "masses," were becoming articulate. Republican France in 1881, under the direction of Ferry and Gambetta, extended and consolidated primary and normal schools under state control.

It was a period of dynamic national imperialism. Between 1881 and 1885 Ferry defended his policies in the chamber of deputies. Mr. Powers describes how he reiterated all the clichés of those seeking overseas possessions. Trade and capital must follow the flag. The "superior" nations must "civilize" the "inferior" races. Industrial nations must acquire markets. Navies and merchant marines must have coaling stations. And any nation as great as France which refused to carry her flag to distant ports would sink to the level of a third rate power.

It was a period of fertile interest of all the powers in colonial development. The "Colonial School" was created in Berlin in 1882. In the same year Leroy-Beaulieu published a new edition of his standard book on colonies, containing the warning that France would decline to the status of a Greece or a Rumania if a great African empire were not established. Professor John Seeley of Cambridge University published his famous lectures on the *Expansion of England* in 1883. The Tory Democrats founded their "Primrose League" for the encouragement of imperialism, and its counterpart appeared in Berlin, the "Society for German Colonization." Scholarly contributions in the field of imperialism included Froude's *Oceana* (1885) and Rambaud's editing of *La France coloniale* (1886). With this in mind it is possible to appreciate the interest of France in keeping abreast of England and Germany, a theme which Mr. Powers clearly delineates.

THREE NAPOLEONIC BATTLES. By *Harold T. Parker*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 225. \$3.00.)

It seems reasonably certain that naval and military history will receive more attention in postwar history teaching and history writing: Beginnings are being made at present in both the matter and the methodology in such places as the historical sections of the various services. But one can hardly hope that Mr. Parker's book is a forerunner of things to come. Most of its characteristics mark it as an after-runner, combining rather strangely the arts of the historical *feuilletonistes* with an overannotated narrative. A few examples: The not at all controversial or portentous statement that Wellington spent the night before Waterloo at Genappe is buttressed by six lines of citations. (But perhaps this is due to American difficulties of ascertaining whether George Washington "slept here" or not.) Napoleon on the following day, "short, fat, and optimistic, breakfasted at eight." However, "in the twilight, Napoleon was somber and absolutely livid" (pp. 135, 186). The emperor's weight and waistline from 1793 to 1815 concern the author far more than his strategy. His repeated attempts at character sketches of generals—while none is made of the rank and file—at descriptions of their morale, etc., are singularly poor even in the cases of such colorful personages as Blücher and Lannes, whose death is prolonged over some four pages and who is in life "the excitable Gascon, cool only in the moment of danger." What is that but the old-fashioned purple of Currier and Ives lithographs? Such style is by itself dangerous; the author of it is likely to make or to accept uncritically such dubious phrases as Napoleon's "fifteen miles gallop on this hot June day" (p. 12) or to forget that on one page, the passage across the Alle is made over a frame bridge plus two pontoon bridges, on another page over frame bridges which subsequently catch fire (pp. 6, 21).

The author's best performance is in the clearing up of minor discrepancies between eyewitness reports about events on the battlefields. Throughout, the accent is on the tactical details which these witnesses contribute to the treatment of the three battles in question—Friedland, Aspern-Essling, and Waterloo. It is said to be based on "all kinds of sources available for a Napoleonic battle," but these by no means include all the best; as for Friedland, for example, where Russian sources are notoriously scanty, the *Memoirs* of Prince Eugene of Württemberg are wanting. While eyewitness reports are preponderant, the great critics of the battles, except the emperor himself, are strangely absent, such as Jomini, Clausewitz with his *Campaign of 1815*, or Count Yorck von Wartenburg's *Napoleon als Feldherr*. Napoleon's adversary at Aspern, Archduke Charles, was after all a theoretician of some consequence; but his writings do not appear. And still he is an important part of the history of this battle. For did not Napoleon himself insist that "the main thing is to know against whom one makes war"? In military history, for reasons too complex to state here, such critics, interpreters, and theoreticians are likely to be far more helpful, or even basically important,

materialistic, empiristic, and nationalistic tendencies propagated by the Enlightenment a highly interesting topic. It is to be regretted that Professor Elwell limited the scope of his investigation to religious education proper, since, its basic principles being immutable, they scarcely allow of any but slight and superficial variations of nuances. Another limitation of his book consists in its almost exclusive consideration of primary education in the relevant epoch; only incidentally it refers to the higher levels, on which the rising tide of Cartesianism had as early as the second half of the seventeenth century begun, even in the ecclesiastical schools of Port-Royal and of the Oratory, to dethrone the method of authority on which the orthodox Catholic theory and practice of education reposed and to replace it by the "natural," that is, Cartesian method of clear and distinct knowledge. The teaching of mathematics, logic, and languages had, for instance, been completely reformed and modernized by the outstanding textbooks of Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole, Lancelot, and other Jansenist educators, which remained in general use throughout the eighteenth and even a large part of the nineteenth centuries. Only the inertia essential to religious education procrastinated the necessary reforms of medieval teaching methods, and even when the revolutionary *élan* of Enlightenment compelled the church to yield on a few minor issues, the concessions it made were "too little and too late" to allow the church to maintain its leading position in the educational field.

The author, a convinced Catholic, has made a very thorough study of the doctrinal variations suffered by the principles basic to Catholic education in their defensive struggle against the onslaught of the new antidogmatic spirit represented by Voltaire, Rousseau, La Mettrie, Condillac, and other philosophers and educators. To this purpose he has painstakingly studied and analyzed an extensive selection of primary and secondary sources and documents, such as scores of diocesan and national catechisms, episcopal statutes and ordinances, didactical and apologetical treatises, whose tiring monotony and uniformity require meticulous attention in order to detect in them the microscopic traces which a century of involuntary adaptation to radically changed social, intellectual, and political conditions impressed on the theory and practice of the teaching of Catholic religion. A slightly increased influence of reason, the introduction of sentiment into the foundations of belief, a greater emphasis laid on moral education as compared with mere dogmatic instruction, a certain relaxation of originally very severe and authoritative discipline: these, as the author points out, were the main concessions the Catholic church gradually and reluctantly granted the impetuous and youthful claims of a new age and a new class which rose to dominate French civilization. The natural effect was that eventually religious education was proscribed from the publicly supported schools and that religion itself lost its pre-eminent function in a civilization with whose essential structure its educational principles proved to be out of tune.

the movement known as enlightened despotism on a European basis, as an integral part of the historical evolution of the Continent during the latter part of the eighteenth century. . . . It led from the Europe that had evolved out of feudalism to the Europe that was to attain parliamentary democracy in the nineteenth century.

He shows, if I follow aright the development of his theme, that enlightened despotism was not an innovation but a renovation, and that the evolutionary process was already under way before theorists appeared on the scene to justify it. Supremacy of the state; uniformity, and the consequent codification, of the law; the reform of the judiciary; centralization of the administration; the minimizing, if not the abolition, of privileges; and the development of an efficient bureaucracy—these were the fields in which enlightened despotism operated. To the survey and analysis of the renovations in these fields the author devotes fully half of his volume. Then follow chapters dealing with a variety of topics: "The Wellsprings of Humanitarianism"; "Tolerance and Education"; "Health, Wealth, and Happiness"; "The State and the Individual"; "The Flowering of Sensibility"; "Escape from Freedom—German Style"; "The Arts and Crafts"; "Faith, Hope, and Charity in Secular Dress"; and finally "Constitutional Liberalism Affirmed." Such topics are of necessity, owing to the exigencies of space, treated in a summary manner; but the author succeeds, despite the handicap, in making the treatment clear, reasonably accurate, and adequately correlative to the main theme of enlightened despotism. Assuming that books of this particular nature are desirable, Professor Gershoy has written a good one. How pleasing would have been the result, however, had he contrived to introduce into his account a little more life, color, and human interest. The vast canvas is deficient in highlights and shadows.

Appended to each volume of the series is a select, critical, and up-to-date bibliography, which should afford great joy to the professional historian. Each volume also contains more than fifty illustrations selected from the mass of contemporary pictorial material. Here, in the reviewer's opinion, a great opportunity to serve the cause of history has been neglected. How advantageous it would be to have this illustrative material appropriately distributed and properly correlated to the body of the text.

University of North Carolina

MITCHELL B. GARRETT

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT ON THE CATHOLIC THEORY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN FRANCE, 1750-1850. By *Clarence Edward Elwell*, Professor of Education, Sisters College of Cleveland. [Harvard Studies in Education, Volume XXIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 335. \$3.50.)

THE monopoly of education exercised by the Catholic church in France almost until the Revolution of 1789 makes a study of the changes its pedagogical theory and practice underwent through the impact of the rationalistic, naturalistic,

specific taxes. The sponsorship in the 1760's by nobles of the robe of the principle that "everyone should contribute to the needs of the state according to his ability to pay" (p. 279) presages the liberal action of June to August, 1739. Mr. Beik ended his able summary with the following conclusion, "From these opinions emerges a political economy, mercantilist in the main, but with unmistakable elements of laissez-faire thinking, the characteristic product of an age of transition" (p. 280).

Mr. Beik has rendered an important contribution to the history of economic problems and thought in the 1760's, but in the opinion of the reviewer, his most important services are in calling attention to the Seligman Collection and to these *Memorials*. He has discovered an almost inexhaustible field of research, and we may hope for further revelations from French archives.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

FROM DESPOTISM TO REVOLUTION, 1763-1789. By *Leo Gershoy*, Sarah Lawrence College. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. xvi, 355. \$4.00.)

In his introduction to the series the general editor, Professor William L. Langer, explains that these volumes "are designed primarily to give the general reader and student a reliable survey of European history written by experts . . . the division of European history into national histories has been abandoned and wherever possible attention has been focused upon larger forces common to the whole of European civilization." Here is a consummation devoutly to be wished, a synthesis of European history, assigning the proper emphasis to the developments in thought, in social and economic conditions, and in governmental institutions; but whether such a synthesis is possible except in theory is open to serious doubt. To this reviewer it would appear that the volumes so far published are much too advanced for the layman. Perhaps if the authors, nearly all of whom were fairly young when the enterprise was launched, had been less ambitious to be deep, penetrating, and philosophical, less adept in the use of abstract phraseology, in a word, less scholarly, their contributions would be more useful to the general reader and student.

In the volume under review Professor Gershoy maintains the high standard of scholarship set by his predecessors. He appears to have read and pondered over the recent contributions in all the major languages of Europe; he has arranged his material in what appears to be the logical order; and his literary style would seem to be above reproach, although he has a penchant for hard, colorless phrases like "mandates of security and power." He begins with a brief account of the rulers and the governments in 1763 and passes on, in his second chapter, to a description of the social classes. With these preliminaries out of the way, he addresses himself seriously to the business in hand, namely, a study of

bia University, of this manuscript survey of economic conditions by the *parlement* of provence seems to have been unknown even to the writers of monographs on the *parlement* at Aix. Each of the fourteen volumes, about nine by fourteen inches, contains about nine hundred pages, written on half of the page, with Volume XIV about double that size. Many questions about these Provence *Memorials* can only be solved when archives in France are again accessible. Who were the members of the commission chosen to prepare the *Memorials*? Was this actually a co-operative work as Mr. Beik assumes? Who wrote the marginal comments and corrected the copyist's text? Are the statistics reliable? Is any part of another copy preserved in the records of the *parlement* at Aix?

The absence of an adequate description of the volumes and of their contents might lead historians to underestimate their value. The two memorials, out of five planned, actually comprise the whole range of economic conditions following the Seven Years' War. There are innumerable separate chapters on individual taxes or conditions, and the text includes many statistical charts, such as the tabulation of the *capitation*, *aides*, and *gabelles*, a study of which might throw new light on the conclusions of Stourm and Marion. Furthermore, where such statistics are now lacking for other provinces, the *Memorials* may prove invaluable, for as Mr. Beik has pointed out, the *parlement* was speaking for all of France and not just for their own province.

The three-fold objective of the author was to describe the position of the *parlement* when the survey was begun, to summarize their ideas about the political economy of their day, and to appraise them in relation to current mercantilist, physiocratic, and laissez-faire thought of the 1760's. A summary in 280 pages of the extensive *Memorials* is a tribute to the author's ability to sift the wheat from the chaff. After two chapters on the historical setting, the *Memorials* are analyzed in chapters on population, agriculture, industry, commerce, the role of money, taxation, and government and the economic system. Several chapters are much more inclusive than their titles suggest. There is occasional repetition, but the book is well written with useful summaries at the end of chapters.

Since the concern of the *parlement* was economic, the *Memorials* throw little light on constitutional questions or on social changes resulting from the unsuccessful war. The chapter on population is interesting, and one would like to know who transmitted a concern for population to the makers of the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789 from Provence? The last chapter contains some discussion of war and national policy. The footnote reference (p. 258, n. 37) for an arresting pacifist quotation should be corrected to read, XII, 887-888. Desire for reform of the guilds along the line actually taken by Turgot would seem to be stronger than Mr. Beik indicates. The *parlement* condemned certain taxes and was strongly opposed to tax-farming. Had their survey been made public, with all its tables, the *Compte-Rendu* of Necker appearing nearly twenty years later would not have been such an innovation. Although the *Memorials* were incomplete and failed to develop a program of reform, Mr. Beik has culled suggestions from chapters on

renversement des alliances of 1756 and clung to the "Old System," appreciated Britain's vital stake in commerce and sea power, and went along with Pitt's all-embracing strategy in the Seven Years' War. "Carteret," Professor Williams writes, "never lacked a policy, but could never command a party to carry it through"—Newcastle "always had a party . . . but never a policy."

Yet both men had points of similarity. Aristocrats, they were far from oblivious of the common people. Carteret championed their liberties, and Newcastle confessed in Sam Adams vein, "I love a mob." Each in his way tried to fulfill the patrician duty of serving king and nation. Carteret, who sought to "knock the heads of the Kings of Europe together," tended to ignore his fellow ministers, and so forgot a means essential to his end. Newcastle, who spent himself rallying "friends" in support of the Revolution settlement, lost sight of the end in pursuit of the means.

But if Professor Williams succeeds in showing how Carteret the independent and Newcastle the man of party moved within the framework of Georgian political conventions, he does not adequately answer the question why they acted as they did. The biographer in him attributes too much to personal idiosyncrasies, the chronicler too much to the march of events. Nor does he quite point up these conventions. The revealing phrases, "sole minister" and "storming the Closet," are not revealed, and Newcastle's repeated betrayal of his colleagues passes for personal ambition and not for what it also was, a tendency excited in virtually every minister throughout the century by the fact that the government was in fact the king's. More attention to the rival courts of the monarch and the prince of Wales would have emphasized their magnetic attraction as well as their relation to two most significant struggles—the jockeying of ministers for greater "interest" with the sovereign and the contest between the crown and party groups for control of the executive. What distinguishes the extended scene of eighteenth century politics from Blenheim beyond Waterloo is not the growth of innovations like the cabinet or the paring of the crown's influence. It is the constant reappearance of the same conventions, tempered as they were by the accident of personality. The pattern of English politics in the eighteenth century resembles nothing so much as figured wallpaper.

Yale University

LEWIS P. CURTIS

A JUDGMENT OF THE OLD RÉGIME: BEING A SURVEY BY THE PARLEMENT OF PROVENÇE OF FRENCH ECONOMIC AND FISCAL POLICIES AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR. By *Paul H. Beik*, Instructor in History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 509.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 290. \$3.00.)

THIS volume makes an important contribution to the neglected history of the last years of Louis XV's reign. The existence, in the Seligman Collection of Colum-

or another, looked forward to something of the result for which he strove so long and earnestly.

Harvard University

WILBUR C. ABBOTT

CARTERET AND NEWCASTLE: A CONTRAST IN CONTEMPORARIES.

By Basil Williams. (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. 240. \$3.50.)

For half a century the professor of history emeritus at Edinburgh has been laboring to reconstruct the whole vast and twisting scene of English politics and diplomacy from the reign of Anne to the American Revolution. He has written classic biographies of two of its greatest statesmen, Stanhope and Chatham. In *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760*, he has shown his mastery of the narrative form, especially when detailing the chronicle of eighteenth century diplomacy. Now, in turning to Carteret and Newcastle, he has chosen a theme nicely suited to his skill both as a biographer and as a narrator. His brief and lucid book represents a distillation of his enormous erudition. It is a capital summary of politics in early Georgian England. Rarely, if ever, has a historian demonstrated with such clarity how there was room within the political structure of their day for two men at once so typical of eighteenth century political convention and yet so different in their concept and use of power.

"Look here, on this picture, and on this." There is no mistaking the essential features of Carteret and Newcastle, for Professor Williams has drawn them sharp. His hero, Carteret, bears the front of Jove—statesman, savant, orator, *bon vivant*; in him the gods gave the world assurance of a man. Yet for all the splendid endowments that made him a natural leader, Carteret was "a brilliant failure." The duke, on the other hand, in spite of everybody's laughing at him, proved to be the indispensable figure of every administration from 1724 until the accession of George III.

The two men stand forth in bold relief. Carteret, caring not a fig for popularity, was a political independent. Like the Pitts he had almost no party. Newcastle above all was a party man—a party man, that is, so long as he could keep himself in office. (He probably influenced the return of a hundred members to Parliament in 1734 and in shoring up the king's interest during his forty-odd years of service reduced his income from £40,000 to a mere £6,000.) Carteret was a court Whig, a king's friend, Newcastle a Whig, who kept an eye to the court and another on the country. Carteret is said to have declared, "Give any man the Crown on his side, and he can defy everything," while the duke, no less a king's servant, nursed Parliament and the noxious corners of England where majorities were hatched. Carteret the Olympian, in the supremacy of his self-confidence, conceived it his business "to make Kings and Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." Poor Newcastle was as prostrated by the fact of a hostile coalition as by the prospect of a damp bed. Carteret, if he did not foresee the

in fact, the history of a failure, though a magnificent failure, and it comes at an appropriate time when other and more successful efforts are being made to complete the great task to which he set himself—the union of the various Protestant communions to which he devoted his life, as it happened, in vain. He was, in fact, centuries ahead of his time, and that might well have been his epitaph, though neither he nor his contemporaries ever realized it. He was a “traveller in the work of peace” for some forty years, at the end of which time he had accomplished virtually nothing in his great task of bringing together the various Protestant communions into anything like the semblance of unity which the Roman Catholic church offered, and it is a tribute to his energy, his patience, and his incurable optimism that he seems to have died in the hope that somehow, somewhere, that great work might be accomplished. He forgot only one thing—it was the old dictum that “it is the business of a Dissenter to dissent”—and on that rock his plans came to shipwreck. He was not able to bring together even the English and Scottish churches, much less the various Protestant communions of the Continent. This was partly due to the statesmen and politicians of Europe but still more, apparently, to the theologians. Yet his life was far from being wasted. He did not, indeed, achieve anything very tangible in connection with the so-called “Protestant Interest” of the Protector. He did not achieve the union of the Protestants which he sought so long and earnestly; but he did lay the foundations for a better understanding among the various schools of belief which he strove so long and earnestly to unite, and he offered an example to those who have followed him in that great, if insuperable task.

To the account of this great enterprise Professor Batten has brought wide reading, entire comprehension, and talents of narration which make his book the definitive statement of one of the most impressive efforts ever made to bring together the divergent elements of which the Protestant church is composed. It is not merely a life of Dury, it is an account of the turbulent activities of Protestantism in the seventeenth century, and it adds not merely to our knowledge, but, what is more important, to our understanding of the manifold elements which went to make up that troubled period of a “contentious, dividing age,” which covered the greater part of one of the most contentious of modern periods. It is scarcely less important for its political than for its theological materials. It sheds new light on the centrifugal tendencies which dominated the Protestant world and no small light on the growing sentiment of territorialism, if not of nationalism, which began to make its appearance in that period. All in all it is a distinct contribution to the history of a peculiarly vexed and complicated period, and Professor Batten is to be congratulated on a work which has contributed so much to our understanding of what has always been, and probably always will be, a difficult era for later generations to understand. That Dury’s efforts proved vain is, in a sense, of little importance. His activities, especially in a period like our own, in which there are some small indications of achieving the goal which he set for himself, must always be a model and an inspiration to those who have, in one way

pulpiteers whose writings are easily accessible. The merit of Miss White's work is, first, that she places these familiar figures within the continuity of the tradition to which they belong, the socio-religious tradition of Langland and Wycliffe; and secondly, that she enlarges their circle to include many, who, though less well-known, are none the less proficient in their use of terse English and hard-hitting invective. The rather full use of source extracts will not please those who dislike copious quotation. Others, of whom I am one, will think it one of the book's chief virtues.

The overthrow of the old ecclesiastical order and the establishment of the new, chief concern of the reforming clerics, is not a cause to excite many today. But there is something both timely and familiar in the pattern through which Miss White traces the activities of its protagonists. First their tie-up with radicals of all hues, each group seeking through the struggle against ecclesiastical wealth and pompous bishops to capitalize on the general unrest of the age in order to effect changes that will serve its particular ends. Then their hard-won victory, followed by a quick desertion of erstwhile companions. Religious reformers and social and economic radicals made excellent allies early in the struggle; but later, advocates of equal distribution of wealth would prove embarrassing teammates to a group which needed the support of the propertied classes to consolidate its new gains. "There is no defender of the status quo more convinced than the rebel who has just successfully established his rebellion, and no one less sympathetic to other revolutionary prospects" (p. 134). This about face on the part of the clerics was not, Miss White thinks, sheer opportunism, but sincere belief in a course in which they saw no inconsistency.

The chapter on Utopia and the commonwealth tradition is an interesting one and not unrelated. But since the writings with which it deals do not come within the category of religious literature, it mars somewhat the cohesion of the book. The author's style is ponderous in spots and now and then an involved bit of sentence structure does poor justice to her clarity of thinking. But she is sound in analysis, judicious in the selection of material, and nowhere strains the evidence to gain her point.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

JOHN DURY: ADVOCATE OF CHRISTIAN REUNION. By *J. Minton Batten*, Professor of Church History, Scarritt College. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. v, 227. \$2.50.)

It may be said at the outset that Professor Batten has written a very good book. Various parts of the story have been told before, more recently by Bowman, Briggs, Klahr, Lindeboom, Newman Smyth, Hubler, and others; but never before have all the materials relating to Dury been gathered together in one place and put together in such clear and readable form. The life of John Dury (1596-1689) is,

leader, Gerrard Winstanley, have received more attention mainly because Winstanley's thinking runs very much to the organized economic society, to the New Deal, and even to the sovietized state. Mr. Sabine has recently got out an admirably edited reprint of part of his writings.

It is interesting that from two different publishers in the same publishing season should have come two documentary volumes representing a selection from Leveller publications. In either case the selection of fifteen or twenty Leveller or anti-Leveller pamphlets must be arbitrary, and it is not for a reviewer to quarrel with the selections and exclusions that must be so made. Mr. Haller's and Mr. Davies' volume allots a third of its pamphlet titles to that most fascinating and illusive man, William Walwyn. He walked and questioned among the London Puritans much as Socrates walked among the citizens of ancient Athens; and many of the Puritans would gladly have seen him share Socrates' fate. Mr. Wolfe is inclined to place a little more emphasis upon the violent and vehement Richard Overton and upon material emanating from the Army Levellers. The present reviewer regrets that neither compilation found room for the full text of Lilburne's *Legall Fundamentall Liberties*, but one cannot have everything.

An account of the Levellers which should begin where the reviewer's *Leveller Movement* left off, a book which was certainly a *meisterstück* rather than a masterpiece, is seriously needed, but no one should undertake it until free access to English materials is once more available. As a single example, my colleague Mr. R. P. Stearns informs me that there is a great mass of unpublished Clarke papers in the library of Worcester College containing much material which can throw new light on the contributions of the rank and file of the army to Leveller ideas.

Drs. Haller and Davies wisely offer only a short introduction of fifty pages, sufficient to orient the reader and to place the Levellers in their due setting of historical evolution. It makes the additional contribution of working out both the connection and divergence between the Leveller movement and the radical independent churches of London. It, as well as the introduction to Dr. Haller's *Tracts on Liberty*, is an essential corrective and addition to my *Leveller Movement*. It is to be regretted that Mr. Wolfe, who offers a historical introduction of one hundred pages, did not confine himself similarly and obtain more space for pamphlet material. Essentially his historical narrative runs parallel to his pamphlets, making little if any contribution to what is already available in print.

University of Illinois

THEODORE C. PEASE

SOCIAL CRITICISM IN POPULAR RELIGIOUS LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Helen C. White*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. ix, 330. \$3.50.)

THE vein of ore tapped here is not a new one. Students of the sixteenth century scene have long gathered nuggets from Latimer, Lever, Crowley, and other

Modern European History

THE LEVELLER TRACTS, 1647-1653. Edited by *William Haller*, Professor of English in Barnard College, Columbia University, and Fellow of the Huntington Library, 1940-1941, and *Godfrey Davies*, Member of the Research Staff of the Huntington Library. (New York: Columbia University Press in co-operation with Huntington Library. 1944. Pp. vi, 481. \$6.50.)

LEVELLER MANIFESTOES OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. Edited, with Introduction and Commentaries, by *Don M. Wolfe*, New York University. Foreword by Charles A. Beard. (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1944. Pp. xiv, 440. \$5.00.)

IN mid-seventeenth century England a little group of men staged an intellectual dress rehearsal for the American Revolution of the succeeding century. Traveling by different paths through the excited controversies of the 1630's and 1640's about religion, about the nature of the English constitution, and about the natural rights of man, they reached common ground in a party creed whose principles are practically identical with Jefferson's preamble; they devised party machinery anticipating in a startling degree that of Sam Adams' committees of correspondence; they reached further toward doctrines of a written constitution as the supreme law emanating from the will and assent of the people, binding and controlling government; more dimly they saw the ideas of the constituent assembly and judicial review. The men and their ideas were but a small minority, a voice crying in the wilderness of the seventeenth century. Cromwell tarred them with the name of Levellers, alleging that they sought to "level men's estates"; they accepted the name as earnest of the fact that they aimed at the leveling of all special privilege and exemption before the law. For a few crucial moments in 1647, 1648, and 1649 they held an important position on the political stage. Then they passed away forgotten. The English constitution evolved away from their ideas toward parliamentary supremacy; for English students of constitutional and political theory they became museum pieces of little interest. Their influence on the American Revolution, which wrote into American polity their constitutional premise, the supremacy of law, in part derived from the fact that John Locke cribbed from them in his two essays on government; in part from the fact that Puritanism, whether in seventeenth century England or eighteenth century America, when subjected to certain external pressures evidently produced identical intellectual reactions.

The story and doctrines of these men as described by themselves, by their friends, and by their enemies lie in some hundreds of the twenty thousand or more pamphlets produced by the great Civil War. Selections from one group of pamphlets tangent to the Levellers was made by Mr. Haller in his *Tracts on Liberty*. The still more insignificant group of Diggers and their intellectual

The controlling doctrinaires of the rather narrowly conceived poetics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were Geoffrey of Vinsauf and John of Garlandia, both known to Chaucer. One is pleased to find in Professor Atkins' book an endorsement of Manly's great contention that, although Chaucer knew the poetics of Geoffrey and John and followed it with some fidelity in his early works, perhaps always to some extent, he gradually shook off the formal shackles and came to a point where rhetoricism was no longer in evidence, being concealed in an apparently unmannered depiction of life. As with most great poets, nature and art became one and indistinguishable in his work. Artistic culture must go all the way, and the curse of the learned world is the half-finished product. The author gives us also an excellent study of Roger Bacon, an advocate of better texts and better translation, whose general greatness of mind carried over from philosophy into the field of literary criticism. Most of the significant literary criticism of the Middle Ages was, like Bacon's, incidental. Two chapters at the end of the book are devoted to literary criticism in the vernacular—*The Owl and the Nightingale* (of which the author has published an excellent edition) and the works of Wycliffe, Chaucer, Caxton, Hawes, and Skelton, with some consideration of Lydgate.

The author does not allow himself to be misled by the appearance of exceptional figures. There were many such in the Middle Ages, for the free spirit of inquiry and creation appears again and again, for example, in Nigel Wireker, Walter Map, John of Salisbury, Robert Grosseteste, Langland, Chaucer. But these men did not have their way. The course of academic formalism droned on, with its confused thinking and its lack of discrimination and common sense. Reliance on wrongly understood authority was the regular thing, and the ancient prejudice against drama and poetry was never long silent. What one gets from this book is a very truthful picture of human behavior in its thoughts and actions about the art of poetry.

There is a ripeness of scholarship about this author, and it is a gratification and something of a relief to read the work of a man who does not proceed with his subject as if he were the first of modern scholars to undertake it. Professor Atkins knows the scholarship as well as the body of his subject. He knows the work of American as well as English scholars, is acquainted with the writings of C. S. Baldwin, John Berdan, D. L. Clark, Edmond Faral, C. H. Haskins, G. P. Krapp, J. M. Manly, C. G. Osgood, L. J. Paetow, H. R. Patch, W. F. Schirmer, R. Weiss, L. Winstanley, and other recent scholars. This knowledge does not make the author less original but far more original.

University of North Carolina

HARDIN CRAIG

stwyth. (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. lx, 211. \$3.00.)

THIS book derives many advantages, not only from the author's investigations, but from his previous studies. Professor Atkins is author of two volumes entitled *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*. The result is the presentation of a connected, unified story of literary criticism in the English Middle Ages. Unity in literary history is an ideal to be sought, since it is more important than detail or doctrine. The study before us offers, in the first place, a consideration of the legacy inherited (in abridged form) by the Middle Ages from ancient times. The author then shows how this body of critical dicta was modified by patristic influences, how certain new light came in the twelfth century through the reading and appreciation of the Latin classics at Chartres and other educational centers, how this literary renaissance was almost destroyed by the absorption of the educated mind in science and theology, how further classical inspiration came by way of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and how the ancient warfare of formalism and materialism against literature went on until the Renaissance in the sixteenth century, interrupted now and then by the sporadic appearance of genius. One sees how the inadequate medieval doctrines of poetry and drama lived on through the Renaissance and beyond it. Indeed, one must conclude that the literary renaissance in sixteenth century England succeeded largely because it failed to be as rhetorical and pseudo-classical as it thought it ought to be. Elizabethan rhetoric was, for the most part, a simple grammar-school affair and beneficial; boys read the Latin classics in school and imitated them, also beneficial; but there seems to have been little rigorous indoctrination in critical matters. The Elizabethans were somehow rescued from allegory, from ornamentation as a matter of duty, and from a too narrowly conceived decorum. They also happily followed a theory of tragedy which gave to conduct and conscience along with fate a share of responsibility for disaster. This new sort of ἀμαρτία, the author tells us, appeared first in the writings of John of Salisbury.

Bede, who was interested in grammar, appears as an authority in criticism largely because he was a lover of literature, particularly Biblical literature. He and Alcuin bridge the gap between antiquity and the Middle Ages, for from the British educational movement in which they participated there arose, mainly in France, the twelfth century renaissance made familiar to us by the studies of Mullinger and Haskins. In this twelfth century group appeared a really significant major figure, and we owe Professor Atkins a debt for calling attention to the literary and critical importance of the great and gifted scholar John of Salisbury. Professor Atkins devotes a chapter to him and shows again how full his works are of important and original ideas. John of Salisbury appreciated the greatness of pre-Christian literature and, like other truly great men throughout the Middle Ages (Roger Bacon, Wycliffe, Chaucer), directs his teaching toward simplicity of utterance and fresh observation and judgment of life.

Freeman found that Poros Temple E, a considerable building for its time, belongs *ca.* the reign of Claudius; destroyed in 77 A.D., it was rebuilt with marked changes, *ca.* 100 A.D., in marble, 'with sculptured pediments inspired by those of the Parthenon. Miss Freeman's discussion of the identity of this building is exemplary: the reader is bound to hope it may be proved to be that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Of Antonine date, finally, is the imposing Façade of the Colossal Figures, which Stillwell reconstructs in one of many handsome plates.

Using a more ornamented style, C. H. Morgan II takes us through the winding streets among the little buildings which in the flourishing period of Byzantine Corinth (ninth to eleventh centuries) crowded much of the old Roman forums. With a glance—one wishes it were more—at other buildings, such as a monastery across the street, we enter a pottery. Morgan explains the Byzantine factory by one of today. Methods are much the same, likewise some products: a few present-day wares have a history of a millennium. One factory in Byzantine Corinth was producing five quite different kinds of pottery at one time. Morgan's book is based on a selection from the Byzantine sherds found at Corinth "since 1896" (actually only thirty before 1929); in all, his catalogue has 1,788 pieces, and by reason of the wealth of material and the care with which it has been studied and presented, *Corinth*, Volume XI, is obviously a major contribution. Miss M. A. Frantz has shown that to the student of literature the volume offers new and early illustrations of the Greek epic of Digenis Akritas, whom she identified from an Athenian sherd, just as the present volume was in proof (*Hesperia*, X [1941], 9-13; *Byzantium*, XV [1940-41], 87-91; the basis for H. Grégoire, *ibid.*); are nos. 1121, 1520, and 1521 also related? To the economic historian the volume offers a picture less clear as to chronology and place of origin (the index lacks a reference to pages 107 and 151) than will eventually emerge; but it offers much, including proved relations with Persia and possible connections with Tang China. (For a summary see p. 347 [table], pp. 167-71, and Miss Frantz's authoritative review, *Art Bulletin*, XXVI [1944], 58-60.) For the history of religion note that there is only one representation of Christ (no. 1102, p. 127, and fig. 101; but no entry "Christ" in index). For military garb, the fustanella is established at a new early date (add p. 153 to the index *s.v.* "fustanella"). The last centaur appears on page 155. A single Mohammedan, on no. 369, is greeted with the inscription, "Long live the cuckolds" (p. 68).

The illustrations to this volume, as to the others here reviewed, are of the same superior quality as the texts.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

ENGLISH LITERARY CRITICISM: THE MEDIEVAL PHASE. By J. W. H. Atkins, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Emeritus Professor of English Language and Literature, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

shapes and decoration, which Weinberg's firsthand knowledge of many wares from many sites has enabled him to spread before us. Into this somewhat more close-knit world, at the end of the Geometric period, the knowledge of writing was about to come (or had come shortly before) and to spread more easily than had seemed possible hitherto.

But local traits were real and vigorous. Lightening their formerly rotund vases with more svelte shapes ringed with band on band of stripes (750-725), the potters of Corinth had already begun to make a definitely superior product when Oriental designs became known. It was precisely the moment. After centuries of preparation Corinth was ready, and she put the new designs to work. Under Bacchiad aristocrats and then brilliant tyrants, Corinth captured a near monopoly of the expanding far-flung market for luxury vases. These make up the rest of Weinberg's book; this part of the story is already told in Payne's *Necrocorinthia*—and there is matter for thought in H. R. W. Smith's recent meticulous essay, *The Hearst Hydria* (see review above)—but the scores of new vases are welcome as coming from Corinth itself, and as being freshly and nicely presented.

I note one error: in early Corinthian, padded dancers are not the only humans represented (p. 73), since vase no. 260 has ten warriors. Shield devices might be connected with previous studies; the ornithology seems a bit uncertain; and a few fragments of inscriptions are merely recorded (pp. 58, 71, 76). These defects are trivial. For the earlier periods, particularly, there is a crying need of more pottery published as this is.

Stillwell's volume brings along the publication of the buildings of Greek and Roman Corinth to a middling state of completion. What's done is excellently done; much remains. For the great age of Corinth it may be noted here that the excavations have produced the finest set of archaic moldings to be seen on any Greek site (L. T. Shoe, *per coll.*). Another great building period was the late third and the beginning of the second century B.C. (Stillwell, p. 128; Freeman, p. 233), a fact which should be connected with the finding that the few preserved decrees are of the same period (*Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.*, LIII [1942], 109-13). The earthquake of 77 A.D. was followed by extensive constructions (p. 129), and the last great building period was the end of the fourth century after Christ.

In the present volume, R. L. Scranton centers an archaic rock-cut shrine on the top of what became later the fountain of Glauke; the amount of conjecture is not masked, and at the very least we have a painstaking study of the area, the fountain itself being of the Greek period, but Temple C late Augustan or early Tiberian. Stillwell puts Temple A in the fourth century B.C.; it was small, and the Peribolos of Apollo did not receive grand embellishments until the first half of the first century after Christ. The only other Greek building treated herein is the Northwest Stoa: in a masterly disentangling of the evidence, and with drawings of a quality to match, Stillwell shows us a Greek stoa of about 200 B.C. Shops were added *ca.* 100 A.D., the Stoa having been restored under Augustus. Miss

weakened the city's Adriatic colonies, founded to protect trade and provide a safe thoroughfare to Italy, then the evidence of Italian tombs for the sudden end of Corinthian ceramic trade with Italy about 550 B.C. is additional corroborative proof, as is the rarity of Late Corinthian vases in Rhodian tombs. There they are supplanted by Samian Fikellura ware, "sourly Corinthiophobe" in style, evidence perhaps of the beginnings of the rise of Samos to power, as well as of her ill will toward Corinth.

Wheaton College

WILHELMINA VAN INGEN ELARTH

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS. Volume I, Part II, ARCHITECTURE. By *Richard Stillwell, Robert L. Scranton, and Sarah Elizabeth Freeman*, with contributions by *H. Ess Askew*. (Cambridge: Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens by Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 243, 20 plates [separate volume].) Volume VII, Part I, THE GEOMETRIC AND ORIENTALIZING POTTERY. By *Saul S. Weinberg*. (*Ibid.* 1943. Pp. xiv, 104, plates.) Volume XI, THE BYZANTINE POTTERY. By *Charles H. Morgan II.* (*Ibid.* 1942. Pp. xv, 373, plates.)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL evidence is especially welcome for the history of a city which like Corinth is so little known from the written word.

The site was apparently largely deserted during the last millennium of the Helladic age. The beginnings thereafter, as Weinberg has now first reconstructed them, consisted of a few families living precariously. Five pots from beneath the floor of a destroyed hut survive from the Submycenaean period (roughly 1050-1000 B.C.); thirteen vases from a child's grave alone represent the Protogeometric century (1000-900). The pottery is proved to have been made at Corinth; shapes and decorations were borrowed from Attica or the Argolid, but from the first there are indications of a sturdy independence in their use. It is good pottery; Asine bought four pieces, Argos a quantity. In the early Geometric period (900-800), among fifty-three vases three were imported from Argos, the Cyclades, and Attica; on the vases made at Corinth the decorative motives are few but distinctive; the aryballos is developed, a century earlier than had been thought; and vases were exported to Aigina, to Megara, and to Zygouries. Late Geometric (800-750) shows the same trend: one importation, from Argos (?); several exports, to Delphi most of all, to the Argolid, Attica, and the Cyclades.

For all this epoch down to 750 B.C. there has been a tendency to think of many small local centers of production (though we had not known Corinth began so early), each independent of the others with hardly any inter-city trade. Now we must revise this, to take into account not only the trade which the evidence just given attests but even more to allow for much interchange of potters' notions of

Ancient and Medieval History

CORINTHIAN VASES IN THE HEARST COLLECTION AT SAN SIMEON. By *D. A. Amyx*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume I, No. 9.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. 207-32. 50 cents.)

THE HEARST HYDRIA: AN ATTIC FOOTNOTE TO CORINTHIAN HISTORY. By *H. R. W. Smith*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume I, No. 10.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. 241-90. 75 cents.)

THESE two essays are models for the presentation of new material in their field. Good photographs and complete descriptions are supplemented by references to related vases and keen stylistic analyses. But the necessary minutiae of detail never become ends in themselves; instead they are always used to illumine some broader aspect of style, chronology, or history.

Thus Dr. Amyx, in his study of the best of the five smallish Corinthian vases presented here, a pyxis with handles in the form of female busts, brings together new material on what he calls, following a suggestion of Payne's, the "Delicate Style," which he analyzes and then uses as a measuring rod for the development of Corinthian vase painting as a whole. Similarly the discussion of a flat-bottomed aryballos of the Middle Corinthian period leads to a characterization of what is christened the "Heavy Style," and to suggestions as to how the manner of drawing certain decorative motives may be used as a guide in dating. An oinochoe and a pyxis are placed in their newly appraised larger context, and the fifth vase, a bottle, is discussed with respect to its unusual shape.

Professor Smith presents a searching study of a handsome Attic black-figured hydria which he dates between 560 and 550 B.C. by a set of proofs independent of those used by Payne for a closely related vase. In connection with the vexed question of the Corinthianizing phase of Attic black-figure, the Attic discipline of the Hearst hydria, harmonizing and restraining the haphazard gaiety of Corinth, gives added proof to the belief that there is no such thing as an "Attico-Corinthian" style.

All this is for the archaeologist, but the historian will find the second part of the study of greater interest. Here a variety of archaeological evidence is marshalled to support the low rather than the high dating for the Kypselid tyranny at Corinth, which makes the fall of the dynasty come in 449/8, instead of in 484/3 B.C. The former date corresponds neatly with the abrupt falling off of Corinthian vase painting about 550 B.C., and its replacement in foreign markets by other wares, a phenomenon hard to explain for the high dating, if one is to believe that Corinth's prosperity was linked to the rule of the tyrants. If their fall

heavy accusations of Russian socialists for taking part in pogroms in October, 1905, (p. 396) and of Bolshevik troops for instigating "more than a hundred pogroms," in 1919 and 1920 (p. 499). Neither of these assertions has been corroborated by documentary evidence.

One would have wished a more integrated picture of the economic structure of the Jewish community, particularly in the United States. In the discussion of the big trade unions founded by Jewish immigrant workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is omitted as well as other unions with substantial Jewish memberships.

The author has confused Secretary of State John W. Foster with Secretary of the Treasury Charles Foster. The statement on the immigration of Russian refugees of August 1, 1891, from which a passage is quoted on page 336, was made by the Secretary of the Treasury, who handled immigration affairs at that time. John W. Foster, it may be noted incidentally, became Secretary of State a year later.

The social agencies should have been treated more thoroughly. It is not correct that the Alliance Israelite Universelle (Paris), in the years between 1870 and 1880, facilitated the emigration of "no fewer than 41,507 Jews from Russia to the United States" (p. 62). The Alliance was actually instrumental in the establishment of an aid committee in Königsberg, in 1869, which assisted some seven hundred rigorously selected persons on their way to the United States. These activities were discontinued in 1872. N. Leven, the historiographer of the Alliance, refers to 41,507 Russian immigrants to America in the same decade as a total figure. The assistance of the Alliance extended only over the period from 1869 to 1871. Almost all the overseas emigration from Russia was unassisted. The United Hebrew Charities of New York was already established in 1874, not in the early eighties (see p. 333). It is to be regretted that the activities of such important agencies as the Hias of America, the National Refugee Service, and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds are not surveyed. The Industrial Removing Committee (pp. 428, 799) should read Industrial Removal Office.

In the otherwise extensive notes no mention is made of the chief source for the history of the famous Dreyfus case, Joseph Reinach's *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus* in seven volumes, of *Baron Maurice de Hirsch* by Oscar M. Straus (2d ed., New York, 1928), of *Two Decades of the Keren Hayesod* by A. Ulitzur, of *Jews and Arabs in Palestine* (Studies in a National and Colonial Problem [New York, 1936]), of *The Histadruth: A Labor Commonwealth in the Making* by A. Revusky (1937), or of *Jewish Emigration from Germany, 1933-1938*, by the reviewer (in *Jewish Social Studies*, 1940, No. 1). J. Starr's *Jewish Citizenship in Rumania* (*Jewish Social Studies*, 1941, No. 1) should have been used as one of the valuable contributions to the problem in English. *Proceedings* of the American Jewish Historical Society is a misnomer of *Publications*.

is, a generation before the date where Graetz left off, covers the period up to 1940. It may be noted that a very informative companion volume to Graetz's popular *History of the Jews—A History of the Jews in Modern Times*, by Max Raisin, (New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1919)—concludes with developments during World War I.

In terms of topography the scope of the book is considerable. Four main areas are discussed: (a) western and central Europe, (b) eastern Europe, (c) the British Empire and the Western Hemisphere, and (d) Asia and North Africa. It should be said from the outset that in the reviewer's mind the objectives of a survey of the last hundred years of Jewish history are too vast in range and complexity to be mastered by an individual author. Aware of the impossibility of giving a consecutive account of a period so rich in events, the author has confined himself to a presentation of some of its more important aspects: (1) the struggle for political emancipation in the era of liberalism; (2) the impact of anti-Semitism defined as the international of hatred; (3) the rise of Jewish nationalism and resettlement of Palestine; (4) the world unrest on the eve of World War I and the consequences of the war; and (5) Hitler's total war against the Jews.

Professor Elbogen, who died in New York in 1943, did not live to see his volume in print. One of the outstanding scholars in his proper field of Hebrew liturgy, Elbogen taught for many years at the *Collegio Rabbinico* in Florence and the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin. Apart from his contribution to *Germania Judaica* he published an outline of a *History of the Jews after the Fall of the Jewish State* (English edition, 1926) and a popular *History of the Jews in Germany* (1935).

Elbogen's approach to his subject and his political credo may best be characterized in his own wording:

Optimism, idealism, and liberalism built up a world and made space for the Jews (1848-1880). Pessimism, materialism, and nationalism undermined that world (1880-1914) and headed Europe along with its Jews to destruction (1914-1939). We are now standing at a turning point which is to determine whether the world is to be delivered wholly to the powers of destruction or to be built up anew upon a foundation of justice.

This oversimplified picture of a century's history may be seriously questioned. It may be asked, for example, whether or not nationalism is to be regarded merely as a destructive force. Without the growing national consciousness of the Jews the resettlement of Palestine could never have been accomplished.

Anti-Semitism is a complex trend to which many a searching analysis has been devoted. We deplore the author's lighthearted statements regarding anti-Semitic excesses. No evidence is given for the statement that "ten thousand Jews were killed and many more wounded" during the tumults of 1898 in the former Austrian province of Galicia (p. 178). In fact we do not know of any casualties in connection with the riots. The same criticism may be applied to the author's

shared a religious interest in theology and exegesis. The Arabic flourishing culture lent impetus to the Jewish cultural renaissance, which in turn precipitated and molded the future growth of medieval European thought. Solomon Gabirol's *Fons Vitae* was for centuries the virtual fountain of life to western European scholastic thought. Alexander Hales, Albert Magnus, Johannes Scotus, and Thomas Aquinas studied diligently Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* and wove its philosophic pattern into the texture of Christian theology. The essay on "The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain" is therefore of considerable interest to the student of Spanish history. It not only complements but helps to modify previous information in this field.

Professor Marx discusses in detail the zeal of the collectors of Hebraica in carrying on the torch of civilization, especially in medieval times, when the world was spiritually frozen. It is regrettable that his article "Jewish Libraries in America" (*Menorah Journal*, XXXI [Winter, 1943]) was not included here. It would have made a handsome companion piece to "Some Jewish Book Collections," "The History of David Oppenheimer's Library," and "The Literature of Hebrew Incunabula." Professor Marx notes that the New York Theological Seminary, of which he is the librarian, has the largest collection of incunabula, even exceeding that of the British Museum. About the rich collection of incunabula in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem little information is available.

Of considerable interest is the essay on "Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475-1520." It contains a wealth of information, is very carefully documented, and covers original sources from many cities and countries.

The book is more than a reprint of essays and addresses. Each essay or note has undergone revision and enlargement, and many new notes were added, based on the author's scholarly research. For example, the essay on the Hebrew type in non-Hebrew books occupies now fifty pages instead of the original twenty-eight. The six studies representing the bibliographical section, written in a lucid style, enhance the scholarly volume.

In fine, the essays are representative of the mighty handiwork of a brilliant and assiduous historian and bibliophile. It is a book of real distinction, rich, colorful, and stimulating.

New York University

ABRAHAM I. KATSH

A CENTURY OF JEWISH LIFE. By *Ismar Elbogen*. Translated from the German by Moses Hadas; with an Appreciation by Professor Alexander Marx. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1944. Pp. xliii, 814. \$3.00.)

STUDENTS of Jewish history have long waited for a supplement volume to Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews* carried to 1870 (English edition, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1893). Elbogen's work, starting with 1848, that

which he assumes periodically, of romancing a bit, particularly in areas where the detailed historical records are somewhat inadequate. Generally speaking, the major theses are documented, and a useful bibliography is appended.

One comes away from the reading of Jacob's book with an added appreciation of the role which bread has played in human history and in the development of civilization. The book will not serve as a technological manual for those who are concerned with cereal production and processing, but it does include a reasonably adequate general survey of the progressive development of the art and science of cereal culture, milling, and baking. Some reference is made, also, to certain economic aspects of the cereal industries, and to the general position of bread in mass nutrition. The author closes his final chapter with appropriate emphasis upon the role which bread plays in relief programs following a great war.

University of Minnesota

C. H. BAILEY

STUDIES IN JEWISH HISTORY AND BOOKLORE. By *Alexander Marx*,
Professor of History and Librarian, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
(New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America. 1944. Pp. xiii, 458.
\$3.00.)

THIS tome comprises a most unusual and excellent collection of essays on rare and unique books hitherto unpublished or not easily available. The volume presents a cross section of scholarship and thought contributing immensely to the understanding of Jewish history and learning.

The studies included in this volume are a product of some thirty years of research. All except one of them were published previously in various scientific periodicals and are brought together here and presented as a token of appreciation to Professor Marx's outstanding scholarly attainment in bibliography and history. Dr. A. S. Rosenbach contributes the foreword, in which he hails this volume as "one of the best books about books that has ever been written."

The first twelve of the twenty-six essays "deal with problems of Jewish history and literature and are arranged chronologically according to the persons, books, or events with which they are concerned. The next six papers are chiefly bibliographical, while the last eight contain short biographical sketches" of personalities and scholars, some of whom the author knew intimately.

As is to be expected, the Golden Age of Spain is well represented in the several essays on Gabirol, Maimonides, and others. The Orient, under the green flag of Muhammad, planted in Spain the most verdant tree in the garden of the Occident. The Arabs conquered the land and with their song and poetry, thought and scholarship, also conquered the people of the land. In this mighty conquest the Jews shared considerably. They enjoyed extensive self-government and played a conspicuous role in the economic, political, and cultural life of the peninsula. Since Arabic monotheism was derived from the Jewish faith, the two peoples

photography and similar space-saving devices. He goes for a further compression in what is known as the micro-card, which when perfected will give on one side of the present library card the usual bibliographical data and on the back of the card the contents of a 250 page book. An adaptation of the present enlarging reading machines would serve as eyes for the estimated 200,000 research readers. The solution is to be applied primarily to the material they use, much of which is generally produced in small editions or limited printings of learned journals. Whether this will make publishers and authors happy and meet the needs of users at present too unfamiliar with what is possible with a magnifying machine remains to be seen. In any case the debate about the micro-card or some solution must start. As the chairman of the library committee who started two universities over the million mark and abetted my opposite numbers in other universities I commend Mr. Rider's volume as a galvanizer of a discussion in which historians must enter the lists.

Washington, D. C.

G. S. F.

SIX THOUSAND YEARS OF BREAD: ITS HOLY AND UNHOLY HISTORY. By *H. E. Jacob*. Translated by *Richard and Clara Winston*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1944. Pp. xiv, 399. \$4.50.)

H. E. Jacob is a journalist and novelist rather than a technologist, and his treatment of the history of bread savors of journalism. He employs the term "bread" in at least two ways in developing his extensive and complex theme. At times he uses the word in a generic sense as the synonym of food; again he narrows its meaning to the technological equivalent of a food baked from a cereal meal. The six thousand years may be presumed to cover the period of historical records through which he has traced the development of cereal culture. In fact, the book becomes more or less of a history of agriculture, with more emphasis upon its social, religious, and broad economic attributes than upon its science and techniques. Gods and demons, heroes and tyrants, virile races and waning civilizations are depicted in the scenes of the pageant through which Jacob weaves this story.

Primitive man, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, medieval Europeans, French Revolutionists, residents of the New World, and moderns all appear in the successive scenes of this pageant. Their contributions to cereal culture and bread technology, their superstitions, the function of bread in their religious rites, and its position in their economy are extensively depicted. Empires fell, revolutions derived incentive, armies marched and were defeated in consequence of inadequate supplies of bread.

Since these episodes are presented as a pageant rather than as an erudite historical document, and since the author must have approached his task under the influence of his lifelong training as a journalist, he must be granted the privilege,

At his eightieth birthday celebration I asked Professor Thomson what had inspired him at the Centennial in 1876. He replied, "A dynamo operating one arc lamp." Soon after the Centennial, notably in the 1880's, had come the period of pioneering in the evolution of generators and lamps and motors and "systems" which initiated the twentieth century era of electric power. In all this transitional period Elihu Thomson was a guiding spirit—"A Guiding Spirit of the Electrical Age" and of "The New Epoch," the power epoch, in human progress.

Yale University

CHARLES F. SCOTT

THE SCHOLAR AND THE FUTURE OF THE RESEARCH LIBRARY: A PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION. By *Fremont Rider*, Librarian, The Wesleyan University Library. (New York: Hadham Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 236. \$4.00.)

THIS book has points of interest for the historian. No group more steadily uses libraries and none talks more about them. No other discipline, unless it be literature, presses for more and more books, more and more shelf space, and bigger and better buildings to house the increasing accumulations. To Mr. Rider (or any librarian) this presents a problem. He demonstrates that research and institutional libraries double every sixteen years. This rate holds for strong independent colleges, for the universities, state supported and private, rising since the seventies, and for the older universities like Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and others. Many in the second and in the last group now count their volumes in millions; Harvard has about four million and Yale is approaching three million. Another doubling will present an unmanageable demand for space and staff that would swallow up the budget of many departments supposed to use and control this book behemoth. The increase in publications of all kinds and the breeding of new fields of specialization, new colleges, new geographical areas for study and research all are feeders to reservoirs near the bursting point.

What to do about it? There is the weeding out process but which or what are weeds! Who is the head gardener that decides? When it is done it shows about as much result as the biennial attack on the household attic. Libraries should specialize, not duplicate, not all try to cover every field. Now this too is a hardy perennial to talk about but less comes of it than from discussions of the weather. Archives—national, state, local, and business—do not come into Mr. Rider's discussion but they furnish a parallel appalling problem. Even the assignment of the Pentagon as annex No. 1 to the National Archives would hardly suffice for Federal material present and future if a world war is the business of each generation.

Mr. Rider has a solution and presses it vigorously. He first pays tribute to men who like the late Professor Binckley have done so much to develop micro-

in later life. Before he was twenty he was an alert teacher of chemistry in high school; a few years later he was associated with the Franklin Institute and, in 1878, conducted what are reputed to be the first efficiency tests on dynamo machines, the purpose being to select one for the Institute. Then, having designed an arc light dynamo and lamp, Thomson, together with a high school colleague, began to manufacture "Thomson-Houston" apparatus first at New Britain, Connecticut, and then at Lynn. The company became a leading manufacturer of apparatus for arc and incandescent lighting by both direct and alternating current and for electric railways based on the Thomson inventions. In 1892 the "T-H" company joined with the Edison interests to form the General Electric Company, of which Thomson became consultant. In the early years of his career Professor Thomson invented and developed electric welding. He had a final record of nearly seven hundred patents. He received high honors, scientific and engineering, here and abroad. He died in 1937 soon after his eighty-third birthday.

The book is replete with revealing and fascinating incidents in Thomson's career and in the interlinking activities of his contemporaries—Brush and Edison and Westinghouse and a score of others—who together laid the foundations of modern electric power service. It is stimulating, easy to read, and suited to grown-ups, whether technically minded or not, as well as to high school boys. Some may feel, however, that an artistic author has embellished the life of a simple man with overmuch eulogy.

Concerning the scientific value of the volume—and "Scientist" is the key word of the title—Dr. F. B. Jewett makes this comment, "Perhaps the most obvious blemish which the book suffers is a lack of technical accuracy. It is evident that Mr. Woodbury is not a technically trained man and has had to rely uncritically on aid from other sources." Dr. Jewett says further that he feels the book is an inadequate presentation of the life work of Professor Thomson, for whom he had "unbounded love and admiration." Like condemnation is merited by other recent books which dramatize worthy engineers. The managing editor comments, "All of this simply illustrates how much historians have neglected the history of science and how few scientists have concerned themselves with the history of their own discipline."

Historically, what place do Thomson and his work merit? The final appraisal of lives and of scientific achievement must be of their contribution to history, to the long-range trend of human progress. A basic factor in shaping modern civilization is power. The steam engine, the engine of Watt, supplying power to mills and factories, to trains and ships (replacing muscle power and wind power) made possible nineteenth century development—industrial and economic, national and international. Mechanical power is limited in range and function, but by driving dynamos it is transformed into electric power and its usefulness is amplified through transmission and reincarnation in motors, large and small, and by production of light and heat and utilization in chemical industry.

saintly men. Listening intently, I was suddenly startled by hearing him ask if it was also my observation that young women were wearing less lipstick than they did ten years ago. The interruption had been caused by the passing of two co-eds whom I had failed to notice—but not he. We returned to the discussion of the twelfth century heroes. His explanation was essentially that which appears in his *Five Centuries of Religion*, but, after reading the present work, I wonder whether in studying so intently that old copy of Bernard's *Letters* he had not discovered a kindred spirit and whether in his persistent attacks upon Cardinal Gasquet, he was not only the Anglican curate at war with Catholic propaganda but also the spiritual legatee of St. Bernard at war with another prominent Benedictine of a later time. His lecture that afternoon at Minnesota was delivered in a sprightly manner, and when after tea I took him back to his room, I learned that he had been spending his "rest" reading proof on the last volume of his *Five Centuries of Religion*. It was this galley proof that had so bulged his rucksack. Since that visit, I have had occasion to know that he has published several articles and quarreled pleasantly with the editors of historical reviews in America about the publication of still others. This personal experience makes it much less difficult to understand how he has been able to produce so many books and articles and why he may be counted upon to produce still more.

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

BELOVED SCIENTIST: ELIHU THOMSON, A GUIDING SPIRIT OF THE ELECTRICAL AGE. By *David O. Woodbury*. With a Foreword by Owen D. Young. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 358. \$3.50.)

THIS review aims to deal with the above volume from three points of view: biographical, scientific, and historical.

Beloved Scientist is the story of a self-made scientist who evolved from a questioning, experimenting boy into a high school teacher and later "A Guiding Spirit of the Electrical Age" during momentous decades. Problems in any field of science presented an alluring challenge to Elihu Thomson, for his broad interest embraced astronomy and geology and biology as well as chemistry and physics. He was, moreover, graciously endowed with a spirit and manner which won him the title "Beloved."

Born in Manchester, England, in 1853 and transplanted to the industrial environs of Philadelphia five years later, he was fortunate in having a father who was a mill mechanic and a mother who was a real educator. *The Magician's Own Book*, an ideal handbook on physics and chemistry for the home laboratory of a boy of twelve, showed him how to make a wine-bottle electric machine produce sparks that "shocked" his father. His skill of hand enabled him to put his ideas into practical form in his youthful days and to co-ordinate laboratory and factory

artistic, literary, religious, and social betterment—he pursued all of them at one time or another so that he was nearly fifty years old before he became fully conscious of his true scholarly aim. At an age when most persons begin to think of retirement, he adventured upon a university career. Success in delivering special lectures at Trinity College in 1911 prompted him to give up his regular employment in private schools for a speculative career in Cambridge. For some time the family budget was balanced by fees from varied sources, including private tutoring. It was not until 1919, that, at the age of sixty-one, he obtained a substantial appointment in the university and several years more passed before he gained the position with a comfortable income at St. John's College. Most of his historical publication has been done since that time, virtually all of it after he had reached the age of fifty.

The development of his interest in medieval history was in part the result of chance adventures in accumulating his personal library. Having to practice the utmost economy in his purchases of books, he was more or less dependent upon the secondhand market. An old volume of St. Bernard's *Letters* was one of his first acquisitions, Salimbene's *Chronicle* another, both of which he fairly devoured with lasting effect upon himself. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe* was one of the few contemporary works which he acquired and absorbed in similar fashion. To the interest thus formed the appearance of Migne's *Patrologia* was an incomparable blessing, for it provided him with an almost complete attainable library in the medieval field. Little wonder that his tribute to the abbé is "heartfelt." Few scholars have read the *Patrologia* as thoroughly as Coulton or made so much use of it. It was from such sources that he built up the vast store of his learning about medieval ecclesiastical and social history which his published works reveal. His continued citation of them in preference to the more modern editions available in the libraries of Cambridge may perhaps be regarded as his loyal tribute to the help which they afforded him.

The book is the story of an extraordinary academic career, and though the title *Four Score Years* might suggest a retired retrospect, that is far from being the truth. For several years now he has been teaching at Toronto University and, in his spare moments, delivering lectures at universities scattered over the continent. He was eighty-three years old when he came to the University of Minnesota. It was not difficult to identify the tall, spare figure whose total luggage consisted of a walking stick and a rucksack strapped to his back. That rucksack was so choked with contents that only one side of it could be closed. Out of deference to his years we kept the demands on him to a minimum in order that he might rest as much as possible. We plagued him with only one formal luncheon. On our way there I couldn't resist asking him why he so much preferred Bernard of Clairvaux to Peter the Venerable of Cluny. Flattering me by saying that was the same question which Canon Rashdall had asked him and that he would give me the same answer, he launched forth into a discussion of the relative merits of those two

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

FOURSCORE YEARS: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *G. G. Coulton*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. viii, 378. \$4.50.)

HAILED by the lay world as a notable contribution to a century of British social history, this work will interest the professional historian for the light it throws upon the making of one of the most stimulating and puzzling medievalists of modern times. It is almost forty years since this reviewer first read a work by this author. Since that time there has been an increasing flow of publications from his pen. Nearly all of his larger works have been characterized by the anthological style of the first. Innumerable paragraphs without immediate connection, the rapid juxtaposition of items centuries apart in time and hundreds of miles in space, an almost shameless disregard for "scholarly editions" in the citation of his authorities, an emphasis upon the shadows rather than the glamour and romance of the medieval scene, and a penchant for controversial writing have troubled his scholarly reviewers all these years. Nevertheless, despite these deviations from the standard of accepted historical scholarship which most of his critics condemned as faults, his writings have contained so much substance, so much genuine evidence for his contentions as to compel respect from even his most meticulous reviewers. Nearly all of these traits are revealed in the present work and are, in the later chapters of the book, not only acknowledged but defended. With head bloody but unbowed, he not only justifies his anthological style as a personal preference for the "mosaic" art form whose full effect is gained by cumulative impression, but takes the whole historical profession to task for its failure to use the controversial method as a means of reaching the larger lay audience. His defense of his citation of antiquated texts takes the somewhat indirect form of a tribute to Abbé J. P. Migne. Despite the vigor of his arguments, it is doubtful whether any young scholars will or should be convinced.

It is rather in the earlier major portion of the book, the story of his life, that the most convincing explanation of these traits will be found. These reminiscences reveal how relatively recent is the profession of trained historians in Britain. Cambridge offered no such opportunity for historical training when he was a student there nor for many years thereafter. He left the university to teach in private schools, the subjects of his teaching usually the modern languages. Such schools had but meager libraries, and the income of the position was not such as to permit the acquisition of a large personal library. Nor did his duties afford him much time for reading. But the urge to do scholarly work was there, and despite all the handicaps of his circumstances he made the utmost use of his little opportunities to satisfy it. Endowed by nature with a wide range of interests—antiquarian,

to do thus. I never knew one. It is saying little to say that I shall always regard him with grateful affection.

Dear Lady Bryce, we were all thankful to you, during the years you spent in Washington, for the admirable way in which you supplemented Mr. Bryce's great work among us; but you have now made us all still further grateful by the permanent record of his life and character, and especially of his relations to America and Americans, which you and Mr. Fisher have prepared.

With the most cordial appreciation, and every good wish, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

I have received beautiful tributes from all quarters & countries to the affection & admiration he inspired, & to the wide-spread influence of his character & personality, which give me comfort, & I have wonderful memories of my own which will remain.

Thank you for your own tribute in the Historical Review which I liked very much; & also for sending me that fuller report of the addresses at the Washington Conference which were better than those I had already received. It was indeed a striking tribute to my husband's memory, & it touched me deeply.

With my grateful thanks to Mrs. Jameson & yourself for kind sympathy, believe me

Very sincerely yours
E. MARION BRYCE.

March 31, 1927.

MY DEAR LADY BRYCE:

Last evening I sat up for half the night reading the Life of Lord Bryce. I do not know Mr. Fisher well enough to write to him about it, but your own part in the making of the book has plainly been so great that I may, I hope, properly write to you to express the immense pleasure I have had in reading it.⁴⁹ In writing thus I do not mean solely to express my admiration of the book, though I do in fact very greatly admire the skill and breadth and insight and justice with which Mr. Fisher has written; but the larger part of my pleasure came from the lively and moving memory it brought me of that wonderful mind, that exalted character, and that kindly presence. To mention only one of the little touches that brought him vividly again before me, I was struck by Mr. Fisher's little story of the walk near here in 1909, when the shabby stranger accosted the ambassador with a request to tell him about a coin he had happened upon. The relation it implied was characteristic, for this was only one of innumerable evidences of the simple friendliness with which he impressed everyone in America. I, for instance, am proud to remember that this good and great man allowed me to regard him as my constant friend, and gave me many evidences of thoughtful kindness, but I have known of so many to whom the same lavish bestowal of his wonderful gifts was made, that it was always a constant marvel to me, how in twenty-four hours there could be time and thought for the interests of so many.

I do not think that I have ever told you of the last exhibition he gave me of his thoughtful kindness, but it was very characteristic. Arriving in London on the first Monday in July, 1921, for a summer's campaign among papers of 130 years ago, I had, as you may remember, the privilege of seeing him several times before he sailed for Williamstown on the Saturday. On Thursday, after luncheon, he promised or offered me several useful introductions. On Friday I saw him for the last time, as he was about to make an address at the opening of the Institute of Historical Research. Before he went up on the platform, he handed me a bunch of letters of introductions which he had somehow found time to write. Looking them over afterward, I missed one, of which we had spoken, and which I rather wished to have. I said to myself he had forgotten it and that it was no wonder. Three days afterward it came to me by post, for he had written on the steamer going out from Liverpool and sent it back by the pilot. I wonder if there was ever another man, of such position and occupations, who could have been relied upon

⁴⁹ H. A. L. Fisher, *James Bryce (Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O. M.)* (New York, 1927).

apprehension of foreign policy which our theory assumes that they are to direct.⁴⁶ Well, I shall at any rate try to do my bit by making publicly known, through this proposed publication of the *Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington*, the actual history of Anglo-American relations, so far as that end can be promoted by revealing in full the deep and dark designs of Downing Street against the liberties and prosperity of America.

Your book has come here to the office of the Review, and I am reading as much of it as possible before it goes out to the reviewer.⁴⁷ I read it with great admiration and interest. The *Times* thinks it wonderful that a man of 82 or 83 should write at all, but I am not surprised, having read yesterday, in the *National Geographic Magazine* the remark of a traveler in the Altai Mountains, aged 75, that walking twenty-five miles a day is not difficult if you are not carrying a knapsack. I walked twenty-three one day last May without difficulty, but I am a youth of 61. I also remember reading, when I was a young man, articles by your predecessor here, Stratford de Redcliffe, written when he was 93. I hope that you may continue with equal vigor and to equal age.

The article will be out on July 1, I hope and believe, by which date I shall be at or near Liverpool; the proof will be sent to you, but without expectation that you will return it.

With many thanks and with cordial regard,

Very sincerely yours,

May 22, 1922

HINDLEAP, FOREST ROW, SUSSEX.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

I am sorry to have been so long in acknowledging your 3 kind letters & the enclosures.⁴⁸ Indeed I was not unmindful but I could not write sooner. I have been a good deal stunned by the shock, & am still faced with many unanswered letters. I think you know with what suddenness the blow fell—no illness & no warning. After a day spent as usual in work, & a walk with me in the afternoon, Lord Bryce went to bed that last night apparently perfectly well, & I awoke the next morning to find that he was gone. It was just a quiet passing away in his sleep during the night from failure of the heart. That he was spared all suffering, & that his powers remained undimmed, I am deeply thankful. He was himself to the last, eager, interested & vital—indeed I never saw him more like himself than on that last day of his life, working & planning future work. And the end came very peacefully after a long life of service.

Of my own personal loss, after 33 years of close companionship, I cannot speak; but I can even now feel proud to have shared such a life as his, & to have been able to help him.

⁴⁶ From Bryce's letter of Apr. 15: "The U. S. seems to have made a bold leap from King Stork to King Log. Would it were possible to create an effective public opinion either in the U. S. or here on questions of foreign policy! The necessary foundation of Knowledge is wanting, and one hardly sees how to create it."

"We are disgusted at the solemn pretence of recovering indemnities from Germany by measures which every body knows to be unworkable, predoomed to failure. Things don't seem to improve in Russia, & grow worse in Western Asia."

⁴⁷ *Modern Democracies* (New York, 1921), reviewed by Frederic A. Ogg, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (Oct., 1921), 91-94.

⁴⁸ Viscount Bryce died suddenly on January 22, 1922. Jameson had sent his widow numerous clippings, etc., including the commemorative notice printed in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII (Apr., 1922), 628.

them, from their previous records, at the time of their appointment.⁴⁵ Hoover and Hughes are the strength of the Cabinet, and contribute more than any others to the general impression, to the effect that it is exceptionally good. Fall is not a good man for Secretary of the Interior; Hoover would have been much better. Daugherty is not a fit man to be Attorney General, I judge. The President has not shown, nor was he expected to show, signs of strong leadership, but he is very greatly liked personally, and his minor actions have been of a sort to give pleasure and indicate a kindly and conscientious man. His inaugural address you have no doubt seen. The thing that interested me most about it, I must confess, was the remarkable sound-transmitting device, installed under his platform, whereby every word he said was distinctly audible to forty thousand people, including for instance those who stood on the steps of the Library of Congress, which I suppose to be one thousand feet away.

In matters concerning our relations to Europe, the drift is certainly away from the irreconcilable foes of the League of Nations and toward some sort of combination for peace. The great struggle in Congress, constantly going on now, and likely to fill all the earlier portion of the extra session, is the struggle over the tariff and the plans of taxation. You know what the tendencies would be, as chairman of committees, of Penrose and of Fordney. To Fordney a high tariff is a fetish and I suppose that if ever there was a Bourbon, he is that man. But the Republican majority is so great that old leaders cannot expect to control it with security, and many Representatives desire to take that fresh view of the financial situation in the United States which the results of the war require them to take. In the House, at least, the party seems to be a good deal sobered by coming into power, and faces with great seriousness the problems of reconstruction that lie before it. By the way, though I am no great admirer of cartoons, I think I will enclose in this one exhibiting the Republican elephant in an aspect suggested by the state of things to which I have just alluded. I cut it from the *Saturday Evening Post*, an estimable weekly, which, as I dare say you know, is the most widely read of all our periodicals.

Now I must stop and go to luncheon at the Round Table, where Dr. Putnam has Vice President Coolidge today. I wish it were possible for you to be at that pleasant assemblage, as some time you used to be. I saw Mr. Jusserand a day or two ago, looking as well and vigorous as ever.

Believe me, with the most cordial regard, and with many thanks for your kind suggestion about the Academy,

Very truly yours,

May 2, 1921.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I have this morning received the typewritten text of your Disraeli article, and am much obliged to you for its prompt return.

Yes, it is painfully evident, that, on this side of the water, at any rate, a long course of education is necessary before the mass of citizens will have any sort of

⁴⁵ In his letter of March 4, Bryce commented: "Since we cannot have Root we are very glad to have Hughes in the State Department, for he will be independent and philanthropic, and I hope he will be able to bring the U. S. *quacunqve via* into some combination for peace. What I fear is the influence of the Senatorial clique upon a President who is confessedly not strong. I am glad Hoover is coming into the Cabinet, but hear the Attorney-General is not the sort of man who ought to be in the Cabinet. Any views you can give me as to how Harding and the Cabinet will behave will be very helpful."

collections, please let me know. I should be particularly glad to know whether Canning's papers are, as I suppose, in the hands of Lord Cork. My business at Ottawa was, as a preliminary or specimen endeavor, to go through the papers of Charles Bagot, minister in 1816-1819, which they have there, and also the letters which the British ministers in Philadelphia and Washington wrote to the governor general of Canada. This I carried down to 1830, with considerable enjoyment to myself.

It is pleasant to know that you have the Disraeli contribution in hand. If the review expands itself into an article, I shall be all the more pleased. If it reaches me in the early days of February, and if you can be content not to see proof (I am very careful about proof-reading), I can use it in our April number, as I shall be very glad to do.

Believe me to be, with the most cordial regard and the best wishes,
Very sincerely yours,

March 30, 1921.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I thank you for your letter of March 4 and send herewith two typewritten transcripts of your very-much-valued contribution on Disraeli. If you will please correct one of them as proof and send it back to me, I shall be much obliged. Let me say again that I am greatly pleased with myself for having elicited the article, and feel sure that it will be of very great interest to our readers.

I have had no chance to read more than a little of Wells's book.⁴⁴ In that little, I found some things wrongly stated, and, what always troubles me more than mistakes, some judgments that I thought quite unjust respecting certain public characters. Yet I thought that there was a vividness and force and originality and insight that would overbalance a great many faults. Competent friends who have read the whole of the work vary in their judgments, but most of them I think feel that the book is in general good and inspiring, in spite of faults, and at any rate certain to cause multitudes of people to take an interest in history who never found it interesting before.

To read a paper before the British Academy would be an honor which I should very highly appreciate. But am I not right in thinking that between the first of July and the end of September, which is the period that I shall spend in England, the Academy has only one meeting, early in July, and that that meeting is devoted to the annual address of the president, and that it would be contrary to custom to introduce any other paper on that occasion—especially one by a writer who is simply a corresponding fellow? Under this impression, I am looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to being one of the audience on that occasion.

Thus far, I do not think that enough has been done or made public since March 4 to enable us here to judge of the Cabinet otherwise than as we judged of

⁴⁴ Concerning the *Outline*, Bryce had written: "I looked into one bit of it and found that bit full of mistakes, but some people say that despite its mistakes, the book is of some merit. Still, one does not like to see history treated in a slap-dash fashion by a man who cannot have any real knowledge either of ancient or mediaeval history, and may be just as likely to mislead as to enlighten, writing merely from a twentieth century standpoint. A wide and wise view of universal history is greatly needed, but is there anybody fit to write it? . . . The task seems beyond human powers, though, perhaps, another Ranke could accomplish it if he began at 40 instead of 70." Ranke was really eighty-four when he set himself seriously to writing his *Weltgeschichte*. Wells's *Outline of History* is the subject of the lead article in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (July, 1921), 641-56.

obloquy than that which is customary in the last weeks of any retiring administration. The President's health continues to improve very slowly, but he is still far from well. One of our number who is especially intimate with him, and who on one of the days of the convention sat by his bedside talking with him for some hours (for apparently he still spends a good deal of time in bed), reported him as cheerful, interested in what the Historical Association was doing, alive to all that is going on, but, as he reviews his administration, apparently chiefly dwelling in mind upon the history of what he did and tried to do at Versailles. He has bought a house on S Street near Twenty-third, just north of Sheridan Circle and near where I live, and apparently means to write memoirs of some sort respecting his administration.

The new man has continued to show a perfectly commonplace intelligence. It seems plain that his conferences and preparations for the presidency have increased his sense of anxiety, but they have not visibly deepened his thinking. How much backbone he has is not yet clear. He has done nothing to show that he will be subject to the dominating influence of any one person, but his whole career as senator makes it pretty certain that he will "go along with the crowd", be governed by the joint opinions of the leading senators and Republican politicians. He has shown himself to be a sufficiently experienced and skilful politician to avoid commitments, and nobody seems to be certain of anything respecting the cabinet, save that Hughes will apparently be Secretary of State. I do not think however that Harding will be as much influenced by his cabinet as he will be by his former colleagues in the Senate, especially the more conservative and regular Republicans. He is not appointing Hughes Secretary of State because Hughes has a much more considerable knowledge of foreign affairs than he himself possesses, but because it is a middle course and a generally acceptable selection, whereas to select either Root on the one hand or D. J. Hill on the other would displease a wing of the party.

As to what Congress is doing, or will do, I have little knowledge. They will hardly do anything this session except to pass the appropriation bills, in one of which, by the way, we rather hope that the Senate will shove in a provision for the National Archive Building, though it does not carry that in the House, which is now considering the measure.⁴² With Penrose chairman of the Finance Committee in the Senate and Fordney chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, it will not be thought that the progressives are likely to have much influence in financial matters—nor do I think they have elsewhere. Roosevelt dealt them a fatal blow in 1916. As to the Supreme Court, it is likely that Harding will have the naming of four justices at least, quite remaking the court, and probably he will do this better than Cox would have done.⁴³

At the Carnegie Institution, we have had in December a change of presidents, Dr. Woodward retiring after fifteen years of most excellent administration. His successor, who thus far pleases us all, is John C. Merriam, professor of paleontology in the University of California, elder brother of Charles E. Merriam, professor of political science in the University of Chicago, whom you have perhaps had more occasion to know. I am hoping and supposing that within the next few days things will take such a shape as to decide finally that I shall spend July, August and September in England, conducting my "campaign" for correspondence in private hands of the earlier British ministers in Washington. If you hear of any such

⁴² Dr. Jameson's untiring efforts in behalf of the National Archives continued until 1926, when the Public Buildings Act, approved May 25, authorized the erection of a building.

⁴³ Taft, Sutherland, Butler, Sanford, and Stone were appointed during the Harding administration.

That meeting was successful in several ways beyond what we expected. The poverty of professors in these days, and the railway-rates, from which we have not been able in these last few years to secure any rebate, such as we used to get, made us expect a diminished attendance; but they all like to come to Washington, where there is much for them to see, novel often to the younger members. The weather was beautiful. We thought and spoke often of the meeting of 1908, when you were president of the American Political Science Association (which met with us this time again) and when you and Mrs. Bryce entertained us so hospitably at the Embassy. Monsieur and Madame Jusserand were so kind as to invite both associations to tea at the Embassy on the final afternoon, a very pleasant occasion indeed. On the day preceding, at our annual business meeting, we had elected him our president for the ensuing year (he was vice-president last year). He came to our Council meeting, and with his customary energy entered into our business forthwith, making some very useful suggestions. We have asked him to serve on a committee of three, which the secretary, Professor Bassett, desired us to appoint, to consider whether there is anything that such an association can do to bring about improvement in the standard of historical writing in the United States. It has never been difficult to find tasks in the line of profitable research, or of providing the means for research, which such an organized body can further, but we are not so sure that there are any means by which better writing can be brought about, sadly as it needs to be done. The committee, consisting of Mr. Jusserand, Mr. Charles W. Colby, who used to be a professor at McGill University, but is now in business in New York, and Professor W. C. Abbott, now of Harvard, will see if anything can be done; at any rate we shall have a report from them, and that will do good, as did Roosevelt's presidential address on "History as Literature".³⁹

Next December we meet at St. Louis, so that Mr. Jusserand will give his presidential address on soil that once was French;⁴⁰ the year after, we expect to meet in New Haven. I will enclose a programme of this recent meeting. One of the chief successes was certainly the dinner of the Wednesday evening—I need not hesitate to say so, as I had nothing to do with planning it and, though they asked me to preside as toastmaster, my only function in that capacity was, as my irreverent daughter put it, to crank the Ford each time (she is a senior in Smith College now, and I thought old enough to be taken to such an affair). The speaking was really very good. Mr. Jusserand's speech was admirable, and so was that of the Secretary of War, and by the way, I think it did much good to his reputation, for it seems that many who were present, especially from New England, where it is customary to blaspheme the administration in every possible direction, had no idea that Mr. Baker was a man of so much intelligence, character, and charm.⁴¹

It is really saddening to me, as an old friend of the man, to see President Wilson ending his administration with so much unpopularity, for while the New Englanders are especially bitter (my native town of Boston has seldom approved of any president or administration, I am sorry to say), everywhere there is more

³⁹ *The Writing of History*, the report of this committee, was published in 1926. Theodore Roosevelt's presidential address for 1912 is printed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII (Apr., 1913), 473-89.

⁴⁰ "The School for Ambassadors," *ibid.*, XXVII (Apr., 1922), 426-64.

⁴¹ The principal speakers at this dinner were Ambassador Jusserand who spoke on historical processes and modern events; Secretary Baker who discussed the relation of history to the Great War; and James J. Walsh whose topic was historical assumptions respecting progress. *Ibid.*, XXVI (Apr., 1921), 414.

much interest in the Democratic nomination. Now that the Democrats are precluded from nominating Hoover, they seem to have no chance of electing a president, though they may conceivably win the House of Representatives.⁸⁵

It is pleasanter to turn to your mention of Disraeli and Beveridge. I think that in my last letter I did not fail to remind you that we were still hoping for the article anent Disraeli.

On the whole, I think highly of Beveridge's Marshall, and apparently others do so. The style is at times a little too rhetorical for my taste, but the books make interesting reading, and I hear that they are doing very well. Beveridge told me the other day that he had cherished an ambition to write a life of Marshall ever since he was a law student in old Senator Joe McDonald's office in Indianapolis. He has come to my office at various times to talk about the book, as he has talked about it with other professional students of history, ever since he started upon it. I was struck then with the temerity with which he started out upon such an undertaking with so little equipment of historical knowledge; but, with his immense energy, persistence, and vigor, he has left no stone unturned in his search for materials and during the process has taught himself nearly all of the simple arts of our profession that he needed to know, and has stored his tenacious memory with a great deal of historical knowledge. He remains a little sophomoric in mind, is not very deep, and is not quite enough of a lawyer to deal in a really masterly manner with the legal aspects of Marshall's decisions; but it seems to me that this is fairly well balanced by the politician's understanding of Marshall the politician and of the political implications of his work. He wished to make something that people would read, and apparently they are doing so in great numbers, in spite of its being so large and expensive a book. For myself, though I have enjoyed what I have read in it, I think I have derived more real satisfaction from a little book on Marshall of about 50,000 words that young Corwin of Princeton wrote for Allen Johnson's series of *Chronicles of America*, a popular but excellent series of fifty volumes, "sold only in sets", so that you may not have a chance to see Corwin's little book.⁸⁶ It is good reading, but the thought is far superior to Beveridge's.

Rhodes's last volume has somewhat of his old-time excellence, but is in the main disappointing.⁸⁷ He is not well.

I think you will be interested in the new *Canadian Historical Review*, and, as they have sent me two copies, I take the liberty to send you one.

With the most cordial regards,

Very sincerely yours,

January 10, 1921.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

When your letter of November 11 arrived⁸⁸ I was away from Washington, on a somewhat prolonged absence, involving a period of pleasant work in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa, and then the giving of some Lowell Institute lectures at Boston; and the days of December preceding Christmas were much occupied with matters relating to the meeting of the American Historical Association, which this year took place in Washington, on December 28, 29 and 30.

⁸⁵ Harding and Cox were the opposing candidates in 1920.

⁸⁶ Edward S. Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution: A Chronicle of the Supreme Court* (New Haven, 1919), Vol. XVI of the *Chronicles*.

⁸⁷ Vol. VIII, *Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896* (New York, 1919), of the *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* by James F. Rhodes.

⁸⁸ Not found.

have him receive any honor that any European academy might think fit to confer. Perhaps he has been too helpful for his own good, for he has not published any large books, and we are all afraid that he will never finish that great book on the history of witchcraft which we have expected from him. He has however published a variety of lesser contributions in that field and others. I presume that a certain number of the English scholars know his name in connection with chapters written for the *Cambridge Medieval History*.³²

I could not write about politics otherwise than with discouragement. The matter of the treaty and all other great matters worthy of high consideration will not be able to receive, in the six months preceding a presidential election, any first rate consideration upon their merits. If the senators have not been able to deal with them otherwise than as partizans hitherto, and on the whole that is about all most of them have done, they certainly will not treat them otherwise than as partizans hereafter. Any one can see, in their extraordinary truckling to the Irish, how coming events cast their shadows before. I have no direct contact with Irish sentiment in this country. I presume that there is a considerable body of Irish-American opinion in America as in Ireland, that retains its sobriety and favors a solution compatible with the integrity of the United Kingdom and other dictates of good sense, but those who make themselves heard, by means of public meetings and otherwise, seem to be wild and half-educated politicians, and certainly the Irish politicians who put pressure upon congressmen seem usually to be extremists. It is all very disquieting.

As for sober people who have no Irish blood, I think outside of New England, they generally believe in home rule, in repressing the Ulsterites and in upholding the integrity of the British Empire. A great many were a good deal shocked at the lengths to which Carson and his followers were allowed to go in 1913 and 1914, and have felt since that a fatal mistake was then made, but of course we are too far away to judge of such things with any security.³³ When I next see you (in some fifteen months I hope) I should like to get you to explain to me why some measure of home rule was not put into effect in 1914. It is a frequent opinion in America that this could and should have been done, but we cannot know the obstacles.

The President continues to gain physically, but his wishes seem to be little regarded, except in so far as the Democrats think it necessary to maintain some appearance of solidarity. His dismissal of Lansing produced a very bad effect throughout the country, and lost him the confidence of a large proportion of those who were still supporting him.³⁴

As to the Republican nomination, the result is still guess-work. If we could have a general vote to-morrow, without making use of any of the machinery of conventions, etc., I think it is pretty clear that many more of the voters would vote for Hoover than for anybody else, but it does not follow that he can get the nomination. He is not the kind of man that the wire-pullers desire. After men of such intellectual gifts as Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, any of the other candidates, on either side, seem to promise a rather second-rate president, somewhat of the McKinley type, but the wire-pullers prefer such persons. No one seems to take

³² At the bottom of the page there is the notation: "Pres AHA 1916."

³³ Sir Edward Carson's militant opposition to the Home Rule bill openly encouraged Ulster to arm for resistance.

³⁴ The break between the President and his Secretary of State had its beginning in disagreements at the Peace Conference; the immediate cause was Lansing's calling cabinet meetings during Wilson's illness. *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 610.

trol of discussions respecting the treaty has slipped from his hands. To me, as an old friend, his situation is tragic. It is perfectly true that a quite moderate degree of more conciliatory behavior toward the senators either before he went over to Paris or just after he came back would probably have won him enough votes to achieve what he desired, and so he has himself and his stubborn pride of intellect to blame. But he has [so] earnestly desired the best things that his want of success pains me beyond expression.

Among the matters of business on which I go away, one is to attend at New York on February 14 the first meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to the Humanistic Studies, which, chiefly at the instance of the American Historical Association, has lately been formed. Its constitution was framed at a conference held in September at Boston, and has now been ratified by nearly all of the thirteen societies involved. The arrangement is a loose federation, each society being represented by two delegates. The occasion of its coming into existence was the need of providing, in the absence of anything resembling the British Academy, the machinery by which America might have representation in the meetings at Brussels of the Union Académique Internationale; but it may also pave the way toward some useful co-operation among the American societies—which are such as the American Historical, Economic, Political Science, Philological, Philosophical, Archaeological, and Oriental societies.

I am taking with me, to read on my journey, a copy of your Raleigh Lecture, which has come to me, not from the Academy indeed, as suggested in your letter, but from the Oxford University Press, sent to the American Historical Review. I expect great pleasure in reading it.³¹

While I speak of the American Historical Review, let me remind you of its eagerness for the article on Disraeli which you spoke of writing for us when Mr. Monypenny's final volume had come out. I do not know whether that has taken place; it seems not to have been published yet in America.

With cordial regards,

Very sincerely yours,

April 5, 1920.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

Not long ago I received, through the kindness of the secretary of the British Academy, the two last volumes of its *Proceedings*, and some separate papers that are to form a part of the current volume. They interest me extremely, and I have, in the evenings since, passed a good many pleasant hours over them. But I was rather taken back, to find how useless must have been my recent response to your kind letter of inquiry about another American corresponding member of the Academy, for I perceive, from the lists printed at the beginning of the volume, that Mr. Justice Holmes is already a corresponding member, as perhaps I ought to have known. Perhaps it is legitimate to console myself with evidence that I was thinking along the right lines, in harmony with the Academy's intentions in such matters.

Perhaps it would be too late now to attempt another answer to your question, but if not, I should venture to say that Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University is pretty certainly the most learned historical student in the United States (I think most of the history men would agree to that) and that he has been so universally helpful as well as so universally respected that all would be glad to

³¹ The subject was *World History*.

very great occasions are concerned, we are not yet mentally prepared to take much part in the doings of the world outside our own borders.

Yesterday was the Sunday nearest to the anniversary of the armistice. A young clergyman whom I heard preach, who had served as a chaplain in France during the war, (a son of Professor Macbride Sterrett, whom you perhaps knew),²⁸ upheld eloquently the ideals of 1917 and 1918, and urged us not to be let down from them, and it was plain that the congregation were with him in not wishing to abate the internationalism of those days; I believe he was also right in declaring, very broadly, that such would always be the spirit of the "boys" to whom he had administered in the trenches. They, and the church going people, and the women, will not forget why we went into the war although the politicians may.

Very sincerely yours,

February 7, 1920.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

On receiving your letter of January 12 a few days ago I called up my friend Charles Henry Butler, who used to be reporter of the Supreme Court, and asked him about decisions affecting the "grandfather clause".²⁹ He said he felt sure that there had been nothing recent, nothing since the case against Montague when he was governor of Virginia, and that was in 1902-1906; but he said that he would send me a memorandum respecting the apposite cases. I have not yet received it (there has been much illness in town) and I go away this afternoon upon a ten days' journey, so I can only say, on this point, that I do not believe that anything has occurred which has seriously increased the negro vote in Virginia or elsewhere; but I will not wait for further information before answering your inquiry respecting a man that might be recommended for election as Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. The name that occurs to me as most suitable for such a purpose, among the classes of which you speak (historians, jurists, economists, or philosophers) is that of Mr. Justice Holmes. You know him better than I do, and know all about him, so I will only add that I should not think any of our living historians or economists quite to rank with him intellectually.³⁰ Of philosophers I am incapable of judging, but I think I have not heard any living person spoken of in the way of which men used to speak of William James and Josiah Royce.

The meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland seemed to me exceptionally pleasant and successful. Of the political situation in Washington, I must not today, because of the impending journey, take the time to write anything, even if I could find anything useful to say, when the two parties seem to be merely consuming time in manoeuvring for position. The President seems to be still improving in health, but very slowly, and, as you will have seen, the con-

²⁸ The Rev. H. H. D. Sterrett, present pastor of All Souls Protestant Episcopal Memorial Church, Washington. His father was professor of philosophy in the George Washington University.

²⁹ Butler was an attorney of Washington who had been legal expert for the Anglo-American Canadian Commission of 1898, had reported the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, 1902-16; and edited vols. 187-242 of the *U. S. Reports*. In a letter of February 11, 1920, he cited *Guinn v. U. S.*, involving the clause in the constitution of Oklahoma, and *Myers v. Anderson*, pertaining to the clause in the Maryland constitution. In both cases the clauses were held to be in conflict with the 15th amendment (*Reports*, vol. 238, pp. 347, 368). Bryce had asked whether the cases declaring the clause unconstitutional "had the result of letting a great number of people get the suffrage, or are there other State enactments still sufficient to exclude most?"

³⁰ Holmes was at the time a member,

disappointments, from the decision that I cannot go to England in 1920, that it postpones a year the pleasure of seeing you and her again.

Very sincerely yours,

November 10, 1919.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I am greatly obliged by your letter of October 21 and by your kindness in securing so favorable a word from Mr. Balfour. His consent is very gratifying, and I shall hope and believe that, when I succeed in arriving in England, in 1921, it will not be difficult to obtain from his successor the favors he is so good as to indicate.

By means of the letter of introduction which you kindly provided, I had an interview the other day with Lord Grey. He was kindness itself, showed himself very sympathetic to my project in general, and offered of his own accord to write on my behalf, whenever I should find that the proper time had arrived, to two of the persons whom it would be most important for me to approach with requests as to correspondence of British ministers here—namely, the present Lord Londonderry, whom I presume to be the possessor of the Castlereagh papers, and the Warden of All Souls, in whose library are the papers of Sir Charles Vaughan (though, so far as these last are concerned, I imagine that you are still a Fellow of All Souls, or at any rate potent there). All these things are however, as I said in my last letter, postponed by a year; but I shall use the interval in acquiring much fuller knowledge of the history of that earlier diplomacy and of the details which I shall need to know.

I do not think that there is any definite precedent as to the course to be followed when a President of the United States is temporarily incapacitated. The longest period of such disability, so far as I can remember, was that of Garfield's illness, during which Vice President Arthur carefully refrained from taking any action, or any steps in that direction. Happily, however, since you wrote, it has become plain that the President is very far from being entirely incapacitated, and he may fairly be expected to resume work with vigor after a while. It seems to have been merely a nervous breakdown, serious indeed, but only requiring prolonged rest. In a few instances within these recent weeks he has taken action, and the documents which have been published as from his hand have shown no loss of vigor. It is plain that the process of recovery must be slow, but it seems fairly certain.

Nevertheless these are days of great anxiety. The situation with respect to the striking miners seems very critical to-day, and the drift of the Senate toward ratification, which I thought I saw, is in danger of being neutralized by a form of ratification with which no friend of the League of Nations can be satisfied. It seems impossible to predict how either matter will turn out. I feel sure that the course taken by the miners is disapproved by the majority of the people, and still think that the same is true of the course taken by the Senate in the matter of the Treaty, but what the result will be, no one seems to feel sure, beyond a general assurance, in the one case, that the majority of our working classes are still much more conservative than in other countries and, in the other case, that however the Senate may minimize our promises of action for the general good in international matters, yet to a great occasion the American people would respond with the same high enthusiasm and good will as in 1917, when I must say I was surprised at the fervor and unanimity of the response. It looks however as if, so far as any but

about very much, finds himself immediately in contact; but I think all the people with whom I have spoken of the matter have regarded that resolution as a discreditable piece of small politics, or, if sincere on the part of some plainly insincere on the part of many. For instance, I know perfectly well that Senator Lodge hates and despises the Irish, though he has always cultivated them publicly. Generally speaking, most of these conspicuous efforts to give a sympathetic hearing to the enemies of the British government are hollow—mere methods in the political game. They are not altogether so. I judge that many Englishmen, who have not your knowledge of the actual composition of our population, are not aware that at least half of their “transatlantic cousins” are not cousins at all, not of English descent, and so over estimate the amount of good will toward the British government which is to be expected, and which for instance has been constant in the indigenous New England population. A number of the Senators are perfectly sincere in their belief that the British government cannot be trusted to act unselfishly toward us or toward subject populations; but the element of playing to the galleries, wherein the Irish seem always to have front seats, is very strong with many. But as far back as 1783, Charles Biddle vice president of the council in Pennsylvania, declares that all through Western Pennsylvania persons who wish to succeed in politics speak with an Irish brogue even when it was no wise native to them.

The other day good old Senator Williams, who was the one dissident to the Senate resolution of which you speak, freed his mind in his pungent way on the subject of the noisiness of the Irish and the prevalent fear of them.²⁶ Since then he has been loudly denounced at various meetings, in resolutions sometimes incoherent but always emphatic, and the “historiographer” of the Irish American Historical Society has been led forward to pronounce *ex cathedra* that “investigation has shown” that thirty-eight per cent. of the soldiers under Washington were Irish.²⁷ (It is the function of these ethnic historical societies, as of party whips the morning after election, to “claim everything.”) I sometimes feel like the man who, on the plumber’s presenting his bill, asked him if he would not take the house for part payment.

But to return to the Senate, it is a sad subject, for not only has the conduct of most of the Republicans respecting the Treaty been discouragingly parvanimous, but the Democratic Senators have shown extraordinarily little debating power on behalf of the League and the Treaty. However, it is at any rate now certain that the Treaty will be ratified, as I always thought it would be, the majority of them coming around. I regret the ambiguous situation in which many things may be left by the reservations which will apparently be voted; but I think a good deal of credit belongs to a certain group of Republican Senators—McCumber, Colt and Hale, particularly—who have kept their heads and refused to be dragooned into a course of action that would sacrifice great ends for this nation and the world, for the sake of immediate party advantage over the President.

Pardon me; it interests me to write down what I think about politics, when you ask any questions, for I almost never do it otherwise, for I hardly know of any one else who wishes to know what I think about these things. I always feel like adding at the bottom, as the old accountants used to do, “E. E.”, for errors excepted.

Please express my very kind regards to Lady Bryce. It is one of the chief

²⁶ John Sharp Williams of Mississippi.

²⁷ Michael J. O'Brien, whose *Hidden Phase of American History* (New York, 1920) was reviewed by Jameson in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (July, 1921), 797-99.

cratic candidates just before the last election was deeply resented, and his rigidity and self-will and indisposition to make any account of the opinions of other public men, Democrat or Republican, and his pointed slighting of the Senate on various occasions, have made difficulties for his treaty that need not have existed.

All this is too long for the amount of solid matter in it; I fear it would assay very little to the ton.

I am having a great deal of pleasure in the thought that in eight or nine months I shall see you and Lady Bryce again.

Very sincerely yours,

October 22, 1919.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

YOUR letter of September 24 has just arrived. I thank you most sincerely for your kindness in sending me so kind and flattering a letter of introduction to Lord Grey. I shall be a little shame-faced in using a document which refers to me as [as] an eminent historian, for alas, I have never written a history. I have desired to, but the very nature and quantity of my occupations has prevented. In Sir Henry Wotton's phrase "I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff".

Upon one passage in the note, I may remark that my project does not include the correspondence of the American Ministers in London with the American Secretaries of State, for the correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington with their Foreign Secretaries and friends in England is enough of a task for the Carnegie Institution, and the State Department itself should attend to the other, by printing with fuller disclosure for the period to 1837, covered after a fashion by the old folio *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, and by printing amply for the period after 1837. However, an unexpected turn in the affairs of the Carnegie Institution makes it impossible for me to come to England in 1920 as I had hoped. The expedition must be postponed to 1921; but I shall go on with preparatory studies here, especially if I hear words of encouragement from Mr. Balfour.

You do not indicate whether you have thought it a wise plan to approach Mr. Balfour on my behalf, or whether in your judgment I had better proceed through the channels of our own State Department. Perhaps the latter is the more regular way for preferring a private request to a foreign government, but, to tell the truth, I have in recent years found it rather discouraging to try to do anything through our State Department. Mr. Lansing and Mr. Phillips, both of whom I have known for a good many years (Mr. Lansing was an Amherst man) are always very kind, but the thing seems not to get done. I think it is that our Ministers are not interested in such things, though our Consuls have uniformly been helpful in all our various foreign endeavors.

I cannot answer without chagrin your questions respecting the Senate, except that, to your last question, I believe I can reply that their conduct with respect to Ireland, and especially the almost unanimous resolution to which you allude, has been very ill regarded by most thoughtful people.²⁵ One is apt to make too much of some small section of opinion with which a private person, who does not range

²⁵ Bryce had written, "We are shocked, many of us, at the recent action of the Senate Committee in having Hindus and Egyptians to set forth their grievances, such as they think them, against Britain—but we hold our peace, lest we should do harm. The Resolution of Sympathy with Irish independence was a singular piece of discourtesy, to say the least. Was it disapproved by thoughtful people in America?"

perplexities which Congress ought to have been considering all this while, but which are now precipitated upon them, will work in the same direction, is less certain. Very likely you will know by the time this letter reaches you. That is what I always feel with respect to my simple vaticinations.

Perhaps I might well be more specific on individual points than I have been, above. Though I believe that most of our voters wish the treaty to be signed and the United States to enter the League of Nations on the present covenant, even without amendments, this does not imply complete satisfaction with the document, but rather a feeling that acceptance is much the best course, in spite of some objectionable features. The arrangement about Shantung meets with almost universal, and usually very warm, disapproval.²⁴ In many minds this springs in part from the rooted distrust of Japan, which is nearly universal among us, for most people think of her as a rapacious and unscrupulous power, with notions of policy quite as imperialistic as those with which Germany began the war. It is believed that there is nothing essentially abhorrent to the Japanese mind in the whole Prussian programme, and that her course in the war has been purely selfish. Her conduct toward China, with the twenty-one demands, etc., has been deeply resented. I do not believe, however, that the general hostility to the Shantung arrangements rests so much on resentment of Japanese aggressiveness, in the minds of peoples east of the Rockies at any rate, as on a humane feeling with respect to China and a belief that it is shocking, when the United States has been disposed to pride itself on exceptionally good conduct toward China, to consent to put millions of her people under the control of Japan at the very moment when the principles of liberty and self-determination are being so loudly proclaimed. Mr. Lansing's testimony before the Senate committee will cause many to believe that it was needless for the United States to succumb; and the pronouncements from Tokyo have not helped matters, for we have not seen in them any frank or convincing declaration of righteous intentions toward China.

With respect to other proposed amendments or reservations, the reluctance of the average man rests largely, of course, on his imperfect appreciation of the relations of America to the rest of the world, and of the fact, though it was plain enough in advance, that any better arrangement for the peace of the world would require some sacrifices of national freedom of action. More might have been made, in the public prints, of the parallel of 1788, for many of our Republican speakers are talking much like anti-Federalists of that date; but history, even American history, has, in spite of all the efforts of our sacred profession, not yet become the favorite reading of American mankind. I think it is no harm to add that, though most Americans sincerely wish the United States to take a disinterested part in the negotiations, and the more intelligent of them must have seen that the victorious European states would have solid reasons for pressing for individual advantages in a way that we should not enter upon, still there is a good deal of feeling that Great Britain and other governments have done well for themselves in the treaty; the votes to New Zealand, South Africa, and the other dominions, and the guaranty of boundaries mostly British against external aggression, have been most commented upon, and in a less degree the size of the British share of the indemnity in comparison with, for instance, the Belgian.

But almost every treaty of peace has disappointed a great many people and this one would be acquiesced in with a pretty good grace by the American people if there were no party feelings. The President's appeal for support of the Demo-

²⁴ Under the treaty, Shantung was to be retained by Japan.

present opposition in the Senate. I regret to say that it looks to me as if partizan considerations had played the main part in the action of a good many Republican Senators. I do not know more than a few of the Senators, and ought to hesitate to form judgments about their motives, but I can certainly say that, *if* the majority of the Republican Senators were actuated by party considerations, together with personal hostility to the President, they would act just about as they have been acting. If they had been considering the League of Nations solely on its merits, it does not seem possible that they would have been, as at the beginning they were, unanimously against out and out acceptance of the covenant. Divergences are now beginning to manifest themselves. In general, there has been, during these last three months, that process on their part which I expected to see, of moving around from an intransigent position loudly proclaimed to one of much less pronounced opposition, varying all the way from that of a few last-ditch Senators to that of the seven "mild reservationists"; but even those seven have not yet been able to agree upon a formula on which they hope to reconcile the constitutional number of the Senators. I expect to see the treaty ultimately ratified, but in some disappointing fashion.

I suppose that the Senators have shared in the letting-down process through which the whole world seems to have been going. In the height of warfare we could rise to an exceptionally high level of patriotic and humanitarian feeling and of devotion to wide interests. After the great incentive has been removed, the nations seem to have relaxed into a mood that brings out selfishness and ill temper and a disposition to quarrel over the spoils. Certainly in this country we have been brought into a quite unhappy state, of dissension and discontent, of partizan bitterness against the President and the administration, of wrangling and heat in Congress, and of indisposition to take up in a patriotic and non-partizan spirit the great tasks of readjustment. In other words, while it might be disrespectful to say that the Senate presented a "case of nerves", it would be no more than what one might say of most of the rest of us, and, I should think, of some other countries.

I suppose these Senators hear first from the small local politicians, who, like themselves, have so long been occupied with thinking about national concerns that they greatly under-represent the sentiments of internationalism that prevail among quieter people. (Rightly or wrongly, I formed the notion that the prodigious welcome accorded to President Wilson when he first came to Europe was simply an ebullition of popular feeling in favor of a more internationalized world-order, evoked by a symbol of disinterested idealism, and rather surprising to statesmen and politicians, who, in Europe as in America, have had it as their main business to look out for *national* interests.) Next, the Senators would naturally hear from manufacturers and other business men who were in some cases beginning to be uneasy over the long suspension of trade relations by delays in ratifying the treaty. Last of all, they would hear from, or discover the feelings of, the classes that are less in the habit of writing to their politicians, but after all possess votes. I have always been convinced that nearly all the women, nearly all the church members, and most of the young men between twenty-one and thirty, including the returned soldiers, were so strongly desirous of a league of nations that they were quite ready to approve of the covenant as framed. All these classes care relatively little about the tariff and the dear old Monroe Doctrine and a lot of other things that politicians who are accustomed to think, or at any rate to talk, in national terms, regard as the Ark of the Covenant.

So time has worked in favor of ratification. But whether these great economic

NORTH EDGECOMB, MAINE,
August 8, 1919.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

It was pleasant to learn, from your letter of July 4, that you approved of my project with respect to the Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington, and that you thought it practicable to carry it out. Meantime I have received data as to quantities which show me that, though the amount of material involved is large, it is not beyond what may be within the means of the Carnegie Institution. So I propose to go forward with the plan. I thank you for your very kind offers of help. In respect to the papers now in private hands, most of my effort had better be deferred, I think, until I come to England next spring. Even in cases like that of the Vaughan Papers, belonging to All Souls College, I think I should postpone application until I have learned whether permission will be granted in the case of the Foreign Office Papers at the Public Record Office. The first step will be to apply for permission to use them.

Accordingly I am doing that now, and accept at once, and with much gratitude, your offer of assistance. I have thought that perhaps the best method might be to lay the matter before Mr. Balfour in a letter, and to ask you if you would be so good as to forward it to him with such words of explanation and recommendation as you may feel disposed to send.²³ I inclose herewith a letter intended for this purpose, but if you think it best not to use it, or have suggestions of amendment by which it might be made more likely to succeed, please leave it at one side or write me wherein it should be altered. If you are willing to act thus as intermediary, I shall be very greatly obliged.

It is difficult to know what one can say, with any security, in answer to your inquiry about the prospects of the League of Nations and the Treaty. As you say, I am in the position of a neutral observer so far as party action is concerned. But up here I have no information beyond what is in the newspapers, and within the last few days the whole question has been overshadowed by the prodigious cloud that has suddenly arisen, in the form of far-reaching demands on the part of the railroad men and other officials of the labor organizations. Their insistence upon the nationalization of the railways, with hints toward the nationalization of other great industries, are so portentous that, for instance, the *New York Times*, which for a long time has had much matter regarding the League of Nations and the Treaty on its first page, in yesterday's issue had nothing on the subject until page 15, except a bit about Shantung, and on page 15 had little but the record of Mr. Lansing's testimony before the Senate committee. It seems likely that almost the whole attention of Congress and the administration must for a time be concentrated on problems of domestic economics, such as that of reducing the costs of living or otherwise somehow contenting the railroad brotherhoods or succumbing to their demands. What effect this will have on the treaty, I do not know, but I should think it was more likely to cause the Senate to acquiesce soon, after some fashion, than to cause it to push the matter aside, and increase a delay which I believe has not been pleasing to the country. My belief is that the Senate has been moving slowly and reluctantly toward abandonment of the high-and-mighty position of selfish nationalism which it took at first—moving thus, not by reason of leadership, I will say, which seems to have been strikingly absent from the Republican majority, but by reason of the pressure of public opinion.

You ask if it is true that domestic politics are playing a great part in the

²³ Balfour, Foreign Secretary, advised Bryce, October 18, that there would be no difficulty "in meeting Professor Jameson's views."

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.

4th. July 1919.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

I am very glad to hear from you again, and to be informed of the large and interesting project which you propose to carry out.²¹ The British Government has been very tiresome heretofore in allowing its archives to be used. Within the last thirty years they actually declined to show papers relating to the earlier stages of the Revolutionary War. Now, however, I hope a more liberal spirit will prevail and I see no reason why anything should be concealed antecedent to the year 1860. I will, of course, gladly enquire their views if you like to send me a full memorandum on the subject sometime later, but I think there would be no difficulty in your getting papers for publication for the period between 1815 and 1840, especially, of course, if your Government request them (the F. O.) to do so. It will be much more difficult to obtain the private correspondence of our Ministers here with their envoys in America, because this private correspondence is kept, when kept, by the Ministers and their executors or families, but, no doubt, a good many papers exist which will be shown to you. The collection could hardly be complete, but that is no reason why you should not print all you can get. I think you might certainly get the Bagot papers and Vaughan also, and the Jackson papers. You might write to Lord Cork for the Canning papers, and to Lord Londonderry for those of Castlereagh. I will with pleasure back you up if necessary.

I think such a paper as you suggest on Bagot's ministry would be very interesting, and I have no doubt the British Academy would find an opportunity for you to read it to them.²² I have long wished that our Corresponding Members would make communications to us, and this would make an excellent beginning.

So much for your project which all students of history in this country will welcome.

You are at a very interesting and, indeed, decisive moment in your own history. While fully appreciating the advantages to the U. S. of retaining your freedom and detachment as far as possible, many of us here feel that without your concurrence and cooperation the League of Nations will come to nothing, and we are, therefore, most anxious to see you enter. Is it true that domestic politics are playing a great part in the present opposition, particularly in the Senate? Any observations you can give me regarding the political situation will be very interesting. You are one of the few who can regard all these matters with the impartial detachment appropriate to a historian.

Always truly yours

JAMES BRYCE

²¹ June 12, Dr. Jameson had written at length concerning his project of collecting and publishing for the Carnegie Institution the correspondence of the early British ministers in the United States. The undertaking was not continued after Jameson's retirement from the Institution. Some of his material was published as Volume III of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1936: *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812*, edited by Bernard Mayo. All copies of the letters which had been gathered, with Dr. Jameson's notes, have been deposited in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress.

²² Jameson had written, "What with the beginning of 105 years of peace, and the Bagot-Rush convention and the disarmament on the lakes, that might be an agreeable subject on which to read a paper, and the reading of which might bring grist to my mill from unexpected quarters." For the reason stated in Jameson's letter of March 30, 1921 (see below, p. 294, the paper was not read.

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
20th. Sept. 1918.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Best thanks for your interesting letter of July [August] 21st. It raised several questions of moment which I should like to be able to discuss more at length. Meantime, let me say:—

(1) Nothing would do more good than an exchange of lectures between American and British Professors. I will talk to some of our people about it, and if you have practical suggestions to make as to the kind of times of the year at which they should be given, I should bring them to the notice of University friends here. Our Professors are pretty poorly paid and it would be helpful if some more popular lectures—I mean to popular audiences—could be simultaneously arranged on a scale not so large as to involve fatigue,—by which lecture fees they could pay at least the expenses of their journeys to and fro. There ought to be no difficulty in arranging for leave of absence on both sides.

(2) We have been thinking much over the steps to be taken to facilitate the coming for post-graduate courses to this country of American students. What you say is true. Your post graduate courses are now so good that there is not the same inducement as there would have been thirty years ago. Still, there are many cases in which American students might wish to hear specially eminent British Professors, and the volume of your University graduates is so enormous compared with ours, that even a small per centage would count for much. History is, perhaps, one of the topics in which, good as your courses are, some things could be learned better here than in America. Beyond and above the teaching, however, it would do most American students a vast deal of good to become familiar with European intellectual and moral conditions. Similarly, British students, especially of economics, and social questions, would profit greatly by visiting the U. S., where not only the teaching, but observation of the phenomena would enlarge their minds and deepen their views. The matter wants working out on this side also. Dr. Osler had a plan for treating medical studies in a similar way, but I do not know what has come of it.

I am very glad to hear that Wrong's lectures were so successful. It was an excellent idea, and will have a good retroactive effect on Canadian Universities. They are looking up, but their personnel is not yet as strong as it should be.

You are quite right to hold your usual meeting of the Historical Association. Even the bringing together of the men is valuable. How much I wish we could have had, and could have even now, gatherings of British Historical Teachers similar to that you are now having at Branford. Nothing of the kind has ever been attempted here. We are curiously unorganised and unassociated, and in a way, individualistic. Everyone wants to spend his holiday in his own way at the place he chooses, but such gatherings, bringing the researchers and teachers into actual contact, are inestimably useful.

Do not forget that whenever you have a communication that you would like to make to our people on some Historical topic, the British Academy will be glad to receive it. We have not worked that side of our functions so far, but it ought to be worked, and all the more because Germany and Austria will be out of all intellectual communion with us and with you for some time to come. I am

Always sincerely yours
JAMES BRYCE

Our National Board for Historical Service had great pleasure this spring in helping to forward one kind of exchange between America and one of the British nations, namely, in making arrangements whereby Professor Wrong, of Toronto, could set forth the Canadian viewpoint, or the real constitution of the British Empire, or the relations between Canadian and American federation and between the two nations, to the audiences provided by the summer sessions of our great universities. These, of course, would bring together a wider variety of teachers, from a wider variety of places, than it is possible to assemble at any place in the winter, and I am sure that his lectures had a great and useful effect.

The beauty of the Maine scenery is familiar to you. I think the scene which lies before me, at the "office" of this department of the Carnegie Institution, is almost as beautiful as anything at Mt. Desert. I remain here until September 10. Then I spend a week at Branford, Connecticut, in a quiet hotel in a beautiful place on Long Island Sound where the professors who dwell in New England or the eastern part of the middle states, or are spending the summer there, are establishing the habit of meeting for a week in September. A "retreat" for historians, we somewhat irreverently called it last year, but I think I have now devised a better title for it, and we call it the *convivium historicum*, after the analogy of the *convivium theologicum*, which Lord Falkland used to have at Great Tew. I started the practice last year. Fifteen men came, and the week was well enjoyed—no "exercises", no business, very little "shop" talk even, but a week of vacation spent in conversation and mild sports and the increasing of mutual acquaintance. This year will not be so untroubled by business, for the National Board for Historical Service and the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* have both taken the occasion to appoint a meeting at Branford in those days; but such is war time. I hope the gathering will become a regular, and ordinarily rather lazy, feature of our Septembers, for the American historical folk are a very good sort, who get on very well together, especially at so beautiful and agreeable a place.¹⁹

There has been some talk about giving up the usual December meeting of the American Historical Association, some thinking that needless travel should be avoided and that the money might be better spent on the Red Cross, and the like. I believe, however, that it is intended to hold a meeting.²⁰ The problem is the old one of the alabaster box of precious ointment. I do not know how it should be solved, but I have rather the feeling that, if the right sort of programme is undertaken, it may be worth a good deal to the country to have so many teachers of history inspired and encouraged by knowing each others thoughts as to the way in which their own work stands related to the present crisis. I am sure that the meeting in Philadelphia last December had good results of just that sort.

I suppose that the final Disraeli volumes will soon appear. I keep in mind with much pleasure and gratitude the thought of what you have proposed in that connection.

Believe me to be, with kindest regards and best wishes to yourself and Lady Bryce,

Very truly yours,

¹⁹ These gatherings were sponsored by Dr. Jameson until his death; they were continued by Professor F. M. Anderson of Dartmouth until the outbreak of the present war.

²⁰ The 34th annual meeting, which was to have taken place at Cleveland, December 27 and 28, was not held because of the influenza epidemic. The business of the Association was transacted at a meeting of the Executive Council which was held in New York, January 31 and February 1, 1919. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV (Apr., 1919), 349-57.

ington or elsewhere in America to further the interests of the British Academy.

I do most sincerely hope that from now on, intellectual relations between Great Britain and the United States will be made closer and more fruitful of good to both nations. I do not know just what means of bringing this about will prove the most helpful, but I should be glad to assist in any of them. I see that Columbia University is planning some rather extensive use of an invitation to British professors to lecture in New York. Such exchanges can easily be made of far greater importance than those exchanges between Prussian and American universities which were so much advertised, but which really proved to be of so little actual use. It is a comforting thing, by the way, that they did so little harm. An emissary of the Kaiser, in the autumn of 1914, went the rounds of the former exchange professors in this country, with a view to keeping them in line for the German cause,—making it evident that propaganda for the indisputably greatest of all monarchs, nations, and civilizations had been thought a main reason for the whole machinery. A few of these exchange professors showed themselves to have been influenced, by having, in the American phrase, eaten out of the Kaiser's hand, but not most of them. At all events, exchange with Great Britain, and with France, if desired and practicable, would have a far greater amount of beneficial influence and would attain it much more easily and with less need of proclamation and insistence, the natural affinity of democratic minds being so much more complete.

Professor McLaughlin, whose tour of lecturing in Great Britain seems to have succeeded far beyond his modest expectations, and to have accomplished real good, says that many persons in British universities indicated to him a hope that after the war the tide of American graduate students might be deflected from Germany to British shores. A very reasonable desire, but I doubt if they appreciate to what small dimensions that tide has shrunk. I remember that in the first talk I ever had with you, at Baltimore in 1883, when you were so good as to advise me about my plans, my thought was all of further study in Germany. That was then the normal course; but now, with the great improvement which in thirty-five years has been effected in the methods of training graduate students in America, and with the great resources which are expended upon that process, it is a distinctly unusual thing for any young man to go to Germany to pursue studies, of those sorts, at any rate, with which I am most familiar. The general conviction is that, even if the young man has resources which make it easy, it is better for him to spend at least the first two years of graduate work in American universities, before going either to Germany or (preferably nowadays) to France. I dare say that the same might be thought to be true of the British universities, in view of the great differences of system between them and those institutions in America in which these young men are taught and are subsequently to teach; but there can be no doubt that are [our] American graduate students need wider contact with European educational institutions and systems, and doubtless appropriate means of export and import would in time be devised.

In the hope that the modest headquarters secured in London by the American Historical Association in the building of the Royal Historical Society may be extensively resorted to by American students of history after the war, and may somehow be made an important means of furthering intellectual contact between them and British scholars, I have been trying to get some rich American who is able to see the value which such intercourse may have for the two nations, to endow the headquarters, but have not yet succeeded.

Washington or in whatever other high employment, you have labored untiringly for the same great ends. No one in our generation has done more to promote them. History, we are sure, will not forget your services to this great cause, nor to the still greater task of establishing somehow a commonwealth of nations. We hope and believe that, even in these dark days, your eightieth birthday may be made happy by the remembrance of activities so interesting, so momentous, and so beneficent.

We have the honor to be, with the highest regard and with warm personal friendship,¹⁷

Very sincerely yours,

May 11/18

Hindleap, Forest Row, Sussex.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Thank you for your letter. I shall hope to reply to your remarks on the Demokratischer Umschwung more fully presently: meantime this goes to tell you that the British Academy Council has just elected you a Corresponding Fellow. The election has to be confirmed at a general meeting in July (though that is always given) it is until then confidential, & for yourself only. It is the only honour of the kind we have to bestow from this country. H. C. Lea, Wm. James & Royce were Fellows: Root, Eliot, Lowell & Hadley now are.

You are doubtless right in thinking that the reaction again[st] Mark Hanna & Big Business in politics did induce a desire for more direct popular control, but it seems to me not so clear that the interest of the average citizen in politics is really greater than it was in 1880 or perhaps even in 1860. I have seen McLaughlin¹⁸—& like him; he is doing excellently: but I have had no time for quiet talk with him. In haste

Very sincerely yours

JAMES BRYCE

NORTH EDGECOMB, MAINE.

August 21, 1918.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

With your kind letter of July 10 came an official communication from Professor Gollancz, as secretary of the British Academy, notifying me of the great honor which the Academy has been so good as to confer upon me. I have written to him, and wish also to express my hearty thanks to you for your part in the election and for the generous terms in which you are pleased to speak of it. It will give me the greatest possible pleasure if at any time I can do anything at Wash-

¹⁷ This testimonial was drafted by Dr. Jameson and signed by such officers of the Association and members of the Council as could be reached within the few days which could be allowed to insure its delivery by May 10. The letter was engrossed at the Department of State and the signatures facsimiled. Replying, May 23, Bryce wrote: "It is now sixty years since as an undergraduate at Oxford I began the study of history; and every year makes me feel more strongly how much historical knowledge, if rightly used, deepens and widens our conceptions of what each of us may do for his country, and what each of our countries, twin trees growing from one ancient root, may accomplish for the world. History, no less than Philosophy, is the guide of life, national as well as private."

¹⁸ Under arrangements made by the National Board for Historical Service, Professor McLaughlin gave twenty-eight lectures in England, Scotland, and Ireland on general phases of Anglo-American relations, especially in connection with the war. These lectures were printed under the title, *America and Britain* (New York, 1919).

affairs. This is why we have been called Pharisees & have often inspired distrust. It has been a see-saw between philanthropists & Jingoists, & outsiders have taken the philanthropists for hypocrites and the Jingoists for unstable braggarts.

If you are still editing the *American Historical Review*, wd. you like an article reviewing the *Life of Disraeli*, when the last two volumes appear, & giving a summing up and general view of his action especially in the field of foreign policy? I could not write such an article at once, but might hope to do so some months hence, if by then I have nearly finished my book on *Modern Democracy*.¹⁶

Yours very sincerely

JAMES BRYCE

If you have any American historians coming over here.—I know some of the younger are coming as officers or "War Spell-Binders" I shall be happy to see any such, and our historians would give them a Reception.

April 19, 1918.

DEAR LORD BRYCE;

It is understood that on the tenth of May the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association reaches his eightieth birthday. The Executive Council of the Association cannot be willing that the occasion should pass without the expression of their heartiest congratulations and their sincerest good wishes. We feel sure that all the twenty-seven hundred members of the society, if it were possible to consult them, would earnestly desire that such a message should be sent, and would cordially authorize the action which we take in their name.

When we think of the varied experiences and achievements of these many years, and of the widespread consideration and regard which they have brought, we cannot but be reminded of Tennyson's *Ulysses*:

Much have I seen and known: cities of men
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Myself not least, but honor'd of them all.

We sincerely hope that your bodily strength continues, and may long continue, unimpaired. We see with great pleasure, from writings that reach us from time to time, that our honorary member and our friend retains his mental vigor and alertness undiminished,

And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

Most of all we rejoice that at eighty your spirit is still so young, your mind so open, as to find its keenest interest in those great problems of reconstruction to which the shaken world must address itself after the present storms—that for you, as for the poet's *Ulysses*,

'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.

Thirty years ago, in *The American Commonwealth*, you laid permanent foundations for mutual understanding and good will between Great Britain and the United States. Throughout the intervening years, whether as ambassador in

¹⁶ This article, "The Life of Disraeli, V., VI.," reviewing George E. Buckle's continuation of W. F. Monypenny's *Life*, was printed in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI (July, 1921), 672-82.

lecturers that they must emphasize these particular results of British democracy, as well as to dwell on the British Empire as our ally more than on England alone.¹⁵

With kindest regards,

Very truly yours,

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
1st. March 1918.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Thank you very much for your instructive answer in yours of Feb. 6th. to my questions. Those answers suggest a further question, which has been occupying my mind for the last few years, and whereon I have not yet found a complete answer. What is the cause of the marked recrudescence of theoretical democracy, and the general faith in what we call the people, their wisdom and their will, all over the world, except, perhaps, in Germany and Japan? There have been comparatively few grievances to overcome, there has been no demonstration of the superiority of Democratic government to other kinds of government, in fact, some of the characteristic weaknesses of democracy have been more and more revealing themselves, in France for instance, and now in Russia on a wide and hideous scale, if, indeed, you can say that there is any government at all in Russia. Nevertheless, this ardent faith in democracy seems to go on growing. One can perfectly well understand the events in France from 1780 onwards. One can explain the rising in Russia against the autocracy; one can explain 1848 and 1849, but why this movement of opinion so general and so unreflecting which began near the end of the nineteenth century? I have a crude theory, but will not mention it pending the receipt of your own reflections whenever you have time to send them to me.

The disposition to change the United States Constitution in a prompt, light-hearted way is disquieting. To me, who am perhaps old-fashioned in my respect for the founders of your Constitution, it is a disparagement of State rights, and the tendency to make your government more and more unitary. As respects the French I cannot quite agree with your view that everybody likes the French, at any rate as a nation. The individual Frenchman has, as a rule, better manners and brighter, quicker mind and more responsiveness in conversation to people of other nations than the English or Germans, or Spaniards, but no more than Russians, or Swedes, or Norwegians, and perhaps not quite so much as the Italians; but the French as a nation or government are, and always have been, extremely difficult to deal with. They are vain, suspicious, jealous, and no more trustworthy than other nations are in diplomacy, at least such is the impression that one derives from the secret diplomatic history of the last sixty years, no less than from the open history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I am not blind to the faults of our own international policy and diplomacy, but they are different faults. However, this subject is too long a one to enter into, though one would like to write an essay upon it explaining that for the last seventy years or more there have really been *two* Englands alternatively directing our policy, and making it appear wavering and unreliable, because it has been animated by two antagonistic principles, sometimes one and sometimes the other of which have come to the top, and have so succeeded for a space in directing national action in international

¹⁵ These illustrated lectures were prepared and arranged by the National Board for Historical Service under the auspices of the War Department Commission for Training Camp Activities. They were given in the Y.M.C.A. and Knights of Columbus buildings in some thirteen of the larger camps.

rather to the vigorous campaign which the Socialists of New York made and in which socialism, opposition to the President's policies, and woman suffrage were mingled in ways difficult to distinguish.

Also, while there was a time, last spring, when it appeared to many men that the women of the country were to a dangerous extent opposed to all positive action that might bring on war, most men are convinced that the women of the country are much less pacifistic than had been supposed, and are supporting spirited measures very well on the whole.

Again, in process of years, men have become better satisfied as to the workings of woman suffrage in the states where it has been in operation. I remember that once when talking of the matter in the course of one of those walks which were of so great a pleasure to me, we agreed that it seemed impossible to get trustworthy evidence as to how the thing was working in the states where it had been secured; but that must have been about 1909, and Colorado seemed to be the only significant example. There are more now, and many men who felt as we did at that time have since become convinced, as indeed I have myself, that it is succeeding not badly, with many defects born of inexperience and with a good deal of indifference to the cost of improvements, yet with much education of the women to counterbalance all that. Those who looked to the advent of a woman in Congress as likely to furnish a demonstration of the capacity of the sex for good political action in the national arena, must have been a good deal disappointed, for Miss Rankin has proved to be a quite ordinary congressman, with no abilities above the average, and made rather a sorry exhibition of weakness and emotionalism at the time of the declaration of war.¹³ But I think that most women who favor woman suffrage desire it chiefly as a means of carrying through measures of social reform, and these they will for the most part seek to obtain through the state legislatures rather than through Congress.

I don't expect to see the Constitutional Amendment adopted within the next five or perhaps ten years—there are too many southern states for that—but I expect to see it gradually prevail, state by state, through a number of additional commonwealths.¹⁴

I rather hesitate to send you these small observations. They seem pretty obvious, and are derived from not much more than the newspapers. I will give them the one merit of being promptly sent, by writing them on the day of receipt of your letter.

You take very kindly my remarks about our national preference for the French rather than the English. I might have made it clearer that I equally thought our people to prefer the French to every other nation. Indeed, as one looks around over this uncomfortable world, one doubts sometimes whether any nation really has much liking for any other nation except that everybody seems to like the French. But I quite agree that we in America ought to do a great deal more to show our less educated and thoughtful citizens how great a change has come over the public action of Great Britain since the power passed from the hands of a ruling class into that of a democracy. I am just in these days engaged in preparing a syllabus for use by lecturers who go about in our various camps and cantonments talking to thousands of boys, in simple fashion, on the origin and background of the war, and what it is all about, and I have been putting it very strongly to the

¹³ Miss Jeanette Rankin represented Montana at large in the 65th Congress, 1917-19.

¹⁴ The 19th amendment passed in time for women to vote in the presidential election of 1920.

ment here for woman suffrage, I hasten to reply upon the ground that apparently anything sent to you respecting it should go soon.

I cannot profess to know very well what motives actuate those who are now pressing forward hopefully the proposal for a constitutional amendment, for I know none of them, nor any persons who are intimately acquainted with their thoughts. I think it is probable that a part of the impulse comes from the general spirit working in the world at large toward more complete democracy; yet I think the main reasons for the present action and for the degree of success which has attended it, are to be found elsewhere, under circumstances more concrete. It is possible that a small amount of favorable effect on public opinion, may have come from the (to me) rather silly performances of those women who picketed the White House last winter, or perhaps rather from the action finally taken by the long-suffering police administration in arresting and imprisoning some of them. Such would be the claim of their particular wing of the suffrage agitators, but I doubt if there is much in it. Theirs is distinctly a minority wing, and the majority of the woman suffragists repudiate them rather strongly. Their sufferings, though very gratifying to themselves, did not seem to affect deeply more than a small part of the women or of the voters. Most persons regarded it as petty nagging of the President, unworthy in such trying times as these, yet not deserving of very severe punishment; but were not much discontented that they should be punished to the extent they were.

The main reason is to be looked for in the (to most persons) unexpected success of the vote in New York;¹¹ for I think it would have been regarded as certain that if they got a favorable vote there, added to the progress already made in previous years in a number of lesser states, they would push for a constitutional amendment. Hasty people always want that, because it seems a much shorter cut toward getting what you want than waiting for the slow operation of reform in one state after another; and reformers don't mind forcing a reform upon states that do not want it. A large part of the impulse toward such action came no doubt from the success, only a little while ago, of the vote in congress on the Constitutional Amendment enforcing prohibition. What with the passage of the sixteenth and seventeenth Amendments in 1913, and the rapid success, so far as Congress is concerned, of the prohibitory amendment last year, the national state of mind respecting constitutional amendments is very different from what it was before that time, when in one hundred years only three such proposals had succeeded. They are now regarded with a hopefulness which seemed impossible when the *American Commonwealth* was published. As soon as New York was carried, the agitators instantly began to press this amendment upon Congress. It went through the House very well, but I doubt if it gets through the Senate.¹²

I don't mean to lay all the emphasis on tactics, though these ladies are eager tacticians, and have much more of an eye toward tactical machinations than toward larger interests. I have no doubt that a good deal of the motive power has come from more spiritual sources,—from the general spirit of the world, and from the feeling in the minds of many men that the devotedly patriotic work in which such multitudes of American women have immersed themselves, deserves recognition, and also indicates a larger degree of interest in public affairs than American women used to manifest. Very likely these were the main reasons for the large affirmative vote in New York, though it is said that much is also to be attributed

¹¹ The previous year New York conferred full suffrage in state affairs.

¹² It was in June, 1919, that Congress agreed to submit the amendment to the legislatures.

the autocracy was doing, but, if instead of the last two Czars, Russia could have had a succession of capable tyrants, who would have developed the country, materially and intellectually, the change to a new order might have come in a far better way. If Louis XVI could have been a tyrant of the Napoleonic type, how much smoother might the course of France have been down to 1870. Your parallel with the despondency that might have been felt in France towards the end of the fifteenth century, is very suggestive. Stubbs has a remark somewhere about the change for the better that took place after the reign of Edward III, which nobody could have predicted. Reflections on the course of South American history have made me think that changes, which are superficially only economic, such as those the Argentine has seen during the last forty years, may do much to bring about political, and even, perhaps, moral improvement. Is it a paradox to say that in politics fraud is better than force? That was the line of republican development in Spanish America.

Your suggestions regarding the causes of American preference for France are illuminating, but one of them seems to me doubtful. Surely it is not among the Americans who travel and find the English frigid and supercilious that the hostility to England seems to have been strongest, but rather among the mass who do not travel, and who get their impressions partly from school books, partly from newspapers, partly from Irish denunciations of "British tyranny." The Americans who travel, except a few of the fashionable scum that used to love Paris, seem, as a rule, to prefer the English to the French, and London to Paris. You are doubtless right in attributing a great deal to the constantly dropping rain of Irish anti-British sentiment, not only on your politicians, but on your people through the Press. For her conduct towards Ireland England, no doubt, deserved to suffer, but the change which has come over the English since 1886, when Mr. Gladstone gave a new direction to English policy, has never been properly appreciated in America. He was vilified for it here, as he was condemned for the Alabama arbitration, but these were two of the greatest services he rendered to the world.

I am very glad that you approve of Hubert Hall's idea of using the room at 22, Russell Square as a Reading Room for American soldiers. I will ask him about the books and papers you mention. We might make a still better preparation for American soldiers in England, if you think there are likely to be enough of them to make it worth while to set up a Club similar to the American Officers Club, recently established in Chesterfield Gardens by the Pilgrims.

One question more. We are struck here by the way in which a wave of democracy is sweeping round the whole world! A franchise & Redistribution Bill of a revolutionary kind has just been passed, including Woman Suffrage. Some few of us resisted it in vain in the House of Lords. Its passing is due to a sentimental faith in abstract principles & in Democracy. Congress also is passing an Amendment for Woman Suffrage. What is the explanation of this headlong rush? Women have no appreciable grievances of a practical kind here. Still less in U. S. A. Your explanation would be highly valued by me, who have been reflecting on these matters in connection with a book I am writing.

Very sincerely yours
JAMES BRYCE

February 6, 1918.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

Your interesting letter of January 18 has just arrived and though I do not think that I can say anything very useful about the present state of the move-

respects of which you speak, and some of them do now. Mr. Altschul's book will give you the facts. But after all, our people are not great readers of history, and I think those who put all the emphasis on the schoolbooks are to a large extent, in our homely phrase, barking up the wrong tree.

I will also send you the recent numbers of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, which will show you what the Educational Committee of this Board has been trying to do, some times in the very line of which you are speaking.⁹ I will also send some of the pamphlets of the Committee on Public Information, especially such as are historical in character—many of them prepared in these rooms. A letter from Hubert Hall speaks of the notion of using the American Historical Association room at 22 Russell Square as a reading-room for American soldiers, and says that an official letter from the committee on our London headquarters will come soon.¹⁰ I will await details, but am sure that our committee will regard the idea as a capital one and will try to make it known that there is such a place, especially by making it known to the officials of the American University Union in Paris, who have a large clubhouse for American university men in our forces. It seems that in a letter to Hall, you spoke of the room at 22 Russell Square as having no books or papers, but I feel sure that we sent over quite a lot at the beginning—rather such things as sets of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association and of the *American Historical Review* and the like than books for intelligent convalescents—but a prudent secretary may have put them away because not used in wartime. I will send an inquiry about this to Mr. Newton and will try to have something done, if our Executive Council, as I anticipate, votes favorably on the matter at its meeting of December 26.

Please present my very kind regards to Lady Bryce, and believe me,

Very truly yours,

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.

18th. Jan. 1918.

DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Thank you for yours of Dec. 19th. I am afraid to begin answering it, because it raises so many questions that I might run into a long essay! It is fortunate that there are some intelligent students of political science watching the phenomena of revolution in Russia, for the spectacle is even more instructive than was that which France showed from 1789 to 1799. How Aristotle would have enjoyed watching it! One of the most interesting points would be to disengage the respective results of the idealism of a very few persons, the predatory fanaticism of a somewhat larger number, the scoundrelly selfishness of a still bigger section, and the ignorant simplicity, qualified also by selfishness, of the vast mass of peasants, and of those town workers, who are practically peasants by origin, and in their limited intelligence. At a later stage it will also be curious to see whether any real attempt to establish a socialist organisation will be made. I doubt it, thinking it more probable that some reaction towards a strong government will arrive before socialism has had a chance of putting its theories into practice. After all, one must not be disappointed, even what we see now may produce better efforts than

⁹ The *History Teacher's Magazine*, later the *Historical Outlook*, printed during the war many articles and studies prepared under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service.

¹⁰ The London headquarters of the American Historical Association were formally opened at 8 Southampton St., June 15, 1914. Later a room was rented from the Royal Historical Society. With the establishment of the American University Union the purposes of the headquarters were attained in another way, and the rooms were closed early in 1920. Bryce acted as chairman of the London branch.

coming to the end of all this feudal anarchy, and about to emerge into some larger synthesis, and here we are in the worst of feudal wars—War of the Roses, Burgundians *vs.* Armagnacs. But he would have been wrong. It was the “clearing-up shower”, and he emerged soon into a regime of unified monarchies. Speculation is vain, but I wonder what will be the effect of the return from Russia of several hundred thousand German prisoners—whether increase of man-power, or increase of subjects sick of war.

What your other American friends tell you of the strong preference of France over against England among our people seems to me to be true in a very marked degree. It is apparent to everyone. A review of a recent book, which I enclose in proof, will probably interest you, and I am asking the author, a rich New Yorker, not known to me, to send you a copy of his book.⁸ For my own part, however, I think that our writers somewhat overestimate the part which school-books have played in creating this state of mind. If the sympathy of our nation for the English nation is less than Englishmen would expect, this is partly due to a great and constant underestimation by the latter of the extent to which we are not of English race. I speak as one who is about 7/8 of English blood to about 1/8 Ulster, and who was brought up in New England and had slowly to learn how little typical is the Boston attitude toward Great Britain. Again, the influence of Irish politicians is a large factor, much larger than would be accounted for simply by the proportionate number of the Irish in America. You know much more fully than I do how desperately active and influential the Irish can make themselves in political life. Writing in 1783, Charles Biddle, who knew Pennsylvania politics through and through, said that, though the Germans in that state were far more numerous than the Irish, the Irish always greatly outnumbered them in the legislature. At St. Louis in 1904, I went into a booth of the Federation of Labor, where I saw around the walls a thousand photographs of labor leaders. They were nearly all Irish, though when you want a first-rate workman, you search for a German or a Swede. In labor politics they are supreme. When Fredericq and Pirenne were deported from Ghent to German detention-camps, and a hundred of us professors of history could not get the Department of State to make any serious effort on their behalf, one of our number roughly said that where those two eminent scholars had made their mistake was in not being born Irish, for if they had been, the President would have been dragged out of his bed by Irish delegations to cable threatening messages on their behalf.—But to you, who have travelled more than any historian since Herodotus, I need not say that there are broader explanations than any of these and that I think they ought not to be ignored by your English friends though it is ungracious in me to refer to them, except for justice' sake. To put it brutally, is it any wonder that the Americans like the French better than the British when, as well as I can make out, everybody else does? There is a quality in the French that enables them to seem sympathetic and likeable to Indians in Canada, to Russians and Italians, and for aught I know, to Hottentots, to an extent which the English cannot rival. The Americans who travel have generally found themselves more at ease with the French whom they met than with the Englishmen; these are a minority of our people, but similar effects have probably come to others, one way and another, from things that they have read or heard about. I admit that our schoolbooks used to sin a good deal in the

⁸ Charles Altschul, *The American Revolution in Our School Text-Books: An Attempt to Trace the Influence of Early School Education on the Feelings toward England in the United States* (New York, 1917), reviewed by C. H. Van Tyne in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII (Jan., 1918), 403-404.

school books, which, though less now than formerly, have given partial and exaggerated accounts of the events of the Revolution, and to the singular fact that the semi-educated don't seem to realise that the history of the United States before the eighteenth century, and, to a considerable extent, down to 1776, is the history of England. I don't know a more curious effect of mistakes in the teaching of history than this comparative want of interest in so intelligent a people in the earlier history of their race. Of course, in England also the masses are strangely ignorant of English history, but then, your people have long been better educated than ours were until recent years. The only countries I have been, where history is really a part of the life of the people are Switzerland, and to some extent, Italy, but in Italy it is rather the Romans than the Italians that excite interest. Do you think that the Historical Society could do anything to cure this defect by its influence upon teaching?

Always sincerely yours
JAMES BRYCE

December 19, 1917.

MY DEAR LORD BRYCE:

I thank you for your very interesting letter of November 21, received this morning. To some things in it I feel disposed to make an immediate reply, knowing that any little information I may send will be put to good use for both countries.

As to the Mexican inquiry, I expect good results, but not the very best. The man who has the matter in charge has selected his investigators a little hastily, so that some of them are not first-rate, and does not pursue, I hear, a steady policy with respect to directing them. They have all gone from here now, but one of them will be here again soon, so that I can learn more; but in any case, I am sure that he and his companions will value in the highest degree Mr. Maudsle[a]y's answers to questions propounded by you.

The Russian phenomena are indeed a wonderful spectacle. I know of two or three students of political science who have dropped their work and gone over there to watch it all. Here in Washington we are quite at sea respecting the real or average state of things, and it is not believed that the Department of State is much better off, or that anybody can predict. Most of the few persons I know that have much acquaintance with Russia, are much depressed. Some say that the Bolshevik government is so largely Jewish that it is sure to overdo the ordinary methods which Jews have pursued with Russians and to arouse hatred and provoke reaction. Many think that, looking quite beyond the present warfare, Russia is sure ultimately to prosper, but to look beyond the present warfare is hard work just now. I suppose that this great Russian upheaval may play the same part in bringing the whole world over from the regime of democracy to the regime of socialism that the French Revolution played in bringing the world over to democracy, but for Russia itself, I should think it easier to predict emergence into a group of loosely federated regional republics of a socialistic cast than anything more unified. Perhaps we have come to the end of nationalism anyhow. I supposed, before 1914, that this period of four hundred years during which mankind has been chiefly organized in nations was drawing to a close, with international socialism to succeed. I sometimes ask myself whether any despondency we may feel may not be like that which might have been felt by an Englishman or Frenchman about 1470, who would have said to himself, We thought we were

is being done by your millionaire for a survey of Mexico in its economic, social and political aspects. The idea is admirable, but, of course, everything would depend upon the quality of the men. Would it not be a good plan to draw up for them an outline of the points to which their enquiries should be directed, particularly on the social and political side, so that they might be sure of getting the right point of view, and of fixing their attention upon some of the details which may be more significant than [than] conspicuous? It would be a good thing if such men were occasionally to consult you, or someone else who could advise them like you could, so as to be guided in their lines of enquiry. I think few people here understand Mexico, but I might perhaps get some suggestions from those interested in the subject. Maudslay, the archaeologist, lived some years in Mexico, and is a very intelligent man. He is now in London. If you think it any use I could send some questions myself which occurred to me when I visited the country, but to which I could not give answers, and which ought to be answered.

The most interesting evolution for study that the world has seen for over one hundred years is now presented by Russia. Two or three students of political science could render immense service by describing exactly what has been passing there for the last eight months and is passing now. In many respects the phenomena are more novel and more curious than even those of France, 1789 to 1799. I do not know any case in which the easily adopted assumptions and fallacies about the goodness and wisdom and power of the "people" have been so conspicuously shown to be baseless, and in which the need for leadership and organisation among masses of men has been so clearly demonstrated. But we want far more of the real facts than we have been able to get so far. It is said that the Jews count for much. Many of the Bolshevik leaders are Jewish, apparently Socialists. Some are undoubtedly German agents.

The paper on Historical Students in War Time is interesting and timely. Some little work of the kind indicated for National Board has been done here, chiefly by G. W. Prothero, Gilbert Murray, J. W. Headlam, but historians are a very small class here compared with the many hundreds in America. One would like to see two things done—One a history of the military spirit, its doctrine & manifestations, from the "Great Elector" down to our time. The other an examination of the German contentions as to the origin of and responsibility for this War—not the mere circumstances of the Outbreak, but the underworking causes from 1871, & especially since the alliance of France & Russia. Fear of Russia probably had more than anything else to do with precipitating Germany's action. How vain are forecasts. The Russian autocracy had only four years to live when Germany determined to anticipate the danger it threatened. It was not the war but Rasputin who destroyed the Tsardom.

As a matter of curiosity, I should like to see the best case that could be made for Germany set out fairly. Of course both S.E. European and West Asian problems need most careful and luminous elucidation by history.

Your mention of the work of historical scholars leads me to refer to the strong evidence which the war has furnished of the continued aversion of the less educated part of the American people to Great Britain. Nearly all my American friends tell me, that the preference of France for England among your people has been so marked as to surprise even them, and this must surely be partly due to the

of the economic, social, and political aspects of Mexico; discussed the subject of dialectic forms of the Norwegian language; and told of the work of the National Board for Historical Service. (See Waldo G. Leland's account of the National Board, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1919, I, 161-89.)

by southern members of the cabinet, and I cannot help viewing it sadly, as an unwarranted move in the wrong direction. You will perhaps also have noted the passage of a municipal ordinance in Baltimore attempting to confine negro occupation to certain specific areas of the city. On the whole, however, I do not know that the reaction in respect to race feeling which marked the first decade of the century is now continued with much force.

I do not for a moment imagine that you have been at a loss for things with which to occupy your time of well-earned leisure. Yet I have it on my mind to make one suggestion, which came to me vividly as a result of the International Congress of Historical Studies last spring. Out of a hundred papers presented there by British subjects only one was concerned wholly and another partially with the history of the United States. What I have heard respecting the attendance upon lectures on American History recently instituted at Oxford leads to the same conclusion; and indeed it is plain that exceedingly few Englishmen take the slightest interest in American History—the most remarkable exception having been a Tory squire and I believe M. F. H., Mr. J. A. Doyle.⁶ One can easily see reasons why the number of persons thus interested should be few, but after all nearly two-thirds of those who speak English are on this side of the water and it cannot be entirely healthy and rational that almost none of the English historical scholars should interest themselves in the fortunes of that two-thirds. This is to say nothing of the benefit it would be to us to see the story discussed from their point of view. Certainly there was much profit in reading Doyle, numerous as were his errors. I am afraid it is rather presumptuous for me to make suggestions to you, but it is plain that you could do more than anyone else in England to stimulate interest in American History among the younger generation.

Mrs. Jameson has not yet returned to Washington, though I am expecting her in a few days. She would wish to be kindly remembered by you and by Mrs. Bryce. Please present to Mrs. Bryce my very kind regards; I hope she knows how deeply I regret her absence from our town, but I have no doubt that you are both happy in Sussex. I have never been in the county, but if it is as beautiful as Hampshire one should be.

I hope there will be things that I can do for you in Washington. I try to be a sort of *proxenos* of the historical fraternity here, and can at all events be rung up as a "Central" whenever one wishes to communicate with the historical student of a specific sort, or as "Information" when one is seeking for any document or item of knowledge in Washington. It will be a great pleasure to testify in any such way my gratitude and my affectionate regard.

Believe me to be with most cordial wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

3, BUCKINGHAM GATE, S.W.
21st. November 1917

MY DEAR PROFESSOR JAMESON

Your long letter of October 31st. has been full of interest for me, and I thank you sincerely for telling me as much.⁷ I am particularly interested to hear what

⁶ John Andrew Doyle, *English Colonies in America* (5 vols., New York, 1882-1907). The last two volumes are reviewed by C. M. Andrews in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIII (Jan., 1908), 360-64. The M.F.H. (Master of the Fox Hounds) is a characteristic Jameson touch.

⁷ In this letter, Jameson wrote of his project which later appeared as David M. Matteson's *List of MSS. concerning American History Preserved in European Libraries and Noted in Their Published Catalogues* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1926); mentioned a proposed survey

BRITISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON,
March 22, 1911.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT JAMESON,

Thank you very much for the little essay on Kansas which you have kindly sent me. It was very thoughtful of you to get me these aldrücke and I am extremely interested to hear that the pleasing German custom of consecrating a literary work to a friend and teacher is taking root in this country.

Mr. Becker's essay, from the few pages which I have yet had time to read, seems not only very interesting, but, as you say, extremely fresh and well written.⁴

I am

Very truly yours,
JAMES BRYCE

October 2, 1913

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I was not insensible of your kindness in sending me a copy of your book of addresses,⁵ but I waited until I had read it before writing to you, and this, it happened, could not be until the summer was almost over. Then came September with its own troubles, such as that of removal from the sea-shore of Maine to the mountain heights of 1140 Woodward Building, and so I have not written you. Please accept now my thanks for the gift, and assurance that I have profited from the reading of the book. Suggestion of new points of view, thoughts to dwell upon, wiser counsels about things on which I have secretly dogmatized—all these things I get in abundance from any of your books, as also from your talk while you were here.

It is still a matter of sadness that you are here no more. I go by the embassy with a little pain each time, and wish ardently that I could have another walk with you. I thought of it especially last Sunday when, having gone out to church at the Cathedral, I came back along Massachusetts Avenue through the region which the ruthless hand of the real-estate speculator has shaved clean of trees where once stood the fine forest through which you took me upon our first walk after your arrival in Washington. But though they could not be saved, except partially, much good is beginning to come from various other efforts you made while here to make people see what might be made and should be made of Washington. The city, by the way, looks finely this autumn, and shows much less damage from the great storm in July than I had expected, indeed comparatively little, though a few fine old trees in Lafayette Square have suffered or been destroyed:

I have not yet been in Washington long enough to pick up any valuable political information, and know nothing beyond what is probably in all the dispatches. My Johns Hopkins mate, the President, seems to be pleasing most persons, of the sort I encounter; but I am very sorry to see him allowing a reaction to take place with respect to negroes in public offices. In certain departments a segregation of white and colored, not thought necessary till now, has been effected

⁴ This essay appeared in a volume of *Essays in American History, Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, edited by G. S. Ford, which was presented by former pupils at the University of Wisconsin at the Indianapolis meeting of 1910, when Turner was president of the Association. Sending the separate, Jameson wrote, March 21, 1911, "It quite pleases me to find among the younger members of the profession one who can see and write so well." The Turner volume was the first of a growing list of such *Festschriften*.

⁵ *University and Historical Addresses: Delivered during a Residence in the United States as Ambassador of Great Britain* (New York, 1913).

Dr. George M. Bolling, professor of Sanscrit (and Greek) in the Catholic University, who however resides in town.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

Father P. J. Healy, assistant professor of church history in the Catholic University.

Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who has a large knowledge of Southwestern history.

Mr. Justice O. W. Holmes.

Father Henri Hyvernât, professor of Oriental languages in the Catholic University.

Father Thomas J. Hughan [Shahan], professor of church history there.

Father E. T. Shanahan, professor of dogmatic theology in the same institution, who however has also a large knowledge of canon law and I believe of medieval philosophy.

Professor J. Macbride Sterrett, professor of philosophy in the George Washington University.

There may be others in that institution who are scholars of the same rank as these but I am not sure of it in any case, nor am I sure about the professors of Georgetown University, except Father E. I. Devitt, who beside being professor of philosophy also occupies a sort of chair of Maryland Colonial History. He is learned in his particular line, and indeed I think in other ways, though after a somewhat snuffy and old-fashioned manner.

I dare say this is all and more than all that you care to have me tell you, and indeed I feel sure that several of these gentlemen are already known to you.

I forgot to say when we walked yesterday afternoon, with how much pleasure I heard from one of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution that at their dinner you spoke regarding the need of doing something for the humanities and, he said, with great effectiveness.

Believe me, with kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,

December 19, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

A young Norwegian historical scholar, Dr. Halvdan Koht of the University of Christiania, who is in Washington for the winter, expects to attend the meetings of the American Historical Association. I venture to suggest that a card of invitation to the reception at the Embassy be sent to him at "231 North Capitol street", for I think that the opportunity to meet the members there would be very gratifying to him.³

Very truly yours,

³ Prominent Norwegian historian, president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences from 1926 to 1933, and later minister of foreign affairs. December 28, following the reading of Bryce's paper, "The Relations of Political Science to History and to Practice" (*American Political Science Review*, III (Feb., 1909), 1-19), a reception was tendered at the British Embassy to members of the associations then meeting in Washington. Jameson wrote (Nov. 16) to assure Bryce that the place and the hour of the reception would be correctly understood by all, though "mankind has a strange power, hitherto uncatalogued by psychologists, of misunderstanding notices the most explicit."

son, Wisconsin.² I am writing to him to send you such printed matter as he will have at hand which will explain the nature of his very important and useful office. If he does not send you enough to make it all clear, please let me know; but I am pretty sure that he will, as he loves to talk about his work, not to say about himself. He is the most interesting pupil I ever had in my life and has had an extraordinary career, of which he may well be proud. He came to Brown University as a wild Irish lad of the roughest appearance, the son of a mechanic in Brockton, and at first appeared to be chiefly a football player. He was indeed the best such player that they ever had at Brown University, but he presently made it plain that he came there to study. He earned his own subsistence through college, did remarkable work in history and such things, grew year by year, all the time seeing only one year ahead, but was full of Irish enthusiasm and devotion to high ideals. After he got his doctor's degree at the University of Wisconsin he was put into this newly created position. It was thought of as a small matter but he has made it an important instrument in the management of Wisconsin affairs, potent for good (for he is trusted by all parties and perfectly disinterested) and a model which other states are beginning to follow. Two other pupils of mine hold similar positions in the administrations of New York and Indiana. But I will leave it to the printed matter which Mr. McCarthy will send to explain the machinery in detail.

I hope that you got home without mishap from New York and that you did not find yourself excessively tired by the excursion. It was the greatest pleasure to all members of the Council [of the American Historical Association] to have you with us, and it made the dinner a memorable one for all. We are deeply indebted to you for coming and for what you said.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

December 16, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I may exaggerate the seriousness with which you inquired Saturday evening as to the Gelehrten in Washington as distinguished from the Naturforscher; but as I mentioned such a partial set I think I will proceed, at the risk of being a little too systematic, to give you a little list of those that now occur to me.

Any list of Gelehrten in the United States is apt to begin with the name of "Adams". Here we shall have, and therefore I include him, though we haven't him yet, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, whose new Washington house he will occupy from some time early in January until into the spring. Mr. Henry Adams, his brother, has I think already returned from Paris; at any rate he is usually to be counted on as living in Washington through the winter. Also, not a relative of theirs, there is Professor Henry C. Adams of the University of Michigan, who for two years is released from his duties at Ann Arbor and is here as statistician of the Inter-state Commerce Commission. Others, in the non-invidious alphabetical order, whom I should think one ought certainly to class as Gelehrten, are:

Dr. Cyrus Adler, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, a good worker in Oriental archaeology and Hebrew history.

Dr. Frederic Bancroft, who has written a good life of Seward and is now working at an elaborate history of the Confederate states.

² Edward A. Fitzpatrick, *McCarthy of Wisconsin* (New York, 1944). (See review below, p. 370.) In 1902, McCarthy's study of *The Anti-Masonic Party* won the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association.

and so took no measures for obtaining expert advice as to what were the things most needing to be done in these fields. Therefore such small sums as they have spent in them have in several cases been directed toward objects which, though pressed upon their attention by certain scholars, would hardly have been selected as of the maximum importance by a carefully composed committee charged with responsibility of recommending the ideally best expenditures.

The enterprises then undertaken in the physical sciences, starting some of them with enormous expenditures and some with less, have grown on their hands until they absorb the whole available income of the Institution. I am not able to say whether the Trustees *could* any longer do substantial justice to the needs of the humanities if they would, though I believe there is still some chance. But it is clear that many of the most influential trustees and President Woodward himself distinctly undervalue these studies in comparison with those of the physical sciences. President Woodward has declared to me that astronomy, which has received much the largest grants, has done more for the development of the human mind than any two other sciences. This I think to be quite beside the point. Most of the great things which astronomy did for the human mind were done before 1850. In the last fifty years, excepting spectroscopic discoveries, I do not see that it has done more than many another science; and it is the last fifty years by which we can best judge of the next fifty. More broadly speaking, these gentlemen do not perceive, and most of them are not so trained as to perceive, the real utility of philological and historical studies. I have endeavored to point out to President Woodward that it is just as essential to clear the human mind of error and set it to thinking correctly upon the relations of man to man and of nation to nation as upon the relations of man to the universe, and have told him that no discovery of which I have heard as occurring in the physical sciences during the last fifty years has done so much to improve the quality of European thinking as those advances which have been made by the study of Oriental religions alone, to name only one aspect of the developments which have come out of comparative religion, comparative jurisprudence and comparative philology.¹ I have tried to show him the immense importance of these things in a world where three hundred million non-Europeans are ruled over by European administrators and in which nations are so constantly being drawn into close relations one with another. If it happens to fall in your way at any time to convince any of these gentlemen of the value of such considerations, or otherwise to promote on their part a fuller appreciation of the usefulness of expenditures in other fields than those of physical science, I am sure that the Institution and the country will have great cause to be grateful to you.

Please pardon me for inflicting upon you so long a letter. I did not mean to do so when I began.

With the highest regard,

Very truly yours,

December 4, 1907.

MY DEAR MR. BRYCE:

I find myself in possession, without knowing exactly how, of the card on which I wrote for you the name of the Wisconsin official respecting whom you inquired. It is Charles McCarthy, Ph.D., Legislative Reference Librarian, Madi-

¹ This discussion was developed at greater length by Dr. Jameson in a letter of December 22, 1906, to Robert S. Woodward, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington from 1904 to 1920. Files of the Department of Historical Research.

Thus the discussions on literary history, its needs and its nature, sweep through the past and pile up the sweepings, with convincing statistics, abundant references, and over-abundant quotation—in two instances more than a third of the text—leaving the reader with the feeling that though it's done, now it's done, 'twere well were it done more quickly. But in the final quintet of addresses on the responsibilities of literature the dean drops his gown, frees his arms, and lets his sentences resound. How consciously Emersonian these utterances are one may only guess. The first of them makes its explicit acknowledgment in its title, "The American Scholar Once More," and in various allusions. The second mentions Emerson twice, the third three times; the fourth likewise, including "I am glad they will preserve the Old Manse, but who will preserve Emerson?" and the fifth is recurrently marked by the Emersonian idiom in such passages as this:

Young men are sick and weary waiting for a moral leadership that nowhere appears. . . . The same persons who are daily outraged by events in China, Finland, Germany and Spain deny the possibility that morality exists, and do not see that they are inconsistent. The world is very evil, the times are waxing late. But the world has always been evil, sometimes more and sometimes less, and it is always too late. Men of conviction, however, also come too early and are therefore misunderstood and martyred, but I am not interested in the precise position of the hour hand on the clock. I observe rather that refugees are still arriving in Boston Harbor because, with all its clouds and darkness over it, they still believe in the promise of American life. The New England village stands white and clean, like other mortuary monuments, but at any rate it stands, and the steeple on the empty church points unwaveringly upward. All that is lacking is a speaker, a congregation, and a burning word. I call for a statement of human integrity.

It is a good idiom, and this is a good book, better and better as it approaches its eloquent conclusion on "the height of our great opportunity."

Mystic, Connecticut

PERCY H. BOYNTON

YANKEE FROM OLYMPUS: JUSTICE HOLMES AND HIS FAMILY. By Catherine Drinker Bowen. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1944. Pp. xvii, 475. \$3.00.)

It is dangerous to publish historical novels, or even novelized histories, like Mrs. Bowen's *Yankee from Olympus*, about heroes whom living people knew to walk the earth as natural men. *Yankee from Olympus* is a vivid and often a suggestive popular romance about the Holmes family, its nineteenth century life in Cambridge and Boston, and particularly about that prince of the law, Mr. Justice Holmes. But it is full of reconstructed personal anecdotes, heroic or intimate or both, which have the unmistakable touch of legend. Some of them—the story of Holmes's being pushed by his uncle into a proposal of marriage, for example—are almost certainly the invention of one or another of Mrs. Bowen's informants. The result is that her book cannot satisfy the inner circle of Holmes's friends.

Their reaction is bound to weaken the impact of a lively story about a great man and a great career.

As Mrs. Bowen herself carefully explains, her primary concern is not with law, philosophy, and public affairs, the chief content of Holmes's public life. Her interest is in Holmes's personal development and in the broad spectacle of his career. Without being ruthlessly psychiatric, she tries to interpret Holmes's difficult and many-sided personal history, indicating what she believes were the deep emotional issues focused in his relations with his father and his wife. On the other side, she presents Holmes's share in the work of his world as part of a Van Wyck Brooksonian pageant of recent social and cultural history, evocative and plausible, though hardly final in its judgments of his accomplishment as judge and teacher of law.

Perhaps the best chapters in Mrs. Bowen's chronicle are those on Holmes's effort to establish himself after his return from the Civil War, a wounded and rather depressed veteran. He entered the Harvard Law School, without any apparent reason for the choice, except perhaps that his father, according to Mrs. Bowen, was unenthusiastic about it. There followed a passionate quest for salvation through scholarship which turned out to be one of the decisive factors in his life. As law student, practicing lawyer, legal editor, and law professor, Holmes was a living part of the intellectual revolution of the late nineteenth century. One of a fruitful group of young Harvard intellectuals, he brought to the study of law the big questions of method and purpose, and especially the sense of science and history, which were the yeasts of every other branch of scholarship in that period. It took Holmes fifteen years of hard work to formulate his philosophy of law as an object of study, and as part of the process of social development. His basic tools of analysis had to be shaped as he used them. The law itself, ossified, anti-intellectual, practical, and conservative, was a stubborn and resisting field in which to test out the new ideas. But Holmes went at the job with vehement energy, working largely alone and at night, finding support in his occasional trips to England and in the beginning of his correspondence with Pollock. That extraordinary book, *The Common Law*, published in 1881, was the chief product of this period. It was a very great intellectual achievement, almost a tour de force. It has proved to be a continuing influence in the history of ideas, ranking with the best of Maitland, and ahead of Maine, Dicey, Pollock, and Holdsworth in the literature of law.

But the conflict in Holmes's life was not resolved. The restless soldier was not satisfied with the prospects of a career as professor of law at Harvard. "I think it is required of a man," Holmes said, "that he should share the action and passion of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived." When the call to the bench came, Holmes did not hesitate. For almost fifty years he found his salvation, and made it, as a judge in courts of final resort, first in Massachusetts, then in Washington. And it is as a judge, and particularly as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, that Holmes made his ultimate contributions. A judge

who was also our most vital philosopher of law, he clarified and reformulated many areas of private and public law. In this realm his achievement was great, though no greater than that of other outstanding judges. Holmes's most creative work, however, was devoted to the special problems of the Supreme Court as arbiter of the Federal system. On questions of this order, he proved to be one of the great voices of our political history, the prophet of a Constitution broad enough to permit democratic social growth, clear enough to protect the liberty of the individual.

Mrs. Bowen's book deserves its wide public. Her sketch does not pretend to be the last word on Holmes as a man, a judge, and a philosopher of law. It glosses over the harder problems, both of his personality and of his work. It does not do for Holmes what Guedalla, Strachey, or Stefan Zweig might have done. But that limitation comes squarely within the letter of the bargain. Mrs. Bowen is not trying to write intellectual history or psychoanalytical history. Her aim is more modest and more popular. What she does try, she does adequately.

Yale University

EUGENE V. ROSTOW

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Volume XXI, Supplement One [to December 31, 1935]. Edited by *Harris E. Starr*. Published under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. 718. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first of a series of supplementary volumes which are to be issued at appropriate intervals in order "to maintain the Dictionary as a living and continuing enterprise of American scholarship" (preface). With a new editor in charge the same standards of excellence have been sustained as in the original work. The writing is crisp and workmanlike; the research is almost always adequate to the purpose; and typographical and other errors are few. Since the earlier volumes lacked a common terminal date, the present one seeks to remedy this fault by including the memoirs of persons previously omitted because their names chanced to fall in the part of the alphabet already covered. December 31, 1935, is now to be regarded as the concluding date of the entire *Dictionary* as thus far published. Certain departures from former practices are worth mention. The editor has adopted the sensible plan of signing the articles with the authors' names instead of initials, though, as before, the writers are not identified as to institutional connections or otherwise. The sketches also achieve a greater measure of uniformity in giving the order of birth of the subjects and in listing the names of their children.

The volume contains 652 biographies of which 39 are of women. In accordance with the plan of the original publication, it passes under review the infamous as well as the famous, running a gamut all the way from Lizzie Borden and John

Dillinger to Jane Addams and Henry Fairfield Osborn. A third and larger group of sketches deals with persons who, failing to achieve prominence in either of the above respects, have, in James Russell Lowell's phrase, hung "on the perilous edge of immortality by the nails." In saving this numerous company from "the fathomless ooze of oblivion" the supplement, like its forerunners, performs its most valuable service.

Because of the contemporaneous character of most of the material, the problems of admission and exclusion and of the apportioning of space were greater than those which confronted the editor's predecessors, but the solutions reached seem, on the whole, satisfactory. Among the persons whose omission from the book seems questionable are R. C. ("Fatty") Arbuckle (d. 1933), movie comedian; Joseph Bulova (1935), watch manufacturer; J. R. Chapman (1934), civil engineer; Maggie Cline (1934), actress; Annie Fellows Johnston (1931), author of the *Little Colonel* series; E. W. Kemble (1933), illustrator; Tom Noonan (1935), "Bishop of Chinatown," New York City; Charles King (1933), novelist; Isadore Saks (1933), New York merchant; I. J. Selznick (1933), motion-picture producer; C. W. Studebaker (1934), automobile manufacturer; and Mrs. Wilson Woodrow (1935), novelist. Users of the main work should note that the supplement contains a number of memoirs which might have had space in the earlier volumes, but which were passed over through editorial choice or inadvertence. Thus, two of the individuals here treated died in the seventeenth century; six in the eighteenth century; thirty-five in the nineteenth century; and eighteen in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The publisher might well provide a list of these anachronistic inclusions for owners of the index volume, published in 1937.

A total of 358 men and women collaborated on the present work. Dealing for the most part with people recently living, they seldom failed to take advantage of the opportunity of gathering information from relatives and friends of their subjects. Among the contributors notable for the quality and number of their articles are Irving Dilliard, Walter P. Eaton, Edwin F. Edgett, Talbot F. Hamlin, Alvin H. Harlow, John Tasker Howard, Charles O. Paullin, and Richard J. Purcell. Noteworthy sketches from other pens include "Gamaliel Bradford" by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, "Harold Hart Crane" by Frank O. Matthiessen, "George Eastman" by Blake McKelvey, "Thomas A. Edison" by Roger Burlingame, "John Grier Hibben" by J. Duncan Spaeth, "Oliver Wendell Holmes" (1841-1935) by Felix Frankfurter, "Addison Mizner" by Turpin C. Bannister, "Michael I. Pupin" by Alois F. Kovarik, and "Will Rogers" by Dixon Wecter. Nearly all the biographies of historical scholars are thoughtful appraisals, but probably most readers of this *Review* will be shocked at the large number that have died so recently. The list includes Ephraim D. Adams, James H. Breasted, Philip A. Bruce, John W. Burgess, Edward Channing, Ephraim Emerton, Carl Russell Fish, Walter L. Fleming, Archer B. Hulbert, John H. Latané, Arthur C. McGiffert,

Edmond S. Meany, Ulrich B. Phillips, William R. Shepherd, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Lyon G. Tyler, and James F. Willard.

The American Council of Learned Societies is to be congratulated upon sponsoring this continuation of the great *Dictionary*, and the editor and his colleagues may take just pride in the way they have executed their commission.

Harvard University

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

THE SHIP OF FOOLS. By *Sebastian Brant*. Translated into rhyming couplets, with Introduction and Commentary, by *Edwin H. Zeydel*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number XXXVI.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. viii, 399, \$5.75.) Much credit redounds to Professor Zeydel for making available Sebastian Brant's famous *Ship of Fools* in a simple English translation. To read the original text requires more philological preparation than most students possess, and so this work was read far less than it deserved. And Barclay's English rendering possesses several defects which did not make it popular. But in this translation we have a version as clear as a translator who tries to retain the poetic form can make it. This book will prove an excellent guide for all who would study the varied aspects of late medieval life and its conception of things—a sober and truthful guide, less brilliant than the flippantly satirical Erasmus but surely more reliable. The introduction is useful not only for beginners but also for more ambitious students. Professor Zeydel correctly discusses the role of the fool in the literature of the late Middle Ages, who struts across the stage of Renaissance and becomes classic in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. It seems ungracious to suggest that a fuller study of the artistic forms of the closing Middle Ages might help students understand the subject better. The idea of Folly is Biblical and is illustrated by the Seven Wise and Seven Foolish Virgins sculptured on the north transept of one of the churches in Nuremburg. The ship likewise was not an unfamiliar idea. There is, for example, Giotto's Navicella, said to be copied by Boniauti in the Florentine church of Santa Maria Novella. In *Unam Sanctum* Boniface VIII mentions Noah's ark, which prefigures the universal saving church, and finally, there is the woodcut on page 331 of this book illustrating Saint Peter's Schiffli. Memlinc, a contemporary of Brant, has made the theme famous, as all visitors to the Bruges museums recall. Everybody will thank the editor for including the original woodcuts, which, like the poem, constitute a valuable aid in forming a concrete picture of that age. "Thill" in the footnote on page 14 should be "Tiel." H. S. LUCAS

MACHIAVELLI'S THE PRINCE: AN ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATION. Edited with an Introduction and Notes from a manuscript in the collection of Mr. Jules Furthman by *Hardin Craig*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, pp. xli, 177, \$3.50.) Professor Craig's publication of a sixteenth century English translation of Machiavelli's *The Prince* is an event of a good deal of interest to students of the Elizabethan age. The widespread circulation of the real or supposed ideas of that work in sixteenth century English literature, in spite of the fact that no English version of *The Prince* was published before Dacres' version of 1640, has long made the source of that knowledge a subject of speculation. The role of the libelous perversion of Gentillet in the spawning of the dramatists' Machiavel is, of course, well-known, but there is plenty of evidence of more direct and respectful acquaintance with Machiavelli's thought. Learned men would naturally find easy access to *The Prince* in the original Italian, or in well-known Latin and French translations. But the recognized addiction of the Elizabethan man of letters to linguistic short cuts long ago led Elizabethan students to suspect the existence of English translations circulated in manuscript. Machiavelli's reputation as an atheist would quite sufficiently explain the failure of such translations to find publication in the England of that time. But the fact that Professor Craig has found evidence for the circulation in considerable numbers of copies of one of the two sixteenth century translations now

known to exist indicates that confinement to manuscript circulation was under the circumstances less of a bar to influence than we now might think. The publication of the best of the manuscripts of the more popular version, the Furthman manuscript, is therefore a real aid to our understanding of the development of understanding of the political ideas of this period. The present publication is not only a careful piece of editing but an attractive piece of bookmaking. This is due both to the good taste of the University of North Carolina Press and to the restraint of the editor. The necessary historical and textual materials are given with precision, but they are kept to an adequate minimum, and they are not allowed to invade the pleasant page of the text. This is important, for this translation, a good one in the Elizabethan sense, has the color and liveliness characteristic of Elizabethan prose when it is absorbed in the business of communication. A good example is the famous and typical passage from the end of the eighth chapter. Professor Allan Gilbert in his excellent and timely version of 1941 renders it thus: "Injuries should all be done together in order that men may taste their bitterness but a short time, and be but little disturbed. Benefits ought to be conferred a little at a time, that their flavor may be tasted better." That is good, but I think the sixteenth century version is from the purely literary point of view even better: "Wherefore iniuries are to be offered all at a clappe, and that but once, that beinge seldom fealt they maybe the sooner forgotten. But benefites contrariwise muste be bestowed by little and little one after an other, that beinge often practised they may the freshlier be remembered."

HELEN C. WHITE

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM 1720 TO 1734, AS REVEALED IN DISPATCHES OF THE VENETIAN *BAILLI*. By *Mary Lucille Shay*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXVII, No. 3.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1944, pp. 165, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.) The mass of evidence available to him threatens to overwhelm the student of modern history. The more "critical" he becomes, the greater grows the peril. Ranke took a safe step in a dangerous direction when he turned from the general narratives of earlier historians to the reports (*relazioni*) of the Venetian ambassadors. Since these reports are polished summaries prepared at the conclusion of an ambassador's mission, the insatiable modern appetite for more evidence and for evidence in a raw state leads scholars to turn now from the reports to the dispatches. In these *dispacci*, the Venetian ambassadors reported news as quickly as they learned it. They gave "blow by blow" accounts of a multitude of matters, some momentous, some trivial, and consequently the quantity of the *dispacci* is forbidding. Merely to go through and summarize in detail the dispatches of the four Venetian ambassadors at Constantinople, 1720-1734, as Dr. Shay has done—using partly the files at Venice, partly the Hiersemann manuscripts at the University of Illinois—must have been a time-consuming labor. The product is of strictly ancillary value. The statements of the Venetian ambassadors have not been compared systematically with other sources in order to weigh the evidence and reach conclusions about what happened. Many events and institutions referred to without explanation by the ambassadors are left unexplained. In short, Dr. Shay has not written any part of a history of the Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734, nor has she given any such penetrating analysis of its government as A. H. Lybyer achieved, partly, although by no means exclusively, from Venetian *relazioni*. Dr. Shay has attempted no such accomplishment. The work she has done seems likely to be valuable chiefly in enabling a historian to move more speedily through a particular group of voluminous source material.

FREDERIC C. LANE

THE LITERATURE OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM, 1815-1939: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George

Washington University. (Washington, Paul Pearlman, 1944, pp. viii, 153, \$2.10.) This painstaking and comprehensive bibliography will be a great aid to students of European expansion into all areas of the globe. The list of books and monographs is supplemented by full references to periodical literature.

ABSTRACTS IN HISTORY, V: DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, ABSTRACTS, AND REFERENCES, Volume III, Part II. From Dissertations for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy as Accepted by the Graduate College of the University of Iowa, 1939-1942. Edited by *W. Ross Livingston*. [Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XI, No. 4; University of Iowa Studies, No. 404.] (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1943, pp. 87-228.)

CARDINAL OF SPAIN: THE LIFE AND STRANGE CAREER OF ALBERONI. By *Simon Harcourt-Smith*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. xiv, 282, xv, \$3.50.) If publishers are short of paper—and the jacket says they are—a saving could have been effected by delaying, or postponing indefinitely, the publication of this volume. It is a slight book; it adds nothing to scholarship and, even as a popularization, it does not present a sufficient or adequate interpretation. To your reviewer, it is grotesquely proportioned; it is crowded with trivialities and irrelevancies; smart phrases abound, and no opportunity for a snappy story appears to have been overlooked. For all its seriousness as an explanation of the "life and strange career" of Alberoni, it might well have been entitled "Cooking and Catering, One's Way to a Red Hat." Alberoni's procurement of Parmesan delicacies, especially cheese and sausages, evidently opened ways to preferment and finally brought him to the care of the pregnancy diet of Elizabeth Farnese. Thus "he established and confirmed his power" (pp. 140-41). No satisfying or even plausible story is given of the rise of Alberoni to a position of influence at the court of Parma, nor of the way in which he became an intimate of the maréchal duc de Vendôme. By means of this connection he secured the Spanish entree. How he became the chief power in Spain, and a cardinal, is not at all convincingly explained. His "Colbert-like reforms" and, in fact, his relations with the government of Spain are neither accounted for nor clearly described. Much of the liberally supplied atmosphere and background for his career, generously seasoned with anecdotes and rumors, is created with lavishly drawn, general, unsupported statements. Indeed, this is irresponsible history, readable, no doubt, and possibly stimulating to those who exaggerate the dry-as-dust menace, but no substantial help to an understanding of Alberoni's strange career. The complicated international relations of his period of power are thinly treated and are oversimplified by emphasis on his policy of friendship for Britain and a supposedly passionate desire "to drive the Germans" out of Italy. That he was not a warmonger but the innocent, peace-loving scapegoat for the restoration of peace in 1719 is the rather tortured conclusion of the argument. His reputation as the "Satanic genius of Frederick the Great's imagination" (p. x) becomes, at the end of the book (p. 250), "the satanic figure of Dubois' invention."

LAURENCE B. PACKARD

LETTRES SUR L'AMERIQUE DU NORD: EXTRAITS. Par *Michel Chevalier*. Avec une introduction par *Robert G. Mahieu*. [Petite Bibliothèque Américaine, Institut Français de Washington.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press for Institut Français de Washington, 1944, pp. xx, 51, 50 cents.) This booklet is a charming and graceful piece of French propaganda. The full two volumes of Chevalier's *Letters on North America* have long been well and favorably known to scholars as have the life and influence of their author. M. Mahieu, in his introduction to the few letters he reprints, writes delightfully but does not add materially to our knowledge. He wants us to believe that these letters, reflecting the teachings of Saint Simon through one of his

ablest disciples, would help the world to resolve its present crisis. His purpose is far from absurd, but he does not prove his case. His quotations do not show that Saint Simonism has any practical importance for us now. They merely make us wonder if M. Mahieu, or Michel Chevalier through him, is not going to lapse into something resembling "Globaloney." All this is a pity. The reviewer is convinced that Saint Simonism gave much of material value to France and much of spiritual value also and that it is of some importance still. But in a publication at this time and in this country it needs to be reinterpreted both for the present generation and for American, rather than French, readers.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM

UNPUBLISHED AMERICAN DOCUMENTS FROM GARIBALDI'S MARCH ON ROME IN 1867. By *Howard R. Marraro*. (New York, author, 1944, pp. 8, 20 cents.)

AMERICAN LITERATURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Clarence Gohdes*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. ix, 191, \$2.50.) The subject of British criticisms of American writings before 1833 was dealt with in two monographs published by Mr. William B. Cairns in the Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature. Mr. Gohdes now carries on the story in a survey which begins with the year 1832. His approach is more varied than that of Mr. Cairns, since he discusses not only critical opinion but also the booktrade, periodical literature, American humor in England, and the popularity in England of a sample American author (Longfellow). The general picture his book presents is a double one: a tremendous popular consumption in England of American literature, coupled with an English critical estimate of American writers which was unfavorable at the beginning of the period covered but gradually improved. Many incidental points are of great interest. It is worth knowing that the early writings of Dickens were held inferior to Irving, that American writers were pirated in England as much or more than English writers over here, and that the popular enthusiasm in England for Longfellow was not altogether shared by English critics and men of letters. Mr. Gohdes is to be commended for the scope of his approach, his exactness and thoroughness in scholarship, and the interesting facts he has brought to light. His stated purpose "of proving the wide interest in American literature displayed by the English people" is fulfilled beyond a doubt. Yet some will regret that he did not go further, and try to show the influence of American ideas on English thought. He tells us with meticulous detail that American authors were widely read in England. But if this was so, they must have made some contribution to the English climate of opinion, and it would be interesting to know how great this influence was and in what way it was exerted. Within its stated limits, however, this is a careful monograph, and it will prove a convenience to other scholars. There is a useful appendix, which lists a large number of critical articles on American literature appearing in British periodicals from 1833 to 1901.

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

DAS VERHÄLTNIS FRANKREICHS ZU RUSSLAND, 1871-1878. Dissertation by *Felix Büchler*. [Heft 13 der "Berliner Untersuchungen zur Allgemeinen Geschichte."] (Aarau, 1943, pp. 107.)

THE WAR, FOURTH YEAR. By *Edgar McInnis*, Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto. With an Introduction by the Right Honourable Viscount Wavell of Cereñaica and Winchester. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. xvii, 409, \$2.50.) At the present time Professor McInnis' annual volumes are noteworthy for their excellent analysis, integration, and interpretation of often widely separated developments in this great global struggle. In time to come, however, one of their chief values to historians may well be their reflection of an intelligent and trained

observer's changing reactions to the course of events as they unfolded. When he wrote his preceding volume, for instance, Professor McInnis believed that "the prospect was in sight that the Axis would be able to create a strong if not an impregnable position; and even if they would have to renounce total victory, they might be able to force a deadlock," but when he wrote this volume he was of the opinion that Germany had "lost all hope of positive victory." He was evidently still doubtful, however, of Anglo-American ability to break through Germany's Atlantic wall. He appeared convinced that the ascendancy of the attack over the defense had been modified by the evolution of new defensive methods, and that a *blitzkrieg* on the model of 1940 would be more difficult to carry through in 1944. His volume on the fifth year of the war should clear up some of these uncertainties.

F. LEE BENNS

APPROACHES TO WORLD PEACE: FOURTH SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Bryson, Lyman*, and others. [Publication of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life.] (New York, Harper, 1944, pp. 991, \$5.00.) "Papers on the history and progress of democratic thought and plans for world peace by leaders in the fields of science, philosophy, and religion."

SONGS OF FREEDOM. By *J. Murray Gibbon*. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Section II, Volume XXXVII, 1943.] (Ottawa, printed for the Royal Society of Canada, 1943, pp. 77-111.)

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1943: AN ANNUAL SURVEY. Edited by *Arthur Preston Whitaker*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 287, \$3.00.) "The developments made in all branches of industry and culture by twenty-two American nations in the Western Hemisphere are recorded by twelve contributors."

GLOBAL EPIDEMIOLOGY, Vol. I. By *Simmons, Whayne, Anderson, and Horack*. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1944, \$7.00.) Two more volumes to follow.

FIFTY YEARS OF BEST SELLERS, 1895-1945. Compiled by *Alice P. Hackett*. (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1944, \$2.50.) "Best seller records for each year . . . with bibliography of books, articles and other data on best sellers. . . . The author is head of the bibliographical department of *Publishers' Weekly*."

A SURVEY OF RUSSIAN STUDIES AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES. [Russian Economic Institute, Co-operating Institution of the Research Bureau for Post-War Economics, Pamphlet Series No. 4.] (New York, Research Bureau for Post-War Economics, 1944, pp. 12.)

ARE YOU WRITING A BUSINESS HISTORY? By *N. S. B. Gras*. [Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Whole No. 109.] (Boston, Baker Library, 1944, pp. 73-110.) "The term 'business history' : . . . connotes the story of the policy, management, and control that go into the production of goods and services chiefly for the making of a private profit." It is to be differentiated from "economic history," for the latter stresses the broad background of a subject or is primarily concerned with special economic problems—business cycles, the formation of capital, real wages, and the like. As a protagonist for the former approach Professor Gras has prepared a pamphlet for the use of those who have not had training in business history. He deals not only with the character of business history but with such matters as what phases of business activity to stress, where to find materials, problems of composition, and editorial review.

S. B. CLOUGH

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ALFRED COBBAN. *The Nation State. History*, Mar.

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- H. M. SPITZER. Germany's Attack on America. *Ibid.*
- KNIGHT DUNLAP. The Great Aryan Myth. *Sci. Monthly*, Oct.
- BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. July 1914: Thirty Years After. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.
- WILLIAM H. HESSLER. Sea Power in Global War. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Sept.
- WALTON L. ROBINSON. Saga of the *Scharnhorst*. *Ibid.*
- J. P. WIDE. From Slavery to Slavery: Central Europe, Past and Present. *Cath. World*, Oct.
- JAN KUCHARZEWSKI. Delusions of the West and First Warning. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, July.
- Id.* German Philosophy and the Russian Intelligentsia. *Ibid.*
- GORDON A. CRAIG. The Technique of Peacemaking. *Yale Rev.*, Autumn.
- SHEPARD B. CLOUGH. Mars in the Clutches of Clio. *New York Hist.*, July.
- L. S. CRESSMAN. World War II History Project Progress Report. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Sept.
- GAVIN LONG. The Plan for an Official History of Australia's Part in the War. *Military Affairs*, Summer.
- ALBERT T. LAUTERBACH. Militarism in the Western World. *Jour. Hist. of Ideas*, Oct.

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T. R. S. Broughton

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- A. M. BLACKMAN and H. W. FAIRMAN. The Myth of Horus at Edfu, II. *Jour. Egypt. Archaeol.*, XXIX.

¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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 EDWIN R. THIELE. The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, July.
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 J. BARAMKI. Coin Hoards from Palestine, II. *Ibid.*
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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

- DUNCHAD: GLOSSAE IN MARTIANUM. Edited by Cora E. Lutz, Wilson College.
 [Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, edited by T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College.] (Philadelphia, American Philological Association; distributed by Lancaster Press, Inc., Lancaster, Pa., 1944, pp. xxx, 68, \$1.50.)
 THE LATE LATIN VOCABULARY OF THE VARIAE OF CASSIODORUS: WITH SPECIAL ADVERTENCE TO THE TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY OF AD-

MINISTRATION. By *Odo John Zimmermann*. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature, Volume XV.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xx, 277.)

ANGLIISKAIA DEREVNIA V XIII VEKE [the English village in the thirteenth century]. By *E. A. Kosminskii*. [Historical Commission of the Academy of Science of the USSR.] (Moscow, Academy of Science of the USSR, 1935, pp. 278.) This volume published in 1935 has but recently found its way to the shelves of the *Review*. An adequate appraisal could be made only by one who both read Russian and was at home in the field, a combination not represented among known available reviewers. The volume cannot be ignored for it is quite evidently an unusual study of the economic structure of the English village based on the hundred rolls of 1279 compared by elaborate computations with the descriptions in the *inquisitiones post mortem* all over England. The study deals in major part with the times of Henry III and part of the reign of Edward I. There are innumerable computations of servile payments the correctness of which is basic to the validity of the author's conclusion. There is the inevitable Marxian point of view but that can be blacked out by the scholar who is interested in the evidence and in the points where the writer supplements or corrects Vinogradov, Seebohm, and others. A second volume was planned when this was published. This note can do no more under the circumstances than call the volume to the attention of scholars especially interested in the field. G. S. F.

CALENDAR OF PLEA AND MEMORANDA ROLLS PRESERVED AMONG THE ARCHIVES OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON AT THE GUILDHALL, A.D. 1413-1437. Edited by *A. H. Thomas* of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, Deputy-Keeper of the City Records. Printed by order of the Corporation under the direction of the Library Committee. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xli, 369, \$3.75.) Mr. Thomas offers his fifth volume calendaring the London court rolls. The first three have been noticed previously in this *Review* (XXX [April, 1925], 635; XXXII [April, 1927], 580; XXXV [July, 1930], 832). This volume is similar in general character to the previous ones. Social and legal historians will find additional items, often quaint and lively, to fill in their picture of fifteenth century England. The political historian gets only glimpses of great events, an instance of resistance to taxation in 1420, and occasional legal disputes over prisoners' ransoms bought on speculation. There is also an inquest in 1419 relative to a man charged with saying "that taxes and tallages were falsely and unfaithfully levied from the poor and wretched people and that the king had caused liege and faithful men to be hanged and burnt and had crossed to a foreign land and there destroyed God's people, and that neither he nor any of his race had ever done otherwise." The jury refused to indict. Another case involved sharp business practice in a sale of pewter dishes "for the use of the illustrious Prince Sigismund, ever august king of the Romans, then greatly in need of a loan for the saving of his honour." Since this volume includes calendars of the Ward Presentments for 1422-1423, the editor devotes half his introduction to a history of London wards and wardmotes. The calendar itself emphasizes the persistent problem of a medieval city's inadequate means for sewage disposal. Refuse accumulated so easily "to the horribility of the whole ward," and complaints repeated over sixteen years could get no remedy. Scientists will find an interesting case involving a barber surgeon, showing the astrological trappings of a simple treatment. Antiquarians can note the earliest instance (1414) in English of the expression "Lord Mayor" of Lon-

don. American genealogists will discover that a certain Miles Standish was a London grocer in 1431. And the student of language will find a long list of unusual words.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

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 SAUL LIEBERMAN. Roman Legal Institutions in Early Rabbinics and in the Acta Martyrum. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, July.
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MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LEARNING

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 A. H. SCHUTZ. The Provençal Expression *pretz e valor. Ibid.*
 R. WEISS. The Imperfect Rhymes E:I, O:U in Early Italian Poetry. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Apr.
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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE OVERSEAS. By W. P. Morrell. [Historical Association Pamphlet, No. 130.] (London, published for the Historical Association by P. S. King and Staples, 1944, pp. 23.) A very useful revision by Dr. W. P. Morrell of Leaflet No. 46, edited by the late Professor A. P. Newton.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH: AN EXPERIMENT IN NATIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION. By Frederick George Marcham. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 5.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944, pp. 98, 40 cents.)

THE STORY OF THE IRISH RACE: A POPULAR HISTORY OF IRELAND. By Seumas MacManus. [Fourth revised edition.] (New York, Neven-Adair, 1944, pp. 750, \$3.50.) "The first regular trade edition of a book which was privately printed by the author in 1921. Revised to 1944."

FRENCH CANADA: A STUDY IN CANADIAN DEMOCRACY. By Stanley B. Ryerson. [3d printing.] (New York, International Publishers, 1944, pp. 256, \$2.50.)

In spite of some substantial offences against historical canons, this study is not negligible. The author, an active member of the extreme Left in Canada, is the son of an Anglo-Canadian father and a French-Canadian mother, descendants of the oldest and most antipathetic English- and French-speaking stocks in North America. The purpose of his writings has been to rouse French Canadians to recognition of the democratic elements in their tradition and to unite them with like-minded English-speaking Canadians in radical politico-economic action. By applying Marxian analysis to much of the history and present circumstances of Quebec for almost the first time, he achieves a fresh and often illuminating result which must interest any student of these matters who does not surrender to exasperation. His success is notable in the account of the conflict between liberalism and clericalism and in the demonstration, if not so convincingly in the explanation, of how French Canadians have been exploited by modern industrialization. The book is well calculated on the one hand to shock, and on the other to hold forth hope. From a social point of view, many Americans and Canadians, Anglophobes and Francophobes, might benefit by reading it. Scholars are likely to be put out by many careless errors and by some instances of perversity. Of the latter the most serious is Mr. Ryerson's uncandid use of D. G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, 1937), to which he is heavily indebted but against which he warns readers by name-calling and by what seems to me to be serious distortion of Creighton's thesis. It is hard to see what worth-while object is to be gained by such tactics.

J. B. BREBNER

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FRANCE

LE COMMERCE NANTAIS ET LA PERTE DE SAINT-DOMINGUE, D'APRES UNE CORRESPONDANCE DE LA MAISON LEBOURG (1784-1800). By G. Debien. (Port-au-Prince, Imprimerie V. Valcin, 1944[?], pp. 69.) This little volume is the most recent of a notable series of contributions on early days in "France's Caribbean jewel" published of late by Professor Debien, a French national resident in Egypt. It embraces carefully edited extracts from seventy-three letters written by a leading West Indian factor in Nantes and his widow to the Marquis de Vanssay, his wife, and his mother-in-law, all of whom had wide colonial connections. The originals, preserved in the Chateau de la Barre, have not hitherto been adequately exploited. An interesting mixture of business and personal matters, these letters are unique in that they cover both economic developments and the kaleidoscopic political and social changes of the times, and they are indispensable to anyone interested in French

colonial history. Of particular value are those covering the relations between Nantes and Santo Domingo during the Revolution, a matter on which very little has hitherto been known.

LOWELL RAGATZ

THE INNOCENT EMPRESS: AN INTIMATE STUDY OF EUGÉNIE. By *Erna Barschak*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1943, pp. 346, \$3.50.) This is an extraordinarily irritating book. Its irritations to this reviewer were of various kinds. In the first place in a book of over three hundred pages there is an index of thirty-six names and nothing else. This is almost more French than the French. There is no bibliography, but the footnotes—at the end of the book—are supposed to remedy the deficiency. In a way they do, provided the reader can make any sense of them. By this time one is accustomed to the obscurity of *op.cit.*, but Dr. Barschak carries obscurity to the point of genius. Countless times she sets down a footnote consisting of a name plus *op.cit.* Seldom a page reference. Occasionally, when the author referred to wrote a work of more than one volume, she lists the number of the volume, no doubt to prevent the weak from faltering in midpassage. Perhaps the author faltered herself since her footnotes get fewer and barer as she approaches the end of her work. Though these criticisms are academic and technical, the serious reader is entitled to make them. The title would lead one to expect a Winchellesque peep into the boudoirs of the mighty, but there is little of that sort of thing. The author's purpose apparently was to present a psychologist's analysis of why Eugénie behaved like Eugénie. As a result there is a great deal of emphasis on such things as emotions and sympathies. Understandably enough, the sources for this type of treatment are letters, memoirs, and "souvenirs." What is missing is background, solid foundation. The author has painted a picture but the canvas is lacking. Eugénie seems to float in the air midway between heaven and earth. She never quite comes to life and never shows any thorough comprehension of the world of her day. In that sense she deserves to be styled "the Innocent Empress." Perhaps when all is said and done her greatest legacy is her hat.

C. EDEN QUAINTON

FIGHTING FRANCE YEAR BOOK, 1944. (New York, France Forever, 1944, pp. 135, paper \$1.25.) "Summing up the events of the year in which the Free French Forces and all the resisting French played a part. The third year book."

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

- VON BISMARCK ZU HITLER: ERINNERUNGEN UND BETRACHTUNGEN. By Oscar Meyer. (New York, Friedrich Krause, 1944, pp. 238, \$2.75.) "A leading German politician of the Weimar Republic gives his picture of Germany's political development into National Socialism."
 BRIEFWECHSEL JOHANNES VON MÜLLER MIT JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER UND CAROLINE HERDER, 1782-1808. Nach den Originalhandschriften der Ministerialbibliothek-Schaffhausen, der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek-Berlin und des Goethe-Schiller-Archiv-Weimar ausgearbeitet von Karl Emil Hoffmann. (St. Gallen, 1939, pp. ix, 272.)

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

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LIFE AND CULTURE OF POLAND AS REFLECTED IN POLISH LITERATURE. By *Waclaw Lednicki*. (New York, Roy, 1944, pp. 339, \$3.50.) "A study of the national, political, and religious life of Poland during the last four centuries as reflected in the works of her writers."

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR, 1914. By *Charles Roger Hicks*, Professor of History and Political Science, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada. (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 1944, pp. 8.) A limited number of copies are available and may be had, gratis, on request to the author.

GATEWAY TO ASIA: SINKIANG, FRONTIER OF THE CHINESE FAR WEST. By *Martin R. Norins*. Introduction by Owen Lattimore. [Issued in co-operation with the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.] (New York, John Day, 1944, pp. 200, \$2.75.) Of all regions on this globe the histories of which have been vital to their neighbors and to the world at large the most important and the least known is without doubt Chinese Turkestan, since 1878 called by the Chinese Sinkiang, the New Dominion. In spite of the travelogues of several observant writers,

of monographs by scientific explorers, and of the carefully preserved records of the Chinese in particular, many of which have been excellently translated, we do not have nearly enough information. The little book of Mr. Norins is a highly useful addition to the literature as it presents an up-to-date picture of the province, with enough of the background sketched in to make one aware of the area's significance. Here we learn of Sinkiang's recent relations with Russia, China, and Great Britain, of the recent governor's enlightened administration (Sheng Shih-ts'ai was recalled by Chiang Kai-shek while this book was in press), of the sudden stirring of interest amongst Chinese in the province and in its development during the war years. There are concise discussions too of the various races which make up the population and of the agricultural and mineral resources. The author has arrived at his facts only after a critical study of the best sources, mostly Chinese, and by skirting the region on the China side during the years 1939 and 1940. To his text he has appended a selection of paraphrases of a recent Chinese book, a working bibliography, and some highly interesting notes. Mr. Lattimore's introduction on Sinkiang's place in the future of China is the work of a man who has crossed the province more than once and who has given years of thought to this question; it should not be missed.

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

A BASIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Charles A. and Mary R. Beard*. (New York, New Home Library, 1944, pp. x, 508, 69 cents.) We are told that 150,000 copies of this book were printed before publication. It is now being distributed as a dividend by the Book-of-the-Month Club, and has become a best seller. When this happens to a history of the United States, it is, indeed, news, and may be counted as another evidence of the widespread "interest" in American history stimulated by war-inspired nationalism and the New York *Times* survey. The Beards have done an excellent job of compression and have presented the story with clarity and in well-planned, logical outline. All teachers of American history should read it, for clarity and good organization are none too common in college and high school teaching. It does not seem to this reviewer, however, that the average layman will find it a very exciting narrative. It lacks the insistence and the dramatic qualities which make for the wider appeal. The treatment is uneven in quality. Economic history is generally handled with analytical and masterly insight. But the pages on the frontier are singularly ineffective, perhaps because of the authors' dismissal of the whole Turner thesis (p. 362). Very effective, on the other hand, are passages on the rise of industry and the class struggle. The maps are good, but the treatment of geographical background is extremely sketchy. There are few errors of fact, but it should be pointed out that the third party in 1844 was not the Free Soil party (p. 262) and *Leonidas* Polk was not elected president (pp. 187, 251, and index). It is no secret to readers of the *American Historical Review* that the Beards are against "entanglement in European affairs." Though welcoming the "Revolts against Plutocracy" and the "New Deal Uprising," they yearn for the good old days before the "Breach with Historic Continentalism." It is the treatment of foreign relations which has led some reviewers to describe the *Basic History* as as much a tract as a history. We no longer expect or desire a detached objectivity from our writers of history, but in this case, as so often, an enthusiasm has resulted in occasional mishandling of the data. It is not strictly true, for example, that President Monroe in 1823 "informed European governments that . . . the United States would not interfere in European affairs" (p. 177). Contrary to the implication on page 440, a majority of Americans appear to have favored our adhesion to the League of Nations. And was it really quite fair to say that "ardent advocates of internationalism hailed the act [the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact] as putting an end to war and guaranteeing world order"? ROBERT SAMUEL FLETCHER

LAND OF THE FREE: A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Homer Carey Hockett*, Emeritus Professor of History, Ohio State University, and *Arthur Meier Schlesinger*, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xxviii, 765, \$4.00.) The present volume is based upon the *Political and Social Growth of the American People*, of which Homer C. Hockett wrote the first volume and Arthur M. Schlesinger the second.

THE FAITH AND FIRE WITHIN US: AN AMERICAN CREDO. By *Elizabeth Jackson*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, pp. 187, \$2.00.) "Ideas Americans believe in, illustrated with essays, poetry, and quotations from American writers."

ESSAYS IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY: ERIC BOLLMANN AND STUDIES IN BANKING. By *Fritz Redlich*. (New York, Fritz Redlich, distributed by G. E. Stechert, 1944, pp. v, 199, \$2.00.) The first half of this volume is devoted to Eric Bollmann, an able adventurer who lived in America from 1796 to 1814. In addition to an attempted rescue of Lafayette from an Austrian prison and participation in the Burr fiasco, Bollmann was a merchant and manufacturer in Philadelphia and at various times wrote pamphlets on the monetary and banking systems of the United States and Great Britain. One of his studies written in Austria during the Congress of Vienna had some influence on the Austrian monetary system. His economic writing, a mixture of mercantilist and classical thought, showed originality and was based on a wide knowledge of European and American monetary experience. This is the most complete and scholarly study of Bollmann in English. The rest of the volume contains three essays. The first, on "Mercantilist Thought and Early American Banking," discusses the influence of mercantilist thought on American banking and the efforts to modernize mercantilist banking to meet American conditions, that is, to make it fit the needs of farmers, mechanics, and land speculators as well as merchants. The essay "Free Banking, the History of an Idea and Its Exponents" deals with the American system of "free banking" from the 1830's to the Civil War. The author believes the system to be "one of the epoch-making achievements of American banking." The final essay traces the history of the slogan "A National Debt Is a National Blessing." These essays will interest economic historians, particularly those concerned with the history of economic ideas and their influence on American history. Among other things they show the hang-over of mercantilist thought in America after it had been largely discarded in England. HAROLD U. FAULKNER

THE INDIAN IN AMERICAN LIFE. By *G. E. Lindquist*, with the collaboration of *Erna Gunther*, *John H. Holst*, and *Flora Warren Seymour*. Foreword by Mark A. Dawber. (New York, Friendship Press, 1944, pp. xi, 180, cloth \$1.00, paper 60 cents.) This interesting book contains a historical sketch of the Indians from colonial times, when the race consisted entirely of full-blooded Indians, to the present, when a large majority of them are of mixed blood, many having only a small percentage of Indian ancestry. The education of the Indians was begun by Christian missionaries and extended by the Federal government. The aim of both agencies was to prepare the Indians for gradual assimilation into the civilization that surrounded them. The Indians were progressing when the change of administration in 1933 brought a change in policy. Under the new policy the Indians are segregated, tribal self-government is introduced, and old customs are revived. One serious result is the conflict between Federal laws, state laws, and tribal government. Mention is made of certain Indians serving with the armed forces in the southern Pacific who have not the right of suffrage at home. In the author's view the administration of Indian affairs in Canada is

more realistic and "provides legally for the continual seepage into the white race." Each chapter is documented and the book is provided with a chronology of Protestant missions, a selected reading list, an index, and a map showing the location of Indian tribes and reservations.

FRANCES DENSMORE

WASHINGTON AND "THE MURDER OF JUMONVILLE." By *Gilbert F. Leduc*. (Boston, La Société Historique Franco-Américaine, 1943, pp. iii, 235, \$2.25.) This is an interesting book. Few Americans know that the opening of a global war in the 1750's brought a charge of infamy similar to that associated with Pearl Harbor or the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand. For two centuries such a charge has been leveled at George Washington. It has had a peculiar recrudescence recently, especially among French Canadians, and is significant for the student of war propaganda and intellectual history. On May 28, 1754, in the wilderness of the Ohio country, Lieutenant Colonel Washington with forty Virginians made a surprise dawn attack on Ensign Coulon de Jumonville's force of thirty-four men. The latter and nine of his men were killed. The French asserted that Jumonville, though clothed with the immunity and sacred character of a diplomatic envoy, was perfidiously butchered during a treacherous massacre in time of peace. The English answered that Jumonville, masking as an envoy, was a spy who had advanced with the caution of a hidden enemy. Almost overnight, as two great empires were mobilizing, the young Virginian became known not only in the taverns of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia but also in Horace Walpole's drawing room, in Buckingham Palace, and in the chancelleries of Paris. A backwoods incident thus became part of the propaganda by which the French nation was whipped up to the fury of battle. Five years later, when France had been decisively defeated, Antoine Léonard Thomas published his epic poem, *Jumonville Poème*. In it he called on posterity to avenge what France at that time could not. French and French-Canadian writers for two centuries have often told the story as Thomas urged. Leduc has re-examined the moot question to pass definitive judgment. Though he has carried the study further than previous writers in English, his book cannot be regarded as definitive. His statement of the problem itself shows bias: whether Washington "was morally guilty of the death of the pretended French ambassador" (p. 19). Apparently he did not make an exhaustive survey of French, English, and American works published since 1754, tabulate an analysis of their treatment of the event, and in measured paragraphs synthesize this. Fundamental causes are overlooked when this wilderness skirmish is magnified by saying that the Seven Years' War grew out of it (p. i), or that this war in America "should have risen from a fatal bullet which, supposedly, was fired by the youthful Washington" (p. 18). Such statements also overlook other frontier clashes, such as the attack by Langlade on Pickawillani in 1752. The author's technique in using historical evidence is open to question. He does not go directly to the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, or other manuscript collections, but uses indiscriminately the discredited Sparks edition of Washington's writings, the Ford edition, or the excellent Fitzpatrick edition. Neither has he explored thoroughly the archive material in London and Paris. The chief value of this volume lies in calling attention to an interesting subject that invites further study.

A. T. VOLWILER

GEORGE HENRY CALVERT: AMERICAN LITERARY PIONEER. By *Ida Gertrude Everson*, Assistant Professor of English, Wagner College. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, Number 160.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. xiv, 330, \$3.75.) A descendant of the Lords Baltimore, and, on his mother's side, of the painter Rubens through the distinguished Steier

family of Antwerp, Belgium, George Henry Calvert was one of the few Middle States gentlemen of his period to choose a life devoted to studies and literature. After boyhood on his father's Maryland plantation, he attended Harvard, visited his mother's people in Belgium, and traveled then and later in Europe, visiting Goethe and Wordsworth and making other noteworthy social and literary contacts. In this country, after a few troubled years of editorial work in Baltimore, he settled for the remainder of his long life at Newport, Rhode Island, engaging in review writing, "biographic aesthetic" studies of Goethe, Wordsworth, Rubens, and Shakespeare, verse and prose, and considerable work in social fields. While his writings were unequal to his high endeavor, he was liberal or even radical in political and religious views, an exponent of the social theories of Fourier, and, as his biographer puts it, "at least one 'genteel' writer who looked to the future rather than to the past and was able to glimpse something of a new era of economic reform." His biography has significance for its intimate picture of Maryland life in post-Revolution days; for its account of Calvert's pioneer work in German-American cultural relations—he was one of the earliest translators of Goethe and Schiller; and for its record of his many contacts with writers and movements of his time. Professor Everson handles the abundant yet scattered source material with utmost thoroughness and critical discrimination, providing an admirable example of sound and useful scholarship. The bibliography alone, including some two score volumes and innumerable magazine and newspaper contributions, covers seventeen pages.

ALLAN WESTCOTT

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GARDEN BOOK, 1766-1824, WITH RELEVANT EXTRACTS FROM HIS OTHER WRITINGS. Annotated by *Edwin Morris Betts*, Assistant Professor of Biology, Miller School of Biology, University of Virginia. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge, Volume XXII, 1944.] (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1944, pp. xiv, 704, \$5.00.) No one has ever fully realized more than Mr. Jefferson the perennial and enduring satisfaction to be obtained from the cultivation of a garden. "Such a variety of subjects," he wrote in 1811 to Charles Wilson Peale, "some one always coming to perfection, the failure of one thing repaired by the success of another, and instead of one harvest a continued one through the year." From 1766, while still a bachelor living with his mother at Shadwell, to 1824, two years before his death, Jefferson kept a garden book, which has fortunately been preserved, and is the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In this he recorded every sowing and planting, every blossoming and ripening, every successful crop and every failure, with much other relative detail, so that in time, as Mr. Edwin Morris Betts explains in a scholarly preface, "The book that began as a diary of the garden became a written repository for numerous interests of Jefferson. The entries range from contracts with overseers, plans for building roads and fish ponds, and observations on the greatest flood in Albemarle, to comments on Mrs. Wythe's wine and figures on the number of strawberries in a pint measure." The American Philosophical Society has now printed this garden book for the first time, with annotations by Edwin Morris Betts of the University of Virginia. The book contains 704 pages, including seven valuable appendixes, bibliographies, and an index, and is illustrated with facsimiles. The arrangement is chronological, and Mr. Betts has fully annotated the entries of each year before proceeding to the next. Mr. Betts's notes for each year are headed by an account of the state of Jefferson's life and his activities at the time, with that of members of his family. Every garden book entry is fully annotated in the greatest detail, with short biographies of every person mentioned, from the most exalted in the land to the humblest slave, translations into English of the foreign names

of flowers—under the influence of Philip Mazzei, Jefferson used many Italian names—comparison of agricultural practices in Jefferson's time with those of today and much other interesting matter. During certain years, when by reason of absence from Monticello—in Paris, or Philadelphia, or elsewhere—Jefferson was unable to keep up his garden book, Mr. Betts has continued the sequence, and starting with the details of Jefferson's life has annotated the relative entries in the account books and printed illustrative extracts from his letters. It would be impossible to overestimate the value of Mr. Betts's contribution to our knowledge of Jefferson. Only those who have done similar work can fully appreciate the scholarship and the painstaking care that have gone into this book and made it the satisfying and entertaining volume that it is. Any criticism can only be arbitrary. Appendix VII contains a list of "Books and Pamphlets on Agriculture, Gardening, and Botany in the Library of Thomas Jefferson," taken from the "Catalogue of the Library of Congress, December 1830; Catalogue, President Jefferson's Library, to be sold at auction . . . February, 1829 . . . and Jefferson's manuscript of his library, 1783." Actually the books listed in these catalogues were not all in Jefferson's library at the same time. In his political life, owing to the influence of his reading on his thought, the exact time that any book was in his library is important. In his agricultural life this knowledge is probably not so material. The manuscript catalogue of 1783 has entries until 1815, but as it recorded books Jefferson meant to procure as well as those he actually owned, it is not necessarily an accurate guide. A better one is the Library of Congress catalogue, made in 1815, immediately after the sale to Congress, and strangely omitted from this list. The books sold at auction in 1829 were purchased after 1815. The American Philosophical Society and Mr. Betts are to be congratulated on having produced one of the most fascinating and scholarly works on Jefferson that has appeared for some time.

E. M. SOWERBY

THE WAR OF 1812. By *Henry Adams*. Edited by *Major H. A. DeWeerd*. (Washington, Infantry Journal, 1944, pp. 384, \$3.00.) "Chapters taken from the nine-volume *History of the United States, 1801-1817* published by Scribner."

A LIFE OF TRAVELS: BEING A VERBATIM AND LITERATIM REPRINT OF THE ORIGINAL AND ONLY EDITION (PHILADELPHIA, 1836). By *C. S. Rafinesque*. Foreword by *Elmer D. Merrill*, Administrator, Botanical Collections, Harvard University. Critical Index by *Francis W. Pennell*, Curator of Plants, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. (Waltham, *Chronica Botanica*, 1944, pp. 292-360, \$2.50.)

AMERICAN CATHOLIC OPINION IN THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY. By *Madeleine Hooke Rice*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 508.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 177, \$2.50.) After two introductory chapters on the development of Catholic theory concerning slavery and its application in colonial America, Mrs. Rice devotes the bulk of this scholarly book to a careful analysis of clerical and lay opinion in the American slavery controversy. That her conclusions are distinguished more by their thoroughness and authenticity than by their originality is the fault only of her subject. She finds that the majority of northern clergymen, impelled by a firm determination to hold their church aloof from domestic controversy at a time when it was under nativistic attack, clung to the traditional Catholic interpretation of slavery as a legitimate, Scripture-sanctioned institution long after their fellow churchmen in Europe had discarded these outworn ideas. This stand, which placed them in opposition to all who would upset the status quo, aligned them against the abolitionists just at a time when the mass of Catholic

laymen were growing fearful of abolition for reasons of their own: apprehension lest national interference with slavery set a precedent that would allow the government to molest their church, hatred of England at a time when that nation played a leading role in the antislavery crusade, fear of the freed slave as a possible economic competitor, loyalty to the pro-Southern Democratic party, and dislike of the ultra-Protestant reformers who made up the bulk of the abolitionists. Their antiabolitionist prejudice allowed the church to be branded as proslavery, particularly after the Southern bishops employed these same arguments to defend their section's "peculiar institution." Mrs. Rice bases her conclusions on a wide reading in newspapers, diaries, and letters of both clerical and lay leaders. Her argument is convincing although the chapter on Southern lay opinion is based on insufficient evidence. The book is clearly written and well documented, and should remain the definitive work on its narrow subject.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE. By *J. Antonio Jarvis*. (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1944, pp. vii, 178, \$1.50.) This book is the work of a native high school principal who, in 1938, published an interesting *Brief History of the Virgin Islands* (St. Thomas) and who is also a poet and an artist of considerable local fame. Its object is to acquaint outsiders with the geography, the past, and the charm of America's newest Caribbean possession and to meet the familiar charge that, in adding it to our empire, we took on a poorhouse. Much is glossed over—unfavorable environment, an unstable economic regime, an unsound social order, and shocking health conditions. The book nevertheless offers the best general account of the insular group available today and merits wide use. Of particular interest to historians are the sections dealing with the arrival of French immigrants from St. Bartholomew a century ago and of Puerto Rican blacks since 1917, with marked effects on native life, and the chapter surveying the "noble experiments" marking some twenty-five years of American rule. That results have been far from satisfactory and that many islanders are bitterly resentful of the existing order is common knowledge. The author nevertheless holds that the three islands today constitute a true democracy, with control almost entirely in the hands of natives representing all social and economic groups, and denounces the "political lunatic fringe of expatriates" holding contrary views. This strikes the reviewer as not a little strange.

LOWELL RAGATZ

1ST DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. xi, 119.)

33D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 80.)

42D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 117.)

82D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 68.)

WOODROW WILSON: THE UNFORGETTABLE FIGURE WHO HAS RETURNED TO HAUNT US. By *Gerald W. Johnson*, with the Collaboration of the Editors of LOOK Magazine. (New York, Harper, 1944, pp. vii, 293, \$2.00.) This

reviewer will make no pretense at judging the possibilities of the medium of photographs for the execution of a biography. He must, however, note his own impression of the limitations of the medium which Mr. Johnson has used in his new biography of Woodrow Wilson. It seems difficult, if not impossible, to transmit ideas and relationships with precision through photographs; certainly it is impossible to convey a man's thought process or to present with any degree of accuracy his relation to the society in which he lives. Mr. Johnson must have chosen the medium of photographs for his biography of Wilson because he thought it well suited for arousing sympathy for the person and ideas of "the unforgettable figure who has returned to haunt us." He has succeeded admirably in reviving the personality of Wilson in a collection of about three hundred evocative photographs covering the years from 1910 to 1924. To see Wilson in candid pictures brings him back with a realism which twenty years of vindictiveness or adulation had tended to dissipate. It is difficult not to be sympathetic towards a man whose intense devotion to a desirable objective transformed him from the brisk and vigorous professor of 1910 (see p. 32) to the sharp-tempered and sick old man of 1920 (see p. 276). Mr. Johnson clearly belongs to the group who considers Wilson an American hero whose failure represents the failure of a nation. In this connection, it is important to note that Mr. Johnson shares two common fallacies: (1) that Wilson was ahead of the nation in his thinking and failed because it did not support him; and (2) that the League of Nations was a failure largely because the United States did not join it. This is not the place to establish the fallacy of those propositions. True or not, however, they lie at the root of Mr. Johnson's thinking, and they pervade both his selection of photographs and his written text. The fact that Wilson's ultimate objective was desirable does not imply that his methods were the best suited to attain his goal. Mr. Johnson's book is an effective addition to the growing literature which evokes Wilson's memory in support of the principle of international organization for maintaining peace.

WILLIAM DIAMOND

REVOLT IN PARADISE: THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN HAWAII AFTER PEARL HARBOR. By *Alexander Hugh MacDonald*. (New York, Stephen Daye, 1944, pp. 299, \$3.00.) "An indictment of the sugar magnates' political, economic, and social control of Hawaii up to Pearl Harbor."

MACARTHUR AND THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. By *Frazier Hunt*. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944, pp. 190, \$2.50.) "The chronological story of the campaigns in the western Pacific from 1941 until the present as led by General MacArthur."

AMERICA AND TWO WARS. By *Dexter Perkins*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1944, pp. vi, 213, \$2.00.) Among the many books now appearing on contemporary American foreign relations, this is one of the most satisfying, since the author brings to the subject an understanding ripened and enriched by earlier studies in the field of American diplomacy. Although Dr. Perkins does not overlook American foreign policy from 1898 to 1914, he is chiefly concerned with the period between 1914 and the present. He emphasizes interpretation rather than narration. He is concerned to extract such instruction from the past as may "light the way to wiser handling of the great issues that impend." None but a dyed-in-the-wool senatorial isolationist would quarrel with the lessons drawn by Dr. Perkins from American experience in World Wars I and II and the intervening period or with his program for peace. The controversial parts of the book are those dealing with the motivation of American entry into World War I, the part played by President Wilson in framing the Treaty of Versailles, the struggle over ratification in the Senate, America's responsibility for the

failure of the League, and the policy of the State Department toward Vichy and toward Italy since the fall of Mussolini. In discussing these topics, he presents his views with clarity and cogency while fairly recognizing and weighing other interpretations. Treatment of America's entry into World War I follows the lines laid down by Tansill, Seymour, and Newton D. Baker rather than Grattan and Beard. American collaboration with Pétain, Darlan, Giraud, and Badoglio is defended on grounds of political and military expediency. The problems raised by Franco and the Spanish civil war, however, are scarcely mentioned.

EDWARD E. CURTIS

LABOR BARON: A PORTRAIT OF JOHN L. LEWIS. By *James Arthur Wechsler*. (New York, Morrow, 1944, pp. 286, \$3.00.) "A thoroughgoing review of the career and psychology of John L. Lewis, analyzing his power and his personal contradictions."

LABOR LAWYER. By *Louis Waldman*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944, pp. 394, \$3.50.) "The author, one of the founders of the American Labor party and a well-known New York City labor lawyer, incorporates in his autobiography a review of American labor and of minority political parties in the past twenty-five years."

THE WOODS HOLE MARINE BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY. By *Frank R. Lillie*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. ix, 284, \$4.00.) This is the history of the most outstanding co-operative biological laboratory in the world by one who has had connection with the enterprise since its earliest days. Here are set down the steps in the development of the laboratory, from the time of the establishment of the Agassiz Penikese institution through the struggles of the early days to the present, as the leading one of three laboratories of this small New England village. Here one may follow the growth of an idea originating in the mind of Charles O. Whitman, its fight for realization with the financial aid of Mr. Charles R. Crane, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation, and its final achievement. From the year 1888 the struggles of this institution are set forth in illuminating detail. In this history one may trace the evolution of the idea of co-operative effort which so strongly characterizes the ideas of this country. But it must not be thought that this idea flowered without effort or opposition. Indeed it was only by the stubborn support of Whitman that it did finally prevail. The actions of the institutions concerned are fully set forth in the book. The conditions of this representative institution are here fully stated. There are nine chapters: "The Geography and Early History of Woods Hole" by E. G. Conklin; "The Origin of Marine Laboratories in Europe and America"; "The Founding and Early History of the Marine Biological Laboratory"; "The Material Growth of the Marine Biological Laboratory"; "Policies, Organization, and Administration"; "Research at the Marine Biological Laboratory"; "The First Twenty Years"; "Four Leaders" by E. G. Conklin and Frank R. Lillie; "Community Life" by E. G. Conklin and Frank R. Lillie; "The Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution." This is a book which will be of interest, not only to biologists who have had the privilege of being members of the summer colony but also to any other group concerned with the form of organization which their institutions may take and the advance of research through co-operation.

C. E. McCLUNG

A GUIDE TO PUBLIC OPINION POLLS. By *George Gallup*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xviii, 104, \$1.50.) This volume is addressed to the layman. In eighty questions and answers, Mr. Gallup tells how public opinion polls are organized and attempts to meet the criticisms most frequently made. He believes that these polls have quickened the processes of democracy and that they can "limit the claims

of pressure groups to the facts" (p. 5). Mr. Gallup points out that the validity of a poll rests not on the size of the sample but on the accuracy of the cross section as derived from census figures, election returns, departmental statistics on income, institutional reports on such items as automobile ownership, and "further data from the polling organization's own operations" (p. 30). While it is easy to determine from the returned ballots whether a given cross section meets the general requirements of the survey, it is not so clear that these requirements themselves include all the categories. Mr. Gallup emphasizes the importance of the wording of questions. At the same time, however, he tells us that "if two questions convey the same meaning—and both are expressed in a strictly neutral manner—their variations in wording produce normally, no significant difference in results" (p. 42). Obviously this is true, but is it likely that different wordings will convey invariably the same meaning? A further problem is suggested in the discussion of biased interviewers. Cantril is quoted as authority for the belief that interviewer bias cancels out. Are we to expect that each group of interviewers is itself a perfect sample? In this election year the author is wise to warn that polling machinery can give the wrong forecast in a close election. The historian will be gratified by Mr. Gallup's insistence on full background material in reporting surveys. Without such material, results can be easily misinterpreted by the public and will be valueless to the serious student. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS. Edited by *Edward Conrad Smith* and *Arnold John Zurcher*, New York University. (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1944, pp. vii, 358, \$3.00.) "This is the third volume that has appeared under the title, *A Dictionary of American Politics*. The first, prepared by Everit Brown and Albert Strauss, was published in 1888. The second, almost completely rewritten from new materials and with a great increase in the number of entries, was prepared by Edward C. Smith and published in 1924. The present volume, a co-operative undertaking, is a thoroughgoing revision, with again a considerable addition to the number and scope of entries. It contains about 3,020 entries, not including cross references, as compared with 1,861 in the volume published in 1924."

RECORDS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., 1942-1943. Volume 44-45. Edited by *Newman F. McGirr*. (Washington, published by the Society, 1944, pp. vii, 392.) The annual volumes of the Columbia Historical Society are a pleasant mixture of the reminiscences dear to old inhabitants and some papers by trained historical students. Dolly Madison is again recalled in the first group. In the second are papers by Dr. Charles O. Paullin on "Early British Diplomats in Washington," "Pioneers in the Federal Area" by Dr. Gibbs Myers, and "The Laying of the Corner Stone of the Capitol" by H. Paul Caemmerer. Few historical societies have within such a limited area such a rich and interesting field for both serious study and chatty reminiscences.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION OF 1779: CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER COMMENT AND LETTERS. Part I, PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE AND RAIDS; Part II, INDIAN PARTICIPANTS, BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION, BATTLE OF CHEMUNG; Part III, BATTLE OF NEWTOWN, GENESEE—RETURN; Part IV, THE CONCLUSION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Albert Hazen Wright*. [Studies in History, Nos. 5-8.] (Ithaca, author, 1943, pp. iii, 53; iii, 50; iii, 34; iii, 9.)

AGRICULTURAL TRENDS IN THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY REGION OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1800-1900. By *Margaret Richards Pabst*. [Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-4; Study VI in the Council of Industrial Study Series.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1943, pp. xiv, 138.) This scholarly monograph deals with a unique area in southern New England, a narrow strip of territory forty miles wide and about fifty miles long. The lowland townships, with their deep, fertile, alluvial soil, long growing season, and generous rainfall, have had an economic history which contrasts sharply with that of the stony and unproductive hill towns. The hill towns lost population steadily during the nineteenth century, and their agricultural output declined; the lowland towns doubled their population and farming flourished, particularly with the introduction of the specialized crop tobacco, after 1850, and onions about 1890. The differentiation, the author finds, was first noticeable in the thirty years between 1820 and 1850. Its causes were first the decline in the export of certain staples, principally salt beef and pork, bread grains and live animals to the West Indies and, second, the rise of markets for foodstuffs in the new industrial communities which were growing up in the valley and in neighboring parts of south-

ern New England. The author is to be complimented on her painstaking collection of data from both published and unpublished sources, the latter including church records, local assessors' records, and census schedules. Her method of procedure was to classify the seventy-two townships of the valley into three groups—hill towns, lowland towns, and industrial towns—and then to select two towns from each group for detailed study. The results show striking contrasts in the rate of population growth, in age grouping, in agricultural production, and in real estate values. The dominant influence of the market made it possible for the farmers in the lowlands to make effective use of the superior natural advantages of their farms, advantages both of location and of climate and fertility. Their growing prosperity checked emigration and even encouraged immigration from other parts of New England, both of natives and of Irish, Poles, and others of foreign birth. Under these conditions the local pattern of agricultural development differed sharply from that of New England as a whole. For example, although generally speaking wheat by 1840 was no longer a staple crop in New England, in certain valley townships the peak of wheat production came after the Civil War. In a work of such uniform excellence it is disappointing to find the author giving currency (p. 92) to an unfounded generalization. The Polish immigrants, she finds, did not replace native labor in the cultivation of tobacco and onions because the latter lacked stamina or determination to undertake arduous physical labor. The true explanation, I believe, is economic, not biological. No doubt there were some shiftless and puny natives, but in general the descendants of the early settlers left their farms or sold them to the immigrants, not because they hated farming or because farm labor was too arduous. They gave it up because they could make more money doing something else. That something else often was operating machinery either on Middle West farms or in New England factories. PERCY W. BIDWELL

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT FOR THE YEARS 1783 AND 1784, WITH THE JOURNAL OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY FROM JANUARY 9, 1783, TO NOVEMBER 15, 1783. Compiled in accordance with an act of the General Assembly by *Leonard Woods Labaree*, State Historian. Volume V. (Hartford, published by the state, 1943, pp. xi, 356, \$5.00.) Although this volume covers the concluding months of the American Revolution and the first year after independence had been won, memorials of individuals to the General Assembly throw light on the part Connecticut and its soldiers had played throughout the Revolution. Some inhabitants of the state had remained loyal to Great Britain and, in consequence, lost their estates. A Connecticut clergyman in Nova Scotia had suffered in reverse. News of the preliminary treaty of peace had reached the Council of Safety by April 4, 1783, and Connecticut faced the problem of reorganization on a peace basis. The wartime Council of Safety came to an end; war materials and stores were disposed of; the seal of the colony was altered. The republic of Connecticut co-operated with the new government of the United States by passing an act authorizing the national congress to levy an import duty if other states would do the same and by appropriating state funds to pay its quota of the interest on the national debt. Although commissioners appointed under Article IX of the Articles of Confederation decided against Connecticut's claim to a strip of territory running across northern Pennsylvania, the state ceded its claim to land west of Pennsylvania to the United States in 1784, reserving only title to the well-known Western Reserve of Connecticut. The volume discloses the new state's struggle with a depreciated currency; its attempt to encourage genius by passing the first American copyright law; and its grant of state citizenship to the marquis de Lafayette and his son. The records have been carefully transcribed and beautifully printed. An index covers both this volume and Volume IV of *The*

Public Records of the State of Connecticut for the Year 1782, published in 1942. The volume is a fitting addition to *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* and the earlier state records.

ISABEL M. CALDER

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF CAROLINA ON THE COASTS OF FLOREDA. Reproduced in facsimile with an Introduction by John Tate Lanning. (Charlottesville, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1944, pp. 23, \$5.00.) This pamphlet with its accompanying map, published in London in 1666, was designed by the lords proprietors of Carolina to stimulate settlements on the Cape Fear river and southward. Although frequently "reproduced," it is a curious fact that heretofore there has been "no edition of this rare pamphlet which has not been tampered with in some way." Moreover, it has been confused with the "Declaration and Proposealls to all yt will plant in Carrolina," issued by the lords proprietors in 1663; indeed, Hawks calls it a "second edition" of the proposals. In bringing out this facsimile, Professor Lanning has rendered a double service to American scholars by making available a complete and accurate reproduction of this rare item of Americana and by clearing up Hawks's error, although Professor Lanning pessimistically believes that the error is "so thoroughly planted in authorities and catalogues . . . that the most indisputable evidence will probably never be sufficient to put an end to it." He prefaces his edition with a bibliographical note on previous reproductions and an

introduction tracing the origin of the pamphlet. After three years of discouraging efforts, the lords proprietors had finally succeeded in settling the boundaries of their grants of 1663 and 1665 and in clearing away certain legal "technicalities" that clouded their title and by 1666 were in a position to face "with imagination the realistic aspects of planting colonies." Hence this "anonymous pamphlet" which Professor Lanning calls a "fundamental bit of promotion literature." While the scope of the *Brief Description* embraces the whole province of Carolina, it is an account "More particularly of a New-Plantation begun by the English at Cape-Feare, on that River now by them called Charles-River, the 29th of May. 1664." The facsimile is beautifully printed and, it is superfluous to say, ably edited. R. D. W. CONNOR

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

OLD WORLD WISCONSIN: AROUND EUROPE IN THE BADGER STATE. By *Fred L. Holmes*. (Eau Claire, E. M. Hale, 1944, pp. 368, \$2.50.) The author is a veteran Wisconsin journalist and attorney, who probably knows his state as well as any living person. He combines the seasoned reporter's experience in observing facts and eliciting information with a deep-seated love of Wisconsin and its people, about whom he has written several previous books. *Old World Wisconsin* contains the fruits of long-continued travels over the state in the course of which its many alien groups of people were assiduously visited and interviewed and their characteristics industriously noted down for use in writing the future volume. Perusing it, we find an astonishing number of European nationalities and races who have established colonies in Wisconsin, in which the cultural atmosphere of the homeland is preserved more or less fully. Beginning with the oldest group, the French Canadian, and ending with a brief chapter on the Yankee element, a score of different transplanted European nationalities are described. Although alien tongues and customs slowly vanish, the author's narrative abundantly establishes that there is no quick or easy amalgamation of cultures via the once prevalent theory of the "melting-pot." More than five hundred years ago in old Glarus an attempted Austrian ambush of a Swiss church congregation was frustrated by a woman. In New Glarus, Wisconsin, the memory of her deed was kept alive until World War I by all the male worshipers remaining standing in their places until the women had filed out of the church. This is a friendly, informal, and revealing recital of "Old World Wisconsin," whose interest is enhanced by many illustrations. It should be included in the luggage of every visitor who tours Wisconsin.

M. M. QUAIFFE

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE KANSAS FRONTIER, 1850-1877. By *Peter Beckman*, St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison, Kansas. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. 168.) This little monograph is a doctoral dissertation whose scope is indicated accurately by the title. The preterritorial Indian mission period is sketched briefly and leans heavily upon the major secondary works. The remainder is based primarily on archival materials, almost altogether Catholic. Slight use is made of the wealth of newspaper material available. The story is threefold: the activities of the regular clergy who had performed the Indian mission function and largely influenced the white frontier period, the secular clergy, and the schools. The educational program looms relatively large in this treatment. The church history is bare narrative, and enumeration, including many names and details. Only in the chapter on the great migration of 1865-1869 does the range of perspective really broaden into

social history, and even here the full possibilities of the theme are not realized. As church history in the traditional sense it seems well done. There is now a real need of historical studies dealing with the church as a social force and with the relations between Catholics and Protestants as people living together in the same society. JAMES C. MALIN

NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861. By Loomis Morton Ganaway. [Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, Vol. XII, March, 1944.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1944, pp. x, 140.) This study makes a contribution to the understanding of sectional politics prior to the Civil War. New Mexico, the author shows, was totally unsuited to the extension of slavery, not only because of its climate and soil but because peonage provided an abundance of cheap labor. The majority of the inhabitants had no interest in Negro slavery, but the slavery controversy between the North and the South was artificially forced upon them. This thesis is not new, for the late Professor Ramsdell brilliantly discussed the divorce between the economics of the westward expansion of slavery and the insincere use made of this issue by politicians. Mr. Ganaway has brought to the support of this thesis new evidence gathered from many sources scattered across the continent. The crux of the matter seems to be that the Southerners did not desire to extend slavery westward into unprofitable areas, but their real concern was political, to secure votes in the Senate to strengthen the proslavery defense. In the first few years of American rule the inhabitants, both natives and Americans, were opposed to extending Negro slavery into this region, but, motivated by the desire to secure Federal favors, a slave code was adopted in 1859 with only one dissenting vote. It is significant that in 1860 the census reported no slaves and only eighty-five Negroes. The most important contribution of this monograph, in the opinion of the reviewer, is the delineation of the state imperialism of Texas. Resistance to the greed of Texas to acquire New Mexican territory played an important role in the history of the territory. In the compromise of 1850, the Texan boundary issue, according to the author, was the most difficult question to settle. Texas also assumed a leading part in determining the attitude of New Mexico to secession. The native population wished to remain loyal to the Union, but the American inhabitants of the southern part of the territory, instigated by Texas, formed the territory of Arizona and were admitted into the Confederacy. The northern part of the territory, on the other hand, was held in the Union by a clever appeal to the pre-existing hatred of Texas. This able monograph provokes the thought of the tremendous influence of partisan politics in American history.

CLEMENT EATON

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

LOS ARTISTAS PINTORES DE LA EXPEDICIÓN MALASPINA. Por José Torre Revello. [Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Estudios y Documentos para la Historia del Arte Colonial, Vol. II.] (Buenos Aires, 1944, pp. x, 102, 45 plates.) The Spanish scientific voyage around the globe under Malaspina in 1789-94 has left us, besides its huge herbarium and other collections, a mass of sketches and paintings of historical, ethnographic, and artistic value. José Torre Revello, formerly of the Seville Archives and now for some years with the Institute in Buenos Aires, counted over four hundred of them in Seville, and there are others in Madrid. Here he publishes in excellent facsimile forty-five of the most interesting, with an exhaustive introduction, bibliography, and index. Spain is full of unpublished treasures, like Mutis' magnificent plates of Colombian plants; we must applaud scholars like Torre Revello and agencies like the Institute, who rescue some of them while there is yet time. These are especially rich in views of Buenos Aires, Patagonia, and Manila and include scenes and individuals from Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Panama, and Mexico, and one remarkably accurate drawing of insects. One of the artists, Surfá, kept a journal, published by Henry R. Wagner in the *Pacific Historical Review* for September, 1936; the greatest of them, Brambila, had a distinguished later career in Spain. Ravenet and he made many sketches in New Zealand and Australia; the governor sent a number of those of Sydney to London, to show

the colony's progress; Rafael Estrada, historian of the expedition, says Ravenet's miniatures of Sydney ladies will become treasured heirlooms. This noble octavo volume, beautifully printed, does credit to its author and to the Institute.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

TEHUANACU, THE CRADLE OF AMERICAN MAN. By *Arthur Posnansky*. Three volumes. (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1944, \$48.00 per set.) "The first report of the origin of the high cultural state in which the people of this hemisphere were found, based on almost half a century of research."

AZTEC AND MAYA PAPERMAKERS. By *Victor W. von Hagen*. (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1944, \$6.00.) A trade edition of the original limited edition, printed from the same type.

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 Real cédula mediante la cual Su Majestad aprueba lo determinado por la junta de la Universidad, en lo relativo a la fábrica del edificio y creación de dos cátedras más y el escudo de la Universidad [Madrid, June 6, 1680]: *Ibid.*
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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

EL ECUADOR INTERANDINO Y OCCIDENTAL ANTES DE LA CONQUISTA CASTELLANA. By Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño. Volumes I and II. (Quito, Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1940, 1941, pp. 556, 555.) These are the first two volumes of a larger and definitive work by Jijón y Caamaño, Ecuador's leading student of the country's pre-Columbian history. It is an exhaustive job bringing together a large number of linguistic and ethnographic data collected over a period of thirty years. The volumes under consideration are chiefly linguistic in nature, dealing with the native tongues of Ecuador's coastal and highland tribes. Although these languages survived Incaic conquest, they were eventually suffocated under the heavy blanket of Quechua and Spanish expansion and most of them became extinct in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After tracing pre-Incaic tribal boundaries, Sr. Jijón concentrates on rescuing the few remaining vocabularies, the identification of place names and the determination of the linguistic affiliations of these aboriginal groups. He repeats his interesting suggestion that the Puruha and Cañari languages in the highlands can be grouped with Huancavilca and Mochica on the coast to form a new and distinct linguistic block. In addition, Sr. Jijón presents the grammar and extensive vocabularies for Cayapa and Colorado, which are still spoken in Ecuador's western jungles. While not overly impressed with Jijón's determination of ethnic frontiers on the basis of place names, the reviewer thinks that the bulk of the work is an important contribution to our knowledge of aboriginal Andean languages. Historians will be particularly interested in Sr. Jijón's discussion of sources for Ecuador's pre-Columbian and early colonial history. Following in the steps of Jiménez de la Espada and Archbishop González Suárez, Jijón questions the reliability of the classic "Historia del antiguo reino de Quito" by Juan de Velasco. There seems to be little evidence for the actual existence of a Quito "kingdom" or confederacy in pre-Incaic times. The archaeological data, with which the reviewer is most familiar, fail to support the mythological account which Padre Velasco evidently accepted as fact. JOHN V. MURRA

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American Historical Association

At the annual meeting last year in New York the Council elected the distinguished Italian philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce to honorary membership. Because of war conditions in Italy, the letter to Signor Croce notifying him of his election had its own peculiar difficulties in reaching him. Finally with the aid of one of the government agencies it was put in his hands. His reply was received this fall and is given below as it came in Signor Croce's own handwriting:

SORRENTO
VILLA TRITONE
5 Agosto 1944

ILLUSTRE SIGNORE,

Con grande ritardo, cioè ora soltanto, mi giunge la sua comunicazione del passato gennaio, e perciò vorrà tenermi scusato se rispondo così tardi.

Io La prego di accogliere e di fare accogliere ai membri dell' Associazione Storica Americana i sensi della mia profonda gratitudine per avermi unito a loro come socio onorario. I nomi insigni che la sua lettera ricorda, di coloro che ebbero questa qualità—Ranke, Stubbs, Gardiner, Mommsen, Bryce—mi lasciano confuso e, nell' accettare la nomina, Le esprimo la mia commozione per l'onore conferitomi. Io La prego di disporre di me qui in Italia per i servigi che ancora, in questi miei tardi anni, posso rendere ai comuni nostri studii.

Mi abbia con ossequio
Dev'mo

BENEDETTO CROCE

Al ecc.
Sig^r Guy Stanton Ford
Executive Secretary
of the American Historical Association
Washington.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: thirteen pages (reproductions) of papers concerning Don Baltasar de Sotelo (from proceedings in the trial of the Sotelo brothers in the "Avila-Cortés" conspiracy in Mexico, 1557 to 1561); reproductions of manuscripts in Spanish archives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid), 2093 pages; papers of Jonathan Roberts, a free Negro, his descendants, and others, 1734 to 1944; journals of Christopher French, a British army officer, October, 1756, to March, 1764, and September,

1776, to November, 1778; letter from Robert R. Livingston to George Washington, relative to defense of New York City, August 9, 1776; photostats of twenty-seven letters of John Adams to Benjamin Rush and a photostat of one letter of John Adams to George Washington, 1779 to 1812; twenty-one letters from Robert Morris to Constable, Rucker and Company of New York, 1786 to 1795; additional papers of William Short, including his commissions of April 20, 1790, July 11, 1794, and September 8, 1808; authorization to borrow \$14,000,000 signed by Alexander Hamilton, September 1, 1790; a letter from Edward Everett, July 5, 1831, relative to the Phi Beta Kappa Society; photostat of a letter from George Washington to Andrew Ellicott, October 23, 1792; additional papers of Dutilh and Wachsmuth, 1792 to 1794, mainly signed statements of French refugees from the West Indies for the payment of their passage on arrival at Philadelphia; papers of Theophilus Harris, merchant and Baptist minister, 1793 to 1841 and 1934; photostats of the constitutions of Tennessee, February 6, 1796, August 30, 1834, and February 23, 1834; additional papers, mainly correspondence, of Commodore John Rodgers and his family, 1800 to 1844; thirty-one papers of Manuel Eyre, jr. (merchant, Philadelphia), relating to trade with the West Indies, 1801 to 1802, including letters of William Ashbridge, supercargo; 160 papers of McNair and Company (also variant names) relating to stagecoach routes in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky, 1802 to 1842; additional papers of Ellery Cory Stowell and other members of the Stowell and Fuller families, 1802 to 1944; additional papers of Samuel Finley Breese Morse and the Morse family, 1810 to 1866, and papers relating to the Centennial celebration, 1944; letter from Jedidiah Morse to Elizabeth A. Morse, June 1, 1824; letter from Sir Charles Richard Vaughan to Lord Charles Stuart, September 23, 1827; letter from Sir Henry Stephen Fox to Lord Charles Stuart, March 20, 1836; reproductions of account books of Franklin Arms (farmer of Conway, Massachusetts), 1839 to 1875; typewritten diary of Charles Gould of the Boston and Newton Joint Stock Association, covering a journey from Boston, Massachusetts, to California, April 16 to September 27, 1849; reproduction of letter from Nathan Bedford Forrest to Garnett Andrews, November 5, 1867; seventeen letters of John Fiske (mainly to his mother) 1868 to 1887; letter from Ulysses S. Grant to William T. Sherman, January 19, 1869; one box of additional papers of, or relating to, Benjamin Ticknor of Boston, 1870-1910 (including letters and literary manuscripts and drafts); three volumes of papers, chiefly correspondence, of Abiel Abbot Low and Brothers, New York, relating principally to trade with China and Japan, September 8, 1871, to October 6, 1873; nine papers of John Hay (mainly letters to James Redpath and James Carleton Young), 1871 to 1905; letter of John Greenleaf Whittier, enclosing four lines of verse as epitaph for the John Milton memorial window in St. Margaret's Westminster, 1887; letter from Oliver Wendell Holmes to John Burnett, June 21, 1891; seven papers of, and by, Peter M. Goldsmith, relating to Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz [d. 1895]; list (one volume) of foreign ships arriving in Portland, Maine, with

dates, number of passengers, and notes on some of the immigrants, kept by Timothy Elliott, 1898 to 1902; additional papers of the Breckinridge family, mainly letters from Robert J. Breckinridge to Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, 1915, 1935 to 1944; manuscript of "The Expanding Universe" by Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington, c. September 7, 1932; correspondence and poems of Raymond E. F. Larsson, 1935 to 1944; three additional boxes of papers of George William Norris, 1943 to 1944 (restricted); "Zur Elektrodynamik Bewegter Koerper," and "Das Bi-Vektor Feld," a manuscript copied by the author, Albert Einstein, 1943; six pages of teletype messages of the Associated Press, pertaining to Allied invasion of Normandy; papers of Judge Eugene Gano Hay (1853-1933); papers of Amos Richard Eno Pinchot (restricted); papers of Walter Francis Willcox, 1861—; additional scientific papers, with a group of poems of Waldo Lee McAtee; and manuscript signed of "Over the Hills and Far Away," poem by Eugene Field, undated.

At the time that this report goes to the *Review*, the larger part of the manuscript material evacuated for safety has been returned to the Division of Manuscripts and shelved; and it is hoped that this procedure will have been completed by December 1.

The Library of Congress is compiling for publication as complete a list as possible of books owned by Thomas Jefferson. It solicits information about the location and ownership of any such books. Identification of books from Jefferson's library can usually be made on the basis of his "secret mark." It was his custom to inscribe a "T" before the signature mark "I" or "J" in all the books with that many signatures and in larger books he also placed a "J" after the signature mark "T." Anyone having knowledge of books identifiable as belonging to Jefferson should address Randolph G. Adams, Consultant, Rare Book Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

The archivist of the United States has proposed that a building be constructed in the suburbs of Washington for the central housing of such records of the Federal government as are no longer needed in the offices where they accumulated but will have to be preserved, at least for a considerable period, for legal, administrative, or research uses. It is estimated that, in addition to the records now in the National Archives, there will be at least two million cubic feet of such records in existence at the end of the war, including the service records of all the men and women who will have served in the armed forces, and that less than one tenth of them could be housed in unoccupied space in the National Archives building. The proposed public records building would be a part of the National Archives establishment, but much of the space in it would be allocated to other agencies of the government for use by them in storing and servicing records that should remain in their custody for the time being. As a result of records administration pro-

grams in the War and Navy Departments for the transfer to the National Archives of all noncurrent records of enduring value, the National Archives has received in the last few months more than ten thousand cubic feet of records relating to military affairs. Included among the Navy Department records transferred are the general correspondence files of the Bureau of Aeronautics, 1930-1942, and records of the Hydrographic Office, 1854-1925. Records received from the War Department include noncurrent files, ranging in date from 1813 to 1942, from almost fifty Army posts and organizations throughout the country.

Presidential papers received recently at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library consist chiefly of sections of the White House files relating to the Casablanca conference of January, 1943, and the President's Hawaiian Islands-Alaska trip of July-August, 1944. Additions made by the President to the Library's naval manuscript collection include a signed drawing by Robert Fulton of a torpedo designed by him in May, 1813; a "rough order book" of H. M. S. *Valiant*, May 15-June 22, 1790; and the signal log of the German cruiser *Frankfurt*, January 29-March 15, 1917. The President has also given the Library a photostatic copy of a journal of three houseboat cruises taken by him in Florida waters in 1924, 1925, and 1926 with members of his family and others.

Fred W. Shipman, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, who returned early last summer after completing a mission to Italy and Sicily as archival adviser to the Subcommittee on Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives of the Allied Control Commission, is undertaking a similar mission in France and other areas of Europe. During his absence from the Library, Assistant Director Edgar B. Nixon is acting director. Henry H. Eddy, archivist on the Library staff since July, 1943, has been appointed senior state archivist in the Department of History and Archives of New York State.

The Society of American Archivists met in Harrisburg on November 8-9. The first morning session considered "Historical Manuscripts and State Archives," with Christopher Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History at Raleigh, and R. S. Williams participating. At the luncheon S. K. Stevens spoke on "Pennsylvania's Archival Program," and in the afternoon Hugh Flick and Fred Shipman discussed "Archives in Wartime." Miss Margaret C. Norton, Illinois state archivist and president of the society, addressed the dinner meeting. The morning session on November 9 was devoted to "Publication of Manuscripts" and was led by Julian P. Boyd and Clarence C. Carter. The joint dinner with the Association for State and Local History featured an address by Stanley Pargellis. The program for the archivists was arranged by Howard Peckham, of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Miss Norton was reelected president, Dr. Crittenden was named vice president, and Lester J.

Cappon, of the University of Virginia, and Helen Chatfield, archivist of the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., were reelected secretary and treasurer respectively. Dr. Peckham was elected to the council for a five-year term. The council made Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Records Office, London, England, and Joaquín Llaverías, director of the National Archives of Cuba, honorary members of the society. There had previously been only two other honorary members, the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Victor Hugo Paltsits, keeper of manuscripts at the New York Public Library from 1914 to 1941 and a pioneer in archival science in the United States.

The American Association for State and Local History held its annual meeting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, November 9-10.

The fourth annual meeting of the Economic History Association took place at Princeton on September 29-30. Sessions were devoted to the questions: What is Economic History? The Corporation and the Historian, The Use and Misuse of Price History, and British Foreign Investment Experience.

A new building embodying the latest scientific aids and equipment for the preservation of records is being planned in Rio de Janeiro for the Arquivo Nacional of Brazil, one of the oldest and most important archival institutions in the Western Hemisphere. For nearly forty years the Arquivo Nacional has been housed in the old National Museum building on the Plaza of the Republic. The new building, according to present plans, will be located in the same beautiful park, but will cover a much larger extent of ground.

The newly constructed building for the Archivo Nacional of Cuba in Havana was dedicated on September 23, 1944. The exercises were attended by representatives of the principal archival establishments of the Caribbean countries, including the archivist of the United States and the chief of the Division of State Department Archives of the National Archives, and the principal address was delivered by the president of the Republic of Cuba, Fulgencio Batista. The archives section of the Corporación de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros y Conservadores de Museos del Caribe held a number of sessions in Havana during the week following the dedication, and in connection with the first of these sessions the archivist of the United States presented to the Archivo Nacional of Cuba reproductions of a number of documents of Cuban interest in the National Archives of the United States and proposed the development of a comprehensive program for the exchange of reproductions of archival material among the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti, compiled by Crawford M. Bishop, editor, and Miss Anyda Marchant, has

recently been issued by the Library of Congress. It is number three in the series of which number one is *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile*, compiled by Edwin M. Borchard (1917), and number two is *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Mexico*, compiled by John T. Vance and completed and extended by Mrs. Helen L. Clagett. The present volume may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for \$1.75 a copy.

The Army War College, founded in 1794, is this year celebrating its sesquicentennial. Its library is the most complete military collection in the world and shelves at present three hundred thousand volumes, many of which are not duplicated in the Library of Congress or other large general libraries. The librarian since 1943 is Colonel A. Gibson. The collections are made available to scholars who telephone or write in advance.

The Bibliographical Society of America announces that it has received a grant large enough to enable it to prepare the manuscript of what is hoped will be a definitive short-title bibliography of American literature of the last 150 years. The scope of the project is a bibliography, with entries for each item extensive enough to identify it, of literature by significant American authors, alphabetically arranged, from the beginning of the Federal period. For the present, authors who died after 1930 will be excluded. Historians and writers of travel books will be included only if primarily of literary interest. Persons who were primarily juvenile authors, or authors of scientific and medical works, textbooks, sermons, or like material, will also be omitted.

The History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, by Clarence S. Brigham, director of the American Antiquarian Society, is to be published in two volumes, probably sometime in March. The prepublication price is \$8.00 per set; the price after publication will be \$15.00. Subscriptions for the two volumes at the prepublication price may be addressed to the American Antiquarian Society, Salisbury Street, Worcester 5, Mass.

Another development in the bibliographical field is the proposed Dictionary of Colonial American Biography, to supplement and complement the colonial phase of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and to be edited by Louis K. Koontz and Kenneth P. Bailey of the University of California at Los Angeles. The criterion of selection is that, to be included, an individual should have, in some way or manner, influenced the course of events. The Dictionary is not to serve as a genealogical compilation but as a series of short biographical essays on historically important men known heretofore only to the specialists in historical research. The outbreak of the American Revolution is to be used as the closing date of the Dictionary.

Fifty notebooks of Hamlin Garland, recently procured, form an important addition to the Garland collection of manuscripts and correspondence in the library of the University of Southern California.

Emeritus Professor David Savile Muzzey and Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University have united in making a gift of five or six hundred volumes of American history to the University of Sydney in Australia as a foundation for an American collection in that institution.

Effective at once; the Illinois State Historical Society will pay \$25.00 for each full-length contribution accepted for publication in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. By "full-length" is meant articles of five thousand words or more. In the main, articles submitted should deal with some phase of the history of Illinois, but occasionally contributions of more general interest will be welcomed. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. Payment will be made upon acceptance.

Personal

Charles Oscar Paullin, of wide historical interests and authorship, died in Washington, D. C., September 1, at the age of seventy-five. Born in Jamestown, Ohio, he studied at Antioch College, Johns Hopkins, and the Catholic University, and received his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1904. Interest in naval history followed four years of service, 1896-1900, with the Navy Department. In this field he published *The Navy of the American Revolution*, *Commodore John Rodgers, 1773-1883*, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers*, and several smaller monographs, besides editing many volumes of documents in naval history. The longer portion of his career (1912-1936) was spent as a staff member of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, for whose Division of Historical Research he prepared (with Frederic L. Paxson) a *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783*, edited an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, and continued Frances G. Davenport's series of *Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*. For his *Atlas*, in 1933, he was awarded (with John K. Wright), the Loubat Prize. He contributed many articles to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and was active in several historical societies, serving as trustee and treasurer of the Naval History Foundation. He also lectured at the George Washington and the Johns Hopkins universities. Dr. Paullin was affable, enjoyed companionship of persons of every rank, and as a historian possessed to an eminent degree qualities of industry, of keen perception, and of sane analysis.

Douglas C. McMurtrie, the distinguished typographer, bibliographer, historian of printing, and humanitarian died September 29 in Chicago at the age of fifty-six. His publications on Gutenberg and the invention of printing were valuable additions to the literature of the subject. With equal zeal and wide command of the literature he contributed to the history of newspapers and the printing press in the United States. He was outstanding as a bibliographer in his field and his check lists of early imprints made in co-operation with the Historical Records Survey of the WPA were models. In a busy life he found time to make his own the interests and care of crippled children and disabled soldiers.

Dr. James Curtis Ballagh, professor emeritus in the University of Pennsylvania, died September 28 in his seventy-seventh year. Born in Virginia, his educational career in the field of history and politics began after he took his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University in 1895. Before that he had taught both biology and mathematics in Southern colleges. After 1895 he stayed on at Johns Hopkins, becoming a full professor of American history in 1913. In that year he transferred to the University of Pennsylvania, where he was professor and head of the department of political science until his retirement. He was the author of a *History of Slavery in Virginia* (1902), *American Foreign Policy in the Orient* (1915), and *America's International Diplomacy* (1918). He edited the letters of Richard Henry Lee and the two volumes on Southern economic history (1607-1909) in *The South in the Building of the Nation*.

Major Otis G. Hammond, for thirty-one years director of the New Hampshire Historical Society, died October 2 at the age of seventy-five. Mr. Hammond retired from office three days before his death.

Judge Robert W. Winston, lawyer, jurist, and author, died at Chapel Hill on October 14 at the age of eighty-four. Retiring from his legal career at sixty, he re-entered the University of North Carolina as a freshman to fit himself "to interpret the New South to the Nation and the Nation to the New South." In the years that followed he gained attention as the biographer of Andrew Johnson, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and others.

Dexter Perkins, Watson Professor of History and head of the history department of the University of Rochester since 1925, will be the first to occupy Cambridge University's new chair of American history and institutions. He will lecture in the newly established course for the college year 1945-1946. Dr. Perkins will be on leave of absence from the University of Rochester and will leave for England October 1, 1945, returning here one year later to resume his duties.

Jennings B. Sanders, formerly head of the department of history at the University of Tennessee, has been appointed president of Memphis State College.

J. Wesley Hoffmann has been appointed head of the department of history at the University of Tennessee.

George E. Mowry, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed May Treat Morrison Professor of American History at Mills College.

Charles C. Tansill, formerly of Fordham University, is now professor of American history at Georgetown University.

Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky of the University of California at Los Angeles, who has been teaching for the past year in the Area-Language program of the A.S.T. at the University of Wyoming, will remain at the latter institution for the present year, 1944-45, as a member of the regular faculty.

Oscar Jaszi, emeritus professor at Oberlin College, is teaching at Clark University as a visiting professor.

David K. Bjork, chairman of the department of history in the University of California at Los Angeles, has been promoted to the rank of professor.

J. O. Van Hook of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history.

John T. Horton has been promoted to professor of history at the University of Buffalo.

Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Arkansas has been appointed associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, to take over the work in American foreign relations and Latin-American history.

Richard Lyle Power has been promoted to associate professor in the history department of St. Lawrence University.

William J. Schlaerth, formerly of Canisius College, has been appointed associate professor of history at Fordham University.

Daniel J. Boorstin, assistant professor of history, Swarthmore College, has been appointed visiting associate professor of history, University of Chicago.

C. Howard Hopkins, formerly chairman of the division of social science in Stockton Junior College, Stockton, California, has gone to Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine, as associate professor of church history.

Nora Campbell Chaffin of Duke University has been appointed assistant professor of history and dean of women in Vanderbilt University.

Duncan Eldridge McBride, research assistant in the University of Chicago, has accepted a position in the history department of Frances Shimer College, Mount Carroll, Illinois.

Robert W. G. Vail, state librarian for New York, has been appointed director of the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, professor of history and director of the graduate school of Colorado State College of Education at Greeley, Colorado, has been granted leave for two years to serve as educational attaché at Santiago, Chile.

Willis F. Dunbar, professor of history at Kalamazoo College, has been granted a year's leave of absence to serve as program director for two Michigan broadcasting stations.

Dorothy M. Quynn has been granted a leave of absence from Duke University to do war work during the academic year 1944-45.

Howard K. Beale of the University of North Carolina has secured a one-year extension of his leave in order to do further research on the life of Theodore Roosevelt.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his article "Biography of a Nation of Joiners" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.) Professor A. M. Schlesinger has outlined the story of voluntary associations in the United States as a central theme of social history which offers a promising and relatively untouched field of investigation. This, of itself, is a distinguished service but it is exciting to speculate if he has not, perhaps inadvertently, done much more. Possibly he has favored us with a preliminary survey of social history's Main Street down which the future investigator may stroll for his window-shopping to see what the art has to offer.

Social history badly needs such a Main Street. It is a new community in which there are numerous highways, byways, back alleys and dead-end streets. Intersections are quite fortuitous; a newcomer is presently confused and lost because there is no basic plan to the neighborhood, no central business district. More mature forms of historiography do not suffer from this handicap. Political and economic interpretations display clear guideposts which the stumbling neophyte may read and follow. Many a student does just that rather than grope his way into the uncharted maze of social history.

This discipline is today a collection of themes and topics loosely related to the

general subject of civilization. Its definition is so vague as to be practically useless as a plan of study, but we may think our way to more accurate terms if we follow the direction indicated in the "Biography of a Nation of Joiners." Civilization is by definition a matter of enlightened organization. Professor Schlesinger suggests that we study organizations. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that we have here not simply another theme but the very pulsing heart of social history. Man is political, economic, intellectual, literary, religious, moral, but in all these aspects he is social and in so far as he is civilized these interests find expression in organization. Man is civilized only in his relations with his fellows; without such relationships he is a lost soul. People associate for warmth, comfort, encouragement, security, efficiency, and fun. Much of our association has remained informal but Americans have shown a peculiar facility in organization.

Professor Schlesinger has confined his attention to voluntary associations of a more or less formal character. He has not attempted a sketch of the growth of the associative spirit in all its aspects, but he came very close to it. He was led inevitably along that path because a voluntary society is simply one which does not draw upon the funds of civil government. In fact, Professor Schlesinger's list is so long that we may easily add the few forms of association which have prevailed in America but are not mentioned in his article: the family, feudalism, the plantation, indenture and apprenticeship, civil government, the Army and the Navy, public educational systems.

There may be some others. The distinction between government supported and voluntary societies is an increasingly difficult and important one, but to make the picture of association complete we should add a third type: the informal, impromptu relationships based upon friendship and common interests. As Professor Schlesinger has so admirably pointed out, whether the object be business or pleasure, religion or reform, our projects originate in the third group, organize and move into the second group which gets things done. This "American way" faces a critical period because of the present tendency of government supported organizations to absorb the functions of the second and third groups, which have carried the main burden in our system of free enterprise.

A history of association will, of course, include all of these relationships. It will study the origin of projects, the dominant interests, ideas, and motives, the types of social organizations, where they came from, what modifications they underwent and why, the activities of all associations, growth, decay, co-operation and competition of groups, cross-fertilization of forms, ideas, and methods. The road is endless but it is clear and straight.

This road is not merely a theme or topic which we may follow; it is a main thoroughfare which intersects themes and topics. Professor Schlesinger has given us for the first time a truly social interpretation of history. Political history is man governing; economic history is man making a living; intellectual history is man thinking, and its servant, literary history, is man reading and writing; social history is man associating with man. Each successive major interpretation of history has shown a tendency to devour its antecedents; we may expect the social interpretation, in its full development to show a healthy cannibalism.

It will be a broader and more civilizing discipline than we have had before. Association has had little respect for national boundaries and the "American way" will lose some significance when we realize it has been the way of other folks, too. How often have we borrowed from abroad! How often have we shaken the fist of political isolation while we extended the right hand of fellowship in free enterprise.

If there is any substance in this line of thought, Professor Schlesinger has carried his art a long step toward definition and organization, toward maturity.
Winchester, Massachusetts

CHARLES I. FOSTER

SPECIAL NOTICE

This notice is of special and immediate concern to members and libraries interested in completing their files of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association. The Government Printing Office has on hand in varying quantities surplus copies of the *Annual Report* for the following years:

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Any member or library desiring any of the above volumes should write at once to the Executive Secretary, American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C. Any copies not asked for before February 15, 1945, will be turned in for waste paper or otherwise disposed of by the Government Printing Office.

GUY STANTON FORD,
Executive Secretary

The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW



Vol. L, No. 3

April, 1945

The Art Confiscations of the Napoleonic Wars

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN*

THE French sense of the dramatic has resulted in many magnificent and impressive victory celebrations in Paris, but none has ever eclipsed that of the ninth and tenth Thermidor of the Year VI of the first French Republic (July 27 and 28, 1798). An engraving of the time, now in the National Library in Paris, shows us many of the details, and descriptions of the celebration are to be found in pamphlets printed for the occasion.¹

The occasion was the arrival in Paris of the first convoy of art treasures confiscated by Napoleon during his Italian campaign. The engraving shows the ceremony of reception at the Champ de Mars, a parade ground in front of the Paris Ecole Militaire. During the Revolution, the parade ground had been enclosed by an embankment planted with trees, under which rows of seats were placed for spectators. In the engraving a row of formally trimmed trees marks off the edge of the circle. Inside, and opposite the entrance, a smaller circle is enclosed by a low wooden fence, inside of which is the altar

*The author is assistant professor of European history in Duke University.

¹ The engraving, which bears the stamp of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, is entitled "Entrée triomphale des monuments des sciences et des arts en France; fête à ce sujet les 9 et 10 thermidor, an VI de la République." The engraver was Berthaut.

of victory, also dating from Revolutionary days. Within this small circle stand groups of officials and distinguished guests, students from the Ecole Polytechnique, and other soldiers. Behind the altar, and raised well above the level of the parade ground, is an enormous colonnaded building where crowds of people are to be seen seated in a sort of gallery between the columns on the sides facing the parade. This is the pictured setting for the Fête des Victoires.

The booty collected in Italy, even during the first campaign there, was as varied as it was extensive. A procession of wagons circled the parade ground, and finally lined up in three rows in front of the altar and the officials. The engraving shows the procession, most conspicuous in it being the four bronze horses taken from St. Mark's in Venice and carried on an open wagon drawn by six horses. In front of them is a wagon with a cage of lions, while behind march four dromedaries. Extending around the circle are other wagons, many of them with enormous crates, covered with branches of trees for protection from the weather and carrying signs listing their contents. At the head a banner confidently proclaimed "La Grèce les céda; Rome les a perdus; leur sort changea deux fois, il ne changera plus." In these crates there traveled to Paris such treasures as the Apollo Belvedere, the Medici Venus, the Discobolus, the Dying Gladiator, the Laocoön, and sixty or more other pieces of sculpture from the Vatican and Capitoline museums and other collections. Nine paintings by Raphael, two famous Corregios, mineral and natural history collections, the bears of Bern, animals from zoos, and valuable manuscripts including those from the Vatican dated prior to A.D. 900.² The popular interests were catered to by the inclusion of the animals and of such famous religious relics as the miracle-working wooden Virgin of Loreto, attributed to Luke;³ but the main purpose of Napoleon was to bring to Paris as many of the art treasures of Europe as he could. People justified this not only by the doctrine that the spoils of war belong to the victors but by more obscure theories. A petition had been sent to the Directory in October, 1796, signed by almost all the great French artists of the day, in which it was argued that

The more our climate seems unfavorable to the arts, the more do we require models here in order to overcome the obstacles to the progress thereof. . . . The Romans,

² Charles Saunier, *Les conquêtes artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris, 1902), pp. 36-38 and plate III; Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon*, VIII, *Spectacles et Musées* (Paris, 1913), 236; Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Histoire de la société française pendant le Directoire* (Paris, 1864), pp. 284-87; Léopold Delisle, "Les archives du Vatican," *Journal des savants*, Paris, 1892, pp. 429-41, 489-501.

³ Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 118-19; Eugène Müntz, "Les annexions d'art ou de bibliothèques et leur rôle dans les relations internationales," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, IX (1896), 484.

once an uncultivated people, became civilized by transplanting to Rome the works of conquered Greece. . . . Thus . . . the French people . . . naturally endowed with exquisite sensitivity, will . . . by seeing the models from antiquity, train its feeling and its critical sense. . . . The French Republic, by its strength and superiority of its enlightenment and its artists, is the only country in the world which can give a safe home to these masterpieces. All other Nations must come to borrow from our art, as they once imitated our frivolity.⁴

And a lieutenant of Hussars who had escorted a collection from Belgium some years earlier made a speech to the Convention in which he said that works of art had been "soiled too long by slavery" and that "These immortal works are no longer on foreign soil. They are brought to the homeland of arts and genius, to the homeland of liberty and sacred equality, the French Republic."⁵ Napoleon himself wrote from Milan in 1796, "all men of genius, all those who have attained distinction in the republic of letters, are French no matter in what country they may have been born."⁶ And a French general whose book appeared in English translation in 1799, wrote as follows:

. . . statues which the French have taken from the degenerate Roman Catholic to adorn the museum of Paris, and to distinguish by the most noble of trophies, the triumph of liberty over tyranny, and of philosophy over superstition. Real conquests are those made in behalf of the arts, the sciences and taste, and they are the only ones capable of consoling for the misfortune of being compelled to undertake them from other motives.⁷

Inspired by such sentiments, they were horrified at the idea of an uncere-
monious arrival in the capital, "precious relics from Rome arriving like coal
barges . . . and . . . unloaded at the Quai du Louvre like boxes of soap." In-
stead, it was decided to bring them "quietly and modestly and as economically
as possible" as far as the outskirts of Paris, then in a procession across the
city from the Jardin des Plantes to the Champ de Mars, and only after the
celebration there would they be deposited in the new National Museum in
the Louvre.⁸

There had been some protest against this wholesale robbery. Quatremère
de Quincy had written a pamphlet in 1796 in which he reminded people that
some of the greatest works of art could fortunately not be removed, such as
the Coliseum, the Sistine Chapel, the Farnesina Palace, the beautiful rooms
of the Vatican, and many frescoes. If the French wished to revive their in-

⁴ Published in the *Moniteur*, Oct. 3, 1796, quoted by Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 377; and Saunier, pp. 51-53.

⁵ Published in the *Décade philosophique*, I (Paris, Oct. 1, 1794), quoted in Saunier, pp. 26-27.

⁶ Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, IV (Paris, 1892), 154.

⁷ [François R. J. de Pommereul], *Campaign of General Buonaparte in Italy* (Edinburgh, 1799), pp. 52-53.

⁸ Archives Nationales, Paris, MS. F⁷ 1278, quoted in Saunier, p. 35.

terest in antiquity, why, instead of despoiling Rome, did they not "exploit the ruins of Provence . . . investigate the debris of Vienne, Arles, Orange. . . . Why not restore the beautiful amphitheater at Nîmes to house the ancient treasures of this Roman Colony?"⁹

But this was not the official opinion. Even before Napoleon, there had been "representatives of the people" with the armies of the North and the Sambre-et-Meuse to make selections. Thus in 1794, three famous Rubens paintings from Antwerp—"Christ Crucified between the Thieves," the "Elevation of the Cross," and the "Descent from the Cross"—and numerous other canvases, together with some five thousand volumes from the University of Louvain, had been sent to Paris. Some things had also been removed from Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne. The Convention was told, on August 31, 1794, that "Craayer, Van Dyck and Rubens are on the way to Paris, and the whole Flemish school rises with one accord to come to adorn our museums."¹⁰ The booty might have been even more extensive, had not Emperor Joseph II confiscated the possessions of 162 religious establishments in the Low Countries eleven years before, taking the best pictures to Vienna and selling the rest.¹¹

The first Italian campaign yielded tremendous quantities of valuable objects of all sorts. From May, 1796, when armistices were signed with the dukes of Modena and Parma, until the Treaty of Campo Formio in October, 1797, when Venice was handed over to the Austrians in return for a free hand elsewhere, Napoleon had savants constantly on the lookout for booty. Milan was plundered and the dukes of Modena and Parma were required to hand over twenty paintings each from their own and public collections, but all sorts of things were being taken in addition until the pillage was stopped by Bonaparte himself. In June both the king of Naples and the pope signed truces, which in the case of the pope contained a clause promising five hundred manuscripts from the Vatican, and one hundred "pictures and busts." Two busts, those of Marcus and Junius Brutus were stipulated, but other statues of equal and greater importance were chosen.¹² In the case of the manuscripts,

⁹ Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres au général Miranda sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux arts et à la science le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie*, etc. (Paris, 1796), quoted in Saunier, pp. 46-48.

¹⁰ Arch. Nat., MS. F¹⁷ 1276, and *Décade philosophique*, I, 94 ff., both quoted in Saunier, pp. 27-29; Eugène A. Despois, *Le Vandalisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1868), p. 179; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 382.

¹¹ *Magasin Encyclopédique*, I (Paris, 1795), quoted in Saunier, p. 30; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 380.

¹² *Correspondance de Napoléon I* (Paris, 1858-70), I, 251-52, 283, 292-94, 303-305, 449, 517; II, 446; III, 497-505; Jules Guiffrey, "L'Académie de France à Rome de 1793 à 1803," *Jour. des savants*, 1908, p. 659; [Pommereul], *Campaign*, pp. 31, 52-55, 79, 86; J. Holland Rose, in *Cambridge Modern History* (New York, 1934), VIII, 571; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 385-88.

it had been suggested by the French scholar La Porte du Theil, who knew the Vatican well, that the commissioners take only the famous Fonds Regina, the library of Queen Christina of Sweden. This collection had been originally purchased in Paris from the collector Petau, which led La Porte du Theil to believe that its return to France would arouse less resentment than would the departure of some other treasures and that there would be a better chance of keeping it, but the commissioners, who were not in this case very competent, chose instead to select manuscripts by obvious value and age, and the final haul included every manuscript in the Vatican dated before the year 900.¹³ The pope had to pay for the transportation of the manuscripts and all other confiscated treasures, and the Vatican librarian accompanied the collection to Paris.¹⁴ The people of Rome were very angry, and in August, 1796, there were riots in which the mob attacked the French commissioners. There had also been riots in Milan and Parma.¹⁵ In addition to the Vatican library, libraries at Modena, Brera, Pavia, Monza, Bologna, and the famous Ambrosian Library in Milan were all plundered.¹⁶

Worse was yet to come. The following February, the pope was compelled to sign the Treaty of Tolentino, which added 300,000,000 scudi to the indemnity and allowed the confiscation of more treasures, this time including selections from Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Perugia, and Loreto. In the Vatican, everything was opened up and personal choices of valuable jewels went to Napoleon and the directors, while gold and silver medallions were sent to be melted down.¹⁷ In April and May, 1797, the French were in Venice, where they removed the winged lion and the famous bronze horses, attributed by tradition to Lysippus, from above the portal of St. Mark's. In October of that year, the Peace of Campo Formio was signed between the Holy Roman emperor and Napoleon. The emperor got Venice, but many a Titian and Tintoretto joined the bronze horses on the road to Rome.¹⁸ When Napoleon later arranged to commemorate his victories of 1805 and 1806, by building the Arc de Triomphe on the Place du Carrousel at the main entrance to the Tuileries, he had these bronze horses placed at the top as the main ornament of the arch.¹⁹

The first convoys, each consisting of ten to twelve wagons, left on April

¹³ Delisle, in *Jour. des savants*, 1892, pp. 429-41.

¹⁴ Guiffrey, in *Jour. des savants*, 1908, p. 660.

¹⁵ [Pommereul], *Campaign*, p. 131.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53 and appendix; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 386-89.

¹⁷ Ernst Steinmann, "Die Plünderung Roms durch Bonaparte," *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, XI (1916-17), 830.

¹⁸ Rose, in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, VIII, 592-93.

¹⁹ Letter of Daunou, quoted by Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, XI, 486.

9, June 10, and July 8, 1797.²⁰ Wagons hauled the enormous crates to Leghorn, where they were placed on a ship for Marseilles. Some continued to Paris in wagons, but it was felt safer to put fragile and heavy pieces on canal boats, on which they traveled up the Rhone and thence by the usual combination of rivers and canals to Paris.²¹ Some things, notably those from Venice, seem to have started by sea, but the route is not clear.²²

The Egyptian campaign, which immediately followed that in Italy, provided opportunity for excavations and scientific studies. But when the campaign collapsed in 1801, most of the material fell into the hands of the British, including the famous Rosetta Stone. A few books and manuscripts and some private collections were saved.²³

The "Museum français," where the works of art were to be installed, was already in existence in the Louvre. Although most of the old royal collections were at Versailles, there was a small exhibit of some 110 canvases which had been open to the public twice a week since 1750. Since the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Louvre had been overrun by favorites of the government. Writers, artists, and even courtiers without some other profession were given lodgings there. They built complete houses in unfinished rooms and defaced beautiful rooms by cutting holes in walls and littering the place with trash. The museum employees of Napoleon's day, who moved in, could not get these squatters out, and it was not until 1805 that they succeeded, supposedly after a visit from the emperor himself, who noticed a great number of chimneys protruding from the windows of the rooms of one gallery. He was afraid they would set fire to his "conquests."²⁴

Vivant Denon, the director of the Musée Napoléon, as it came to be called, was an energetic and competent scholar and artist, a protégé of Josephine who had won the confidence of Napoleon during the Egyptian campaign. With him were Ennio Quirino Visconti, formerly of the staff of the Capitoline Museum in Rome and a librarian of the Vatican. The secretary was Louis-Antoine Lavallée, also very competent, and his devotion rivaled that of Denon himself.

The treasures from Italy and the Low Countries were the beginning of

²⁰ Guiffrey, in *Jour. des savants*, 1908, pp. 660-61 and n. 1; Steinmann, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 667-70.

²¹ Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 501 and n. 1; Saunier, p. 34.

²² Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, IX, 391.

²³ *Correspondance de Napoléon*, IV, 383-87, 390-91; V, 64-65, 131; Rose, in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, VIII, 606, 618; Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, II (Paris, 1874), 31.

²⁴ Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 231-32, 270; Henri Verne, "Les pensionnaires du Louvre," *Figaro*, Supplément, Oct. 21, 1911; Albert Babeau, *Le Louvre et son histoire* (Paris, 1898), p. 264.

a long procession of "conquests" which continued until the return of the Bourbons. At the time of the first abdication of Napoleon, wagonloads of pictures confiscated in Spain had just crossed the border and halted at Bayonne.²⁵

The plunder of the various German cities had begun when the commissioners brought back material from the Rhineland during the Flanders campaign of 1794. At that time the most spectacular loss suffered was that of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the removal of the marble pillars from the Hochminster and the Proserpine sarcophagus from one of the chapels. The pillars had originally been taken from Ravenna, Rome, and Trier, and brought to Aix by Charlemagne to form a double row around the upper chapel. The Proserpine sarcophagus was the traditional tomb of Charlemagne. It was a second century Roman sarcophagus, decorated with a relief of the Rape of Proserpine. These were all taken to the Louvre and some of the pillars used in the rebuilding of one of the rooms, supposedly the Gallery of Apollo. However, this is probably an error, for eight of them now support the ceiling of the Salle de la Paix, and four others form the entrances of the Salle Auguste.²⁶

But after the Peace of Lunéville the raids were organized in earnest. The commissioners studied carefully such books as the *Voyage de deux Benedictins* by Martène and Durand,²⁷ who had described the cloisters and libraries some years earlier. A former Benedictine named Maugérard was sent to the Rhineland in 1802. He sent to Paris manuscripts and incunabula from Trier, Coblenz, Cologne, Bonn, and Mainz, including valuable Gutenberg materials. The French minister also sent from Cologne a collection of rare sixteenth century stained glass.²⁸

In 1806 and 1807 the collections and castles of the North German princes were raided systematically. The director of the project was the director of the museum in Paris, Vivant Denon, but the work was parceled out among his aides, notably Daru, and Henri Beyle, better known as Stendhal, a protégé of Daru since the days of the Italian campaign. In October, 1806, the famous gallery of Cassel suffered its first levy, of forty-eight of its best pictures. They had been hidden in a hunting lodge, possibly when it became known that

²⁵ Saunier, p. 74.

²⁶ Hermann Degering, "Französische Kunstraub in Deutschland," *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 37-38; Louis Hourticq, *Le musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1921), p. 172; Baedeker, *Paris and Environs* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 92; *id.*, *The Rhine* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 5; Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, VIII, 485.

²⁷ Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins de la congrégation de Saint Maur* (2 vols., Paris, 1717-24).

²⁸ Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 14-16, 22-23.

Elector William I had signed them over to Napoleon, but they were found by General Legrange and sent to Mainz. There they were seen by Empress Josephine, who succeeded in persuading Napoleon to send them to Malmaison, although there seems to have been some disagreement as to whether they were a gift to her or not. It is known that Josephine's demands were frequently responsible for confiscations of jewels and numerous "petits objets charmants," which the emperor was then expected to give her, as well as pictures for her palaces.²⁹ Three crates of art objects consigned to her had been included in the last of the four convoys from Italy.³⁰ Her friendship with Denon was useful in these matters.

The duke of Brunswick, whose name was particularly hateful to the French, was pounced upon with great glee, and he lost about seventy-eight paintings, including some by Raphael, Titian, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck.³¹ His library, at nearby Wolfenbüttel, was one of the finest in Europe, and it received the personal attention of Stendhal himself. Many illuminated manuscripts, the whole Mazarin collection, and the remarkable catalogue were all sent to Paris. The Mazarin collection was a set of some five hundred copies of the best manuscripts in the former library of Cardinal Mazarin, which had been specially made for a famous duke, the learned August the Younger (1579-1660), who had invented an unusual catalogue and even worked on the cards at times himself.

Berlin and Potsdam lost all sorts of art objects, paintings, and books, some annotated in the hand of Voltaire, a famous collection of medallions valued at 500,000 marks and seventy-six carved gems worth 100,000 marks. The remarkable Stosch collection of medallions, still today the pride of a Berlin museum, had apparently been successfully concealed from the searchers.³²

Berlin and Potsdam together lost 60 paintings, Cassel 299 after the first levy, Schwerin lost 209, Vienna 250 from the Belvedere alone, and the galleries of Düsseldorf and Zweibrücken also suffered. In 1800 Munich and the magnificent collection in the nearby palace of Schleissheim were raided and Nuremberg and Salzburg were robbed, and in 1809 things were removed from Vienna.³³ By 1814 they had about four thousand books, an untold number of paintings and bric-a-brac good and bad, and all the valuable gems

²⁹ Georg Gronau, "Die Verluste der Casseler Galerie in der Zeit der französischen Okkupation, 1806-1813," *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 1195-96; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 316; Saunier, p. 59; Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1431 (report of Denon), quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-78.

³⁰ Guiffrey, in *Jour. des savants*, 1908, p. 661, n. 1, quotes the itemized list for the convoys, with names of consignees.

³¹ Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 47.

³² Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1431, quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-77; Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 48.

³³ Saunier, pp. 69-70, 92; Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 48.

they could lay hands on, including those in three papal tiaras.³⁴ Precious metals, including the defaced tiaras, were melted down to be sold by the pound, and two enormous auctions were held, in 1804 and 1811, to turn superfluous articles into money for military purposes.³⁵ Pictures were purchased at them which are now in galleries in England, and the Russians are said to have bought heavily also.³⁶ Some pictures and other treasures were presented to churches and museums in the provinces by Napoleon, usually as substitutes for supposed losses during the Revolution.³⁷ Jewels were given by the empress to her favorites or reserved for herself.³⁸

Meantime, opportunities in Italy had not been neglected. When the private library of Pope Pius VI was announced for sale, the French commissioner, Daunou, intervened and seized it. In 1809, Prince Borghese was forced to sell his magnificent collection to Napoleon for the sum of eight million francs, despite his early and continued collaboration with the French and his marriage to Napoleon's favorite sister. The prince did not even get all the money but was forced to accept payment in land and mines which later returned to their owners.³⁹ W. Buchanan, an English dealer, wrote in 1824 that Napoleon had

levied heavy sums in money on the Princes and nobility . . . who had opposed his arms, and when he saw that these were paid, he renewed his demands so long as he found that the proprietors of works of art still retained their ancient treasures: hence it was that the Princes Colonna, Borghese, Barberini, Chigi, Corsini, Falconieri, Lancellotti, Spada, etc. with many of the noble families of Rome, were forced . . . to dispose of their pictures . . . to prove that they no longer had the means of supporting these heavy and continued contributions.⁴⁰

When the tide finally turned in their favor, the owners of the collections plundered by Napoleon lost no time in trying to get their property back. Napoleon abdicated at Fontainebleau on April 6, 1814, and the plenipotentiaries signed a convention on April 11 arranging for him and his family. Louis XVIII was in England, but his brother, the comte d'Artois, replaced him in the provisional government from April 14 to May 2, after which the king himself took over. On June 4, 1814, he announced the Charter. The

³⁴ Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 490-93.

³⁵ *Correspondance de Napoléon*, III, 39, 80, 102, 113, 132-33; Degering, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 44; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 311.

³⁶ W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting* (London, 1824), II, deals with a series of collections resulting from these sales.

³⁷ Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 311.

³⁸ Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1431, quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-77, and Arch. Nat., MS. O² 2842, quoted in Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 316 (reports of Denon); Steinmann, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 657, 829.

³⁹ Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 485; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 282-88; Saunier, p. 42.

⁴⁰ Buchanan, II, 2-3.

comte d'Artois had signed an armistice, the peace treaty itself being signed on May 30 by Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Switzerland, and Portugal, and later, on July 20, by Spain. There was no mention in either document of provision for the confiscated art treasures.

While the comte d'Artois was still in power, the pope had, on April 19, negotiated successfully for the return of his archives, and on April 27, Daunou, director of the archives in Paris, was ordered to restore the documents emanating from the Papal States, as well as a number of articles used in papal ceremonies.⁴¹

The grandees of Spain, who had been forced to cede a number of paintings to Napoleon, followed the pope's example and approached the king, not waiting for the terms of the peace treaty, in the formation of which they would have no direct part. On May 8, 1814, Louis XVIII announced his decision to return such works of art as had not already been hung or displayed in the Louvre or the Tuileries. This satisfied the appeal from the grandees of Spain and provided for a certain number of things taken from the Low Countries, Prussia, Bavaria, and the grand duchy of Berg. Less than a month later, on June 4, on the occasion of the promulgation of the Charter, the king made a speech in which he definitely deceived people about negotiations for the works of art and gave the impression that the silence of the treaty on the subject was a confirmation of the French rights of possession. He said, "The glory of the French armies has not been tarnished, the monuments to their bravery remain, and the masterpieces of the arts belong to us from now on by stronger rights than those of victory." He said nothing about those he had already promised to return.⁴²

Public opinion in Allied countries protested against these French boasts. The London *Courier* of October 15, 1815, summed up the attitude.

The disbanded officers of the army resort to Paris; and going about out of uniform, influence the populace. As the foreign troops withdraw, the insolence of the Parisians increases. They clamour loudly for the removal of the articles of Art. And why? By what right? The right of conquest? Then have they not twice lost them? Do they persist in enforcing that right? Then why do not now the Allies plunder France of every article worth removing which she possessed before Buonaparte's time? They are entitled to do this by the example of Buonaparte's practice, now so eagerly sanctioned by the Parisians.

In July, the Prussian representative in Paris, von der Goltz, wrote to the king's minister of the household, De Blacas, about the Prussian property. He

⁴¹ Müntz, "Les invasions de 1814-1815 et la spoliation de nos musées," *Nouvelle Revue*, CV (1897), 706-707; Henri de Chennevières, "Le Louvre en 1815," *Revue Bleue*, XLIII (1889), 79; Saunier, pp. 85-86.

⁴² Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 708-709.

stated that Prussia had suffered more than her allies and that, of the four powers, it had made the greatest contribution toward the return of the Bourbons. Despite this, Prussia would not demand the immediate return of those of her paintings and statues then on display until they could be replaced in the Louvre by others, provided that they be returned in the course of the year and that all objects not on display be returned immediately. All this, he added, might be done in complete secrecy.⁴³

This throws light on a fundamental problem, that of the popularity of the king. The French, especially the Parisians, were very proud of the trophies of Napoleon's victories and expected to keep them. For this reason much was said about the desire of the Allies to deprive the French of nothing except such articles as contributed to military strength, and it was considered more politic to count upon the restored king to deal privately with foreign sovereigns in the matter of the return of art treasures than to force him to yield publicly to the victors in anything.⁴⁴

After the return from Elba and the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the powers were less reticent in their behavior towards the French and their king. The French, aware of this, tried to get a clause inserted in the Convention of Paris of July 3, 1815, to "guarantee the integrity of museums and libraries." The Allies refused flatly to accept such a provision. For one thing, the French did not recognize the gesture of the previous year as a generous act. They merely accepted it as a deserved tribute to their importance.⁴⁵ And, as Lord Liverpool wrote to the British representative in Paris,

The reasonable part of the world are for general restoration to the original possessors, but they say with truth, that we have a better title to such objects; and they blame the policy of leaving the trophies of the French victories in Paris. . . . It is most desirable, in point of policy, to remove them if possible from France, as whilst in that country they must necessarily have the effect of keeping up the remembrance of their former conquests and of cherishing the military spirit and vanity of the nation.⁴⁶

But neither were the Allies willing to include a provision for the return of confiscated property to the original owners. Again it was felt that this could be more tactfully handled by the king privately,⁴⁷ and the need for the pro-

⁴³ Arch. Nat., MS. O⁸ 1429, quoted in Saunier, pp. 87-88.

⁴⁴ Liverpool to Castlereagh, quoted in Charles D. Yonge, *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool* (London, 1868), II, 193; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 193.

⁴⁵ Charles K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1812-1815* (London, 1931), p. 472.

⁴⁶ Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, ed. by Charles Vane, X (London, 1852), 435; Liverpool to Castlereagh, *ibid.*, X, 453; Castlereagh to Liverpool, Yonge, II, 193.

⁴⁷ Yonge, II, 197.

tection of his popularity was greater than before. The British insisted that pressure be brought to bear, and made demands of their Allies, news of which soon became public. The London *Courier*, on October 4, 1815, published extracts from a letter from Paris, written some days earlier.

Things have suddenly taken a very different appearance here. To the great astonishment of everybody, and when there was least reason to expect it, the Duke of Wellington came to the diplomatic conferences with a note in his hand, by which he expressly required all works of Art should be restored to their respective owners. This excited great attention, and the Belgians, who having immense claims to make, had been hitherto most obstinately refused, did not wait to be told that they might begin to take back their own. . . . The brave people are already on their way to return with their Potters and their Rubens.

When it became known that the British delegation was committed to the return of the art treasures by some means or other, Prussia, Spain, the pope, and all the smaller states were encouraged to make demands. The French held the English responsible, suspecting strange motives and even plots. The English, they said, were afraid of competition from the Louvre, since they wanted the British Museum to rank first in the world of art. They accused one member of the British delegation, William Richard Hamilton, of having been sent there to ruin the Louvre. They referred to him as "this viper, Hamilton."⁴⁸

Actually, the behavior of Britain in this instance seems to have been disinterested in so far as art was concerned. They had decided that their interests would be furthered by a stable and popular government in France and they therefore supported such action as they felt would best insure this. On July 5, 1815, and again on August 3, Lord Liverpool, wrote that the prince regent wanted the delegation to try to get some of the masterpieces for the British museums, but both Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington refused to take part in any such efforts.⁴⁹ Hamilton, who was secretary of the delegation, wrote to the earl of Bathurst that

We must necessarily give up the idea of procuring for ourselves any of the chef-d'oeuvres from the Louvre. . . . It would throw an odium upon our exertions to restore stolen goods, and those French who are the most exasperated against the general measures of restitution already make use of this argument against our pretended disinterested exertion in the cause of justice. It will be very difficult and problematical to effect the restitution at all, and really for the former owners. If accompanied with any proposal to our own benefit the whole will fall to the ground, and the French will remain undisturbed proprietors of what they are

⁴⁸ De Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, XLIII, 83; letter of Denon to Talleyrand, Sept. 16, 1815, Arch. Nat., MS. O⁹ 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 114, n. 2.

⁴⁹ Liverpool to Castlereagh, Yonge, II, 193; same to same, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, X, 453; Castlereagh to Liverpool, *ibid.*, XI, 12-14.

now afraid they are to lose; and they will have the additional gratification of owing it to our mismanagement.⁵⁰

Hamilton did not deserve the vituperative epithets hurled at him by the French, but a previous experience was responsible for their hatred of him. He was a career diplomat and, like many of his colleagues, a collector of some reputation and taste. While secretary to Lord Elgin in Constantinople, he had aided in getting the Elgin marbles for the British Museum and had himself supervised the removal of the Parthenon frieze in 1802. He was in Egypt with a mission in 1801, after the French evacuation, and it was he who had caught the French in the act of violating the treaty by shipping the Rosetta Stone out secretly. Hamilton had commandeered some soldiers, rowed out to the ship, and carried the Rosetta Stone back himself.⁵¹ This story obviously did not endear him to the French.

Even before the signing of the Convention of Paris, the return of articles not on display had begun. On September 1, 1814, Austria and on December 29 Prussia were given back their manuscripts, and during this same period Perugia and some of the other Italian cities started negotiations for their paintings. Prussia succeeded almost immediately in recovering a large number of statues and miscellaneous bric-a-brac and thirty-nine paintings including ten Cranachs and three Corregios. The duke of Brunswick received 85 paintings, 174 pieces of Limoges porcelain, 980 majolica vases, and some wood carvings and minor objects. The Bavarian commissioners got some paintings and negotiated for an exchange of some others. They asked for works of first-rate French artists, and Denon, director of the Louvre, suspected that they were trying to get rid of inferior works to receive in return works of great value.⁵² On December 20, 1814, he wrote the minister of the household, warning him against any such exchange and against setting precedents of this sort.⁵³ In January, 1815, the Louvre and the Royal Library had lost very little—only 6 paintings, 46 marble and 52 bronze statues, 461 carved gems, and a few manuscripts. Most of the treasures returned had been taken, as agreed, from things still in storage. And Denon began to call in some of the paintings which had previously been given to churches and museums in the provinces to take the place of those to be sent abroad.⁵⁴

The return of Napoleon interrupted everything, but immediately after the Convention of Paris in July, 1815, the negotiations reopened. In fact,

⁵⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Earl Bathurst, Preserved at Cirencester Park* (London, 1923), p. 385.

⁵¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII (London, 1921), 1119.

⁵² Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 714-15.

⁵³ Saunier, p. 93.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-94; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 707.

while diplomats were discussing ways and means of returning the art objects without humiliating Louis XVIII, individual owners began to take matters into their own hands. The French blame Talleyrand for not taking a stronger stand in this matter, but he was probably helpless. In addition, while it may not have been known at the time, there is evidence that he had in his possession some things which might have been taken away if any systematic effort were to be made to restore everything. In Orléans there is a record of a relative having been given six thousand manuscripts during the Revolution, taken from the central depot to which confiscated French property had been consigned. And he personally got possession also of some of the paintings confiscated in Germany by Napoleon. It may have seemed wise to him to keep as quiet as possible on the subject of confiscations.⁵⁵

The Prussians were the first to act. King Frederick William delegated von Ribbentropp, ancestor of the diplomat of our own day, to get the paintings back. He was seconded by Jacobi, an expert, and by a reserve officer who was also an expert, Eberhard de Groote. On July 7, immediately after the Prussians marched into Paris, von Ribbentropp called upon Denon at the Louvre to claim such Prussian treasures as had not been returned, but Denon demanded an order from the French government. The next day Jacobi came with an official order, not from Louis XVIII but from von Ribbentropp. Denon appealed to Talleyrand, playing for time by agreeing to have the packing of the statues done while waiting for a reply. On July 9 von Ribbentropp threatened to send soldiers to seize the pictures and to send Denon to a prison in Prussia unless he acceded before noon of the tenth. At one A.M. of the tenth, the soldiers arrived, and Denon allowed the operation to proceed. Talleyrand wrote to the Prussian ambassador, General Baron von Müffling, to say that more time was needed in order to do things properly, but he was ignored. By July 13, all the Prussian paintings and statues were out of the Louvre and in storage to await shipment to Prussia.⁵⁶ Meantime, men from Blücher's army had gone to Saint-Cloud, Compiègne, and Fontainebleau to take the masterpieces hung in those chateaux. They took away two paintings which admittedly did not belong to them, as guarantees, said Blücher in response to the protests. The Prussians also took, or assisted others to take, a great deal of what had belonged to the other North German states and especially those united with Prussia in the course of the war.⁵⁷ This meant that

⁵⁵ Charles Cuissard, "Origine, formation et développement de la bibliothèque d'Orléans," *Memoires de la société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XXV (Orléans, 1894), 250.

⁵⁶ Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 108; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 194; Saunier, pp. 102, 105-106; de Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, LXIII, 81.

⁵⁷ Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Castlereagh Correspondence*, XI, 12-14; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 199; Saunier, p. 107.

the city of Cologne and the grand dukes of Hesse and Mecklenburg-Schwerin had profited by the Prussian activity. Holland, Belgium, the Vatican, and the Italian cities could not be expected to remain silent.

To the great annoyance of the French, emissaries of the Dutch consul arrived at noon on September 18 to reclaim the possessions of the newly created state of the Netherlands. Some of the finest paintings had come from Antwerp, The Hague, Amsterdam, and religious establishments in Holland and Belgium. Denon wrote to Metternich and others in protest, and in his letter to Talleyrand, September 16, he said,

If we yield to the claims of Holland and Belgium, we deprive the Museum of one of its greatest assets, that of having a series of excellent colorists. . . . Russia is not hostile, Austria has had everything returned, Prussia has a restoration more complete. . . . There remains only England, who has in truth nothing to claim, but who, since she has just bought the bas-reliefs of which Lord Elgin plundered the Temple at Athens, now thinks she can become a rival of the Museum [Louvre], and wants to deplete this Museum in order to collect the remains [for herself].⁵⁸

When the Dutch workmen were refused admission, they were given the protection of the army of occupation. Lord Castlereagh had informed the British government on September 11 that this would have to be done. His letter reads in part as follows:

having witnessed . . . the Prussians remove by force, not only all the works of art taken away from the Prussian dominions, but those plundered from Cologne and other towns on the left bank of the Rhine—possessions which have since been acquired by Prussia . . . The Prussians have also assisted . . . others to recover in like manner what belonged to them. This proceeding of the Prussians makes it almost indispensable for the King of the Netherlands to replace in the Churches of Belgium the pictures of which they were dispoiled. His Majesty, I believe, feels this so strongly, that he would rather sacrifice his own family collection, now in the Louvre, than fail in this act of political duty to his new subjects. . . . I cannot see therefore, the possibility of the Duke of Wellington, as the military commander of the troops of the King, doing otherwise than giving aid to remove by force, if necessary, these objects, and it becomes Great Britain not the less, to see the same measures of justice distributed to her immediate ally, as that which has been obtained by the adjacent states.⁵⁹

On August 5, Metternich had asked for the return of the Austrian and Venetian treasures.⁶⁰ On September 20, in Vienna, Austria, England, and Prussia agreed that all art objects should be returned to their original owners. The tsar was not a party to this agreement. Castlereagh said that the tsar wanted a compromise between Louis XVIII and the claimants.⁶¹ It has now

⁵⁸ Denon to Talleyrand, quoted in Saunier, p. 114; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 201-202.

⁵⁹ Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 12-14.

⁶⁰ Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 206.

⁶¹ Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 12-14.

been found, however, that the tsar had secretly purchased from Napoleon's relatives a number of valuable paintings for the Hermitage. He had received, by gift or purchase from Josephine, the valuable Vatican cameo of Ptolemy and Arsinoë.⁶² He would not wish for a restoration under these circumstances.

The Vienna agreement confirmed the work already in progress. During the last two weeks of September, the Louvre was the scene of wrangling between the director and the military, while the Dutch, Belgians, Austrians, and the agents for some of the Italian cities took down, packed, and removed their treasures. Denon wrote to the minister of the household on September 21, "The English and the Prussians are at the moment in command of the Museum. Austria, their ally, may join them in ruining it." An aide-de-camp of General Müffling, military governor of Paris, had been sent there on September 18, two British generals had had to accompany the Belgian commissioners the same day, and on September 19, General Müffling himself had arrived with his staff and had posted sentries at the door. On the twentieth, "a considerable number of soldiers with three officers" arrived and posted sentries in the galleries of the museum.⁶³ The guard became permanent, and England, Prussia, and Austria took turns in this duty. There are several angry references in Denon's letters to the attempts of the commissioners to work at night, probably to avoid trouble from the Paris mob. In a letter of October 1, Castlereagh said,

The Prussians are very sore about the Louvre. The Austrians were driven from their work the night before last by the Duke of Luxemburg and the Garde du Corps. But being thus justified in laying aside delicacy, they worked by day, under the protection of a strong force, and have safely removed the Venetian horses from the front of the Tuileries.⁶⁴

According to Denon, several efforts had been made to get the famous bronze horses down from the top of the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel in the Tuileries gardens, and the process took the better part of a week. The populace was angry and excited and so were the police, as for some time no one suspected what the Austrians were doing in the gardens. All the Austrian troops had to be called out to police the neighborhood while laborers worked to get the horses down.⁶⁵ The London *Courier* published, on October 3, a letter from Paris describing the affair.

⁶² Steinmann, in *Internat. Monats.*, XI, 829. See page 459, below.

⁶³ Arch. Nat., MS. O¹ 1429, quoted in Saunier, pp. 115-18, 132.

⁶⁴ Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Castlereagh Correspondence*, XI, 39.

⁶⁵ Denon's report, Archives des Musées Nationaux, MS. Registre Supplémentaire (1797-1817), pp. 228 ff., quoted in Saunier, pp. 140-42.

I just now find that the Austrians are taking down the bronze horses from the Arch. The whole court of the Tuileries, and the Place de Caroussel are filled with Austrian infantry and cavalry under arms; no person is allowed to approach; the troops on guard amount to several thousands; there are crowds of French in all the avenues leading to it who give vent to their feelings by shouts and execrations. . . . The pillar will also be taken down. The number of cannon on the bridges has been increased. There is in circulation here a letter, in manuscript, addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Lord Castlereagh justifying the removal of the pictures and statues, and declaring this was expressly declared to have been the intention of the Allies, though not expressed in the Convention.

Despite all the trouble, the Austrians, Belgians, Dutch, and some Italian cities got back their possessions, and Spain was able to get one more painting, a Murillo supposedly presented voluntarily by the city of Seville to Marshal Soult. He had a famous collection of Murillos, but he evidently presented this one to the Louvre in order to keep out of trouble himself.⁶⁶

The sculptor Canova came to Paris on August 28 to get back the treasures of the Vatican and the Roman museums. There is a French story that he came under the pretext of a commission to do a portrait of Tsar Alexander and that his papal mission was a secret one.⁶⁷ The French continued to think that the evil genius of the whole restoration effort was Hamilton, whom they believed to be involved in all sorts of intrigue. We know that Hamilton was acting under orders from his government, which considered him particularly useful in this affair because of his friendship with Canova. If there was any intrigue, or if Canova's mission was secret, Castlereagh at least knew all about it on September 11, when he wrote Lord Liverpool in London suggesting a plan of action:

Mr. Hamilton who is intimate with Canova, the celebrated artist expressly sent here by the Pope with a letter to the King, to reclaim what was taken from Rome, distinctly ascertained from him that the Pope, if successful, neither could nor would, as Pope, sell any of the chefs-d'oeuvres that belonged to the See, and in which he has, in fact, only a life interest. The French, when they plundered the Vatican, ignorantly brought away some works of little or no value. These Canova has authority either to cede to the King, or to sell, to facilitate the return of the more valuable objects; but it is quite clear that no sum of money could secure to the Prince Regent any distinguished works from His Holiness' collection. . . . In taking, therefore, the disinterested line, we have in fact made no real sacrifice, whilst we shall escape odium and misrepresentation; and if, through the weight of the Prince Regent's interference, the Pope should ultimately recover his property, his Royal Highness would probably feel it more consistent with his munificence to give this old man a small sum out of the French contribution, to carry home his gallery, than to see him exposed to the reproach of selling the refuse, without strict right to do so, in order to replace what is really valuable in the Vatican.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Buchanan, II, 265; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 203; Saunier, p. 134.

⁶⁷ Denon to Talleyrand, quoted by Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 423-24.

⁶⁸ Castlereagh to Liverpool, *Castlereagh Correspondence*, XI, 12-14.

The French believed the British had an ulterior motive. Denon said so to Talleyrand on September 15⁶⁹ and left a record of a conversation he had with Hamilton, to prove his point.⁷⁰ Hamilton had visited the museum before the removals began, and had discussed with Denon the wisdom of assembling such a large collection in one place. When Hamilton raised this question, Denon told him that he talked like a schoolboy just out of Oxford. Hamilton remarked that the museum had not caused the French to produce either a Titian or a Raphael. Denon replied that such men fall from heaven and that France at least had a good school of artists, whereas other places at the time had only isolated workers. Hamilton then remarked that Paris was too dissipated a city to become a center for study, as the museum was too near the Palais Royal, which at that time was the center of prostitution in Paris. Denon replied with the observation that it ill became an Englishman to criticize the morals of Paris when every street in London afforded scenes worse than anything which occurred under the galleries of the Palais Royal. After a few more bitter words, Hamilton remarked that the British were not jealous of the Paris museum. He himself preferred, he said, the British Museum, which had the advantage of being their own property, whereas the Paris museum belonged to persons there at the moment to reclaim their possessions. This report, which has been used by all French writers on the subject,⁷¹ combined with a widely circulated story, also reported by Denon, had much to do with French suspicions then and later. The other story was a rumor that the pope had promised the prince regent to give him the Apollo Belvedere, if Britain would help him get his other treasures.⁷² The excitement in Paris had reached a high pitch as evidenced by a letter from a Paris correspondent published in the *Courier* of October 2.

The public mind of Paris still continues in a state of extreme agitation; the people appear every day more and more exasperated against the Allies. . . . The stripping of the Louvre is the chief cause of public irritation at present; . . . the long gallery of the Museum presents the strongest possible image of desolation; here and there a few pictures giving greater effect to the disfigured nakedness of the walls. I have seen several French Ladies in passing along the galleries suddenly break into extravagant fits of rage and lamentation; they gather round the *Apollo* to take their last farewell, with a most romantic enthusiasm; there is so much passion in their looks, their language and their sighs, in the presence of this monument of human genius, that a person unacquainted with their character or accustomed to study the character of the fair sex in England, where feeling is con-

⁶⁹ Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 423.

⁷⁰ Arch. Musées Nationaux, MS. Reg. Sup., pp. 282 ff., quoted by de Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, XLIII, 114, and in Saunier, pp. 136-39.

⁷¹ Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 424; de Chennevières, in *Rev. Bleue*, XLIII.

⁷² Saunier, p. 160.

trolled by perpetual discipline, would be disposed to pronounce them literally mad—not the least of their griefs is the report that the *Apollo* goes to England. The *Venus de Medicis* was removed yesterday.

Great interest was aroused in London by these reports, and on October 4, the *Courier* commented on the news from Paris as follows:

The groups in public places have of late increased in numbers and boldness. The removal of the articles of Art has afforded an occasion for bringing them together, and an opportunity of venting their resentment against the Allies. Upwards of 1800 pictures and other articles are said to have been removed from the Louvre. When the *Venus* was put into the cart on Monday, Sir T. Lawrence, Mr. Chantry and Canova burst into tears; but a German officer who stood by kissed her and laughed at them. When the last package was put into the cart the French mob collected round the door, hissed and G-d d-d the English troops who at the moment were on guard at the door, just as if the pictures were going to be sent to England. The *Venus de Medicis* is said to be dispatched to Florence. There is great talk of the *Apollo Belvedere* being destined for the Prince Regent, but we believe his Royal Highness's sentiments are far too dignified to accept a present which would but too generally be deemed as a bribe. The political conduct which he has pursued has been in entire coincidence with the manly and honourable feelings of the nation whose grand object was to re-establish the principles of justice. . . . A thousand Apollos would be a poor compensation for the loss of that high character which Great Britain has maintained. The accident of employing British troops to seize the Flemish picture in the Louvre, has had injurious consequences in the state of the public mind towards England. The Duke of Wellington has explained that his sending a guard of the 53d regiment to the Louvre on the requisition of General Muffling was an accident which he neither could nor sought to avoid. It happened to be the turn of the English to provide the guard for that day and the Duke had no discretion.

On October 1, Castlereagh announced that on the previous day, Austria, Prussia, and England had agreed to support Canova's efforts.⁷³ In addition to the statues and pictures obtained⁷ by Canova, the valuable Vatican manuscripts were secured through the efforts of Marino Marini, nephew of the Vatican librarian who had gone to Paris with the collection and had died there during the Hundred Days. He also got the type of the Polyglot Press, seized by Napoleon in the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith in Rome, at least as much of it as was left, for Napoleon had sent some of it to Egypt.⁷⁴ Extracts of letters from Canova in Paris to a friend in London were published in the *Courier* on October 16:

The cause of the Fine Arts is at length safe in port; and it is to the generous and unremitting exertions of the British Minister, that Rome will be indebted for thus triumphing in the demands I came hither to make in her name [Sept. 31].

We are at last beginning to drag forth from this great cavern of stolen goods

⁷³ Castlereagh to Liverpool, Castlereagh *Correspondence*, XI, 39.

⁷⁴ *Correspondance de Napoléon*, IV, 24; V, 160, 255; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 436; Arthur Christian, *Débuts de l'imprimerie en France* (Paris, 1905), p. 103.

the precious objects of Art taken from Rome. On the 2nd instant, amongst many fine Paintings that were removed, we noticed that stupendous production, the *Transfiguration*, the *Communion of St. Jerome*, the *Virgin of Fuligno*; the next day several other exquisite pictures came away together with the groupe of *Cupid and Psyche*, the *Two Brutus*, the very ancient bust of *Ajax*, and other no less precious objects of sculpture. Yesterday the *Dying Gladiator* left his French abode and the *Torso*. We removed this day the two first statues of the world, the *Apollo* and the *Laocoon* [Oct. 5].

The most valuable of them are to go by land, and will set off next week, accompanied by the celebrated Venetian Horses, and all other precious articles belonging to Lombardy, Piedmont, and Tuscany. The convoy will be escorted by strong detachments of Austrian troops. The remainder, which may belong to Rome, will be embarked and sent by sea to Italy [Oct. 9].

How successful were the restorations? It is difficult to say. Many articles were damaged and even lost. Others, sent to the provinces or otherwise disposed of, were difficult or impossible to reclaim. Some of the paintings had been "restored" during their sojourn in Paris. The original owners claimed that the job had been badly done and that the pictures had become worthless as a result. This was particularly true of two Corregios from the gallery at Cassel, "Jupiter and Io" and "Jupiter and Leda." The "Leda" they said, had a completely new head and a bad one at that. The French replied that the "son of the Regent" had done it in a fit of false modesty and that the French were obviously not responsible.⁷⁵ There was only one possible prince regent at the time; he had no legitimate son, and I have been unable to find any reference to an illegitimate son. Possibly one of the regent's brothers was the offender, but it is more likely that the whole tale was false since there are no references to it in the correspondence of Castlereagh or other members of the delegation.

The winged lion from St. Mark's in Venice had been placed on a fountain in the Esplanade des Invalides. When the workmen attempted to remove it, it was dropped, and broke in a thousand pieces, much to the delight of the jeering mob.⁷⁶ Some Italian primitives were seriously damaged during the journey to Paris.⁷⁷ The enormous canvas of Paul Veronese, the "Marriage at Cana," had been torn in two during the journey from Venice to Paris, and it had been restored in such a way as to make it even more difficult to move. In fact, Napoleon had ordered it moved on the occasion of his marriage to Marie Louise and was so much annoyed at the difficulty that he had angrily ordered it burned—the orders were of course ignored. But it could

⁷⁵ Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 710.

⁷⁶ Clara A. L. Herpin [Lucien Perey, pseud.], ed., *Memoires d'une grande dame; la comtesse Potocka* (Paris, 1890), II, 479; London *Courier*, Oct. 4, 1815.

⁷⁷ Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 303.

not be returned to Venice, at least the Austrians were convinced that this was the case, and a painting by Lebrun was accepted as a substitute.⁷⁸

Several pieces of sculpture were considered too cumbersome and expensive to move. Canova agreed to give up the Tiber, the Melpomene and some others for this reason.⁷⁹ He also gave up a colossal marble statue of Napoleon in the nude, which he had himself executed in Rome and which Napoleon had brought to Paris at enormous expense. The nudity of the statue had annoyed everyone, including Napoleon, but now for the first time it had great value as a souvenir. It was sold to the English, along with a collection of souvenirs of Napoleon which they were buying up in Paris. The statue was finally acquired by the duke of Wellington, and installed in his London house, where, to the disgust of French visitors of a later day, it was ingloriously hidden away in a rear hall where servants propped up bicycles against it.⁸⁰

One large group, the Quadriga, brought from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin to adorn Napoleon's projected "Temple of Victory," was successfully recovered and taken back to Berlin.⁸¹

Some paintings were completely lost. The Prussians claimed that two valuable canvases, Rubens' "Diogenes," and Jordaens' "The King Drinks," were taken by the French, who claim to know nothing about them.⁸² They have never been found. One of the many risks encountered in the course of the restorations is suggested by the report of the Belgian commissioners to a museum official that an unidentified foreigner had offered them ten thousand francs to steal a certain painting, the money to be paid as soon as the painting was out of the building.⁸³

Both the original owners and the director of the museum had tried to deceive those who came to get the treasures. The Vatican librarian had succeeded in temporarily hiding from Napoleon's commissioners some of the most valuable manuscripts in his care, including some with gold seals, the original acts of the Council of Trent, and the *Liber Diurnus*, all scheduled for confiscation, and eventually taken when the fraud was discovered.⁸⁴ More successful was the fraud apparently perpetrated in connection with Raphael's "Virgin of Loreto." It was displayed in Rome before being shipped. When

⁷⁸ Report of Denon, Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1429, quoted in Saunier, pp. 169-71; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 292-93.

⁷⁹ Saunier, p. 152; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CVII, 429.

⁸⁰ Apsley to Bathurst, and Hamilton to Bathurst, Bathurst Papers, pp. 372-73, 383-85; Saunier, pp. 151-52; Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 426-27; Baedeker, *London* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 178-79.

⁸¹ Lanzac de Laborie, VIII, 281.

⁸² Saunier, p. 89.

⁸³ Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 119.

⁸⁴ Delisle, in *Jour. des savants*, 1892, pp. 429-41, 489-501.

the crate arrived in Paris, it contained only an inferior and damaged copy.⁸⁵ In turn, Denon tried every possible trick on the owners who came to reclaim their property. When the king of Sardinia "removed with extreme violence" a masterpiece of Giulio Romano, which Denon claimed was not a confiscation but a free gift from the city of Genoa to France, he attempted, apparently without success, to have it seized by the French customs as it left the country.⁸⁶ On another occasion, when the Prussians claimed that two pictures listed as returned to them, were not in the crates when opened, Denon said that both had been listed erroneously, and could not have been sent, since they were not in Paris. One, which was at Strasbourg, he would order sent on to them immediately; the other, at Compiègne, he would try to have replaced at Compiègne by something else and sent on.⁸⁷

During the negotiations with the Dutch about the paintings taken from Antwerp, Denon wrote the ambassador, pointing out that Napoleon had spent enormous sums of money on the port of Antwerp and the French could at least expect to keep the paintings in partial reimbursement.⁸⁸ This trick, of course, did not work.

There was a bitter quarrel about the set of marble pillars which Napoleon had removed from the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Prussians got back those which had not been taken out of storage, but there were ten which had been used in the Gallery of Apollo, and the guidebooks show them today in the Salle Auguste and the Salle de la Paix.⁸⁹ Wherever they were, Denon did nothing about the removal of these pillars. Von Ribbentropp threatened to send soldiers to take them down, but he did not want to accept responsibility for the collapse of the vaulted roof which the pillars supported; otherwise he would doubtless have seized them as he did the paintings and sculpture. Denon protested frantically, and the Prussian king himself finally relented. If we can trust an attested copy in the Archives Nationales,⁹⁰ Frederick William wrote Denon on August 23, 1815, agreeing to allow the ten columns to remain, provided that the other columns and the Proserpine sarcophagus, which had been taken at the same time, be sent back immediately. This he did, he said, in part out of concern for monuments and a wish not to interfere with their preservation and partly in recognition of Denon's devotion to his work. In 1845, duplicates were finally made and installed in place of the original pillars at Aix-la-Chapelle.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 483.

⁸⁶ Arch. Musées Nationaux, MS. Reg. Sup., pp. 228 ff., quoted in Saunier, p. 142.

⁸⁷ Letter of Denon, quoted by Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, CV, 711.

⁸⁸ Saunier, p. 125.

⁸⁹ Hourticq, p. 172. There appear to have been twelve columns, instead of the ten agreed upon.

⁹⁰ Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1429, quoted in Saunier, p. 111.

⁹¹ Baedeker, *The Rhine*, p. 5.

One of the worst difficulties involved in the restoration was the distribution of the confiscated articles throughout France, and even outside France. Of the two hundred paintings taken from Belgium, only thirty were in Paris museums, and the rest had been sent to eighteen different French cities by Napoleon.⁹² Some French paintings had been sent to Brussels and Amsterdam, where Napoleon wished to maintain museums, and these the French demanded back before undertaking to restore their own to them.⁹³

The French were very bitter about the restoration of the treasures. They echoed the attitude expressed by Stendhal in connection with the return of one group to Italy. He said, "The Allies have *taken* eleven hundred fifty pictures. I hope I may be permitted to observe that we acquired them *by a treaty, that of Tolentino*. . . . On the other hand, the Allies have taken our pictures, *without treaty*."⁹⁴ In other words, the French acquisitions were legalized by treaties; the allied seizures were confiscations.

Nothing could be done about articles which had been sold, and in some cases important items were involved. One case, that of the collection of Empress Josephine, illustrates all too well the problems faced under such circumstances. Josephine was fond of jewelry; in fact she collected luxury articles of all sorts, from jewelry to paintings. She had been required to return diamonds, silver, linen, and furniture, as crown property, at the time of the divorce, but at the time of her death she still possessed diamonds and other jewels valued at nearly two million francs, and paintings, silver, *objets d'art*, and laces valued at over half a million.⁹⁵ Many of these seem to have been acquired through confiscation. Denon wrote to Daru in 1807, "I had the honor of replying [to Josephine] that, in my desire to serve her, I always took, in addition to the paintings I was ordered to seize, a number of pretty little things . . . which . . . the Emperor would be delighted to give her."⁹⁶ While at Potsdam that same year, he seized some carved gems. "Everything found and brought to Paris was put in a small box . . . and sent by Napoleon's order, to Mme. Bonaparte, for her to make a choice . . . she selected some rings and small cameos which she gave to the ladies of her court, and sent the rest on to the Museum."⁹⁷ When the Prussians claimed their jewels in 1814 and 1815, 461 articles are said to have been returned, and 76 missing since coming into Josephine's possession.⁹⁸ Paintings had been hung in various palaces, but Josephine's favorite palace, Malmaison, which was her private

⁹² Saunier, p. 25.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁹⁴ Henri Bèyle, *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* (Paris, 1868), p. 413.

⁹⁵ Walter Geer, *Napoleon and His Family*, III (New York, 1929), 388.

⁹⁶ Lanza de Laborie, VIII, 316.

⁹⁷ Arch. Nat., MS. O³ 1431, quoted in Saunier, pp. 76-77.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

property, contained an especially fine collection. Its most famous contents were the pictures brought from Cassel in 1806, forty-eight according to the records, but only thirty-six were admitted by Josephine to have arrived, the others being lost. Napoleon later ordered Denon to take these paintings to the Louvre, but he never succeeded in getting them, as Josephine insisted that they had been given her as an outright gift.⁹⁹ When the Hessians went to Malmaison in 1815 to get their paintings from the heirs of Josephine, they were told that the finest pieces in the collection had been sold to Tsar Alexander for 940,000 francs.¹⁰⁰ It is not clear whether this had happened just before or just after her death on May 29, 1814. The tsar refused to give them up, and many of them adorn the Hermitage in Leningrad today.¹⁰¹ This remarkable coup explains the tsar's stubborn refusals to join his allies in their efforts to return art treasures to the original owners. Hortense is said to have sold thirty paintings to Tsar Nicholas I in 1829, but the provenance of these is not clear.¹⁰² Some may have been the remains of her mother's gallery. And as early as 1814, the king of Bavaria wrote Denon to ask about the sale of the Malmaison pictures.¹⁰³ Whether it was known that they were for sale and he wished to buy, or whether he had heard of the tsar's negotiations and was protecting the interests of his daughter and her husband, Eugene de Beauharnais, Josephine's son, we do not know.

Some of the finest galleries in Europe contain paintings which were purchased in Paris at this time. The Glyptothek of Munich consisted at first almost entirely of articles from the confiscated collection of the Villa Albani, purchased in Paris. The treasures of the Giustiniani gallery found their way to Prussia, also via Paris.¹⁰⁴ Others went to England, and the Leningrad collection has already been mentioned. As a dispersal of art treasures, no previous upheaval could rival it in quantity, at least during a similar period of time. It remains to be seen whether the present war will prove to have had a still more disastrous effect.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁰¹ Baedeker, *Russia* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 144, lists the most important items.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Saunier, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴ Müntz, in *Rev. hist. dipl.*, X, 485; Müntz, in *Nouvelle Rev.*, XVII, 438.

¹⁰⁵ For an account of the recent status of archives and libraries in conquered countries, see Ernst Posner, "Public Records under Military Occupation," *American Historical Review*, XLIX (Jan., 1944), 213-27, and Francis H. Taylor, "The Rape of Europa," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXV (Jan., 1945), 52-58.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, Historian of Western America

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY*

IN the historiography of western America no name is writ larger than Hubert Howe Bancroft. He was the first determined collector of the materials on this half continent and the first to undertake to chronicle its history comprehensively and exhaustively. The library that he established is the chief depository of such materials and for a generation has been the area's fountainhead of historical research. Similarly the thirty-nine massive volumes of his *Works* stand today, a full half century after their publication, as the fundamental reference on this vast subject matter and the best reference on a good fraction of the topics which comprise it. Basic to these achievements he had a long career as an individual and a businessman reasonably representative of the West in the gold rush and post gold rush generations.

Despite these claims to fame Bancroft has never had a biographer. In a volume entitled *Literary Industries*, published in 1890, he put on record a partial narrative of his life and in *Retrospection* in 1912 he added a few other particulars. There have been fragmentary comments about his collecting, about the launching of his first book, about his method of authorship,¹ but no full-scale treatment. The reason, I believe, is twofold. In common with most of us, Bancroft fell short of perfection. Some of his defects were seized upon, and it came to be the fashion to disparage him not only for these shortcomings but in all that he had done. The result was to becloud his eligibility for biographical attention. An even greater deterrent was the bulk of his published works. These include not only the seven and a half foot row of *Native Races* and *History of the Pacific States*, but three other sets, a number of individual books, and a sheaf of pamphlets—in all some sixty-odd volumes, the majority of them solid and weighty.² Their ponderousness tended to ward

*A paper read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at St. Louis on April 20, 1944. The author is associate professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles.

¹For example, Carl L. Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, 1941), pp. 96-102; Oscar Lewis, "The Launching of Bancroft's 'Native Races,'" *Colophon*, new style, I (1936), 323-32; William A. Morris, "The Origin and Authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications: A History of a History," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, IV (1903), 287-364; Rockwell D. Hunt, "Hubert Howe Bancroft: His Work and His Method," *Historical Society of Southern California, Publications*, VIII (1911), 158-73.

²Principal among his published works are the following: *Native Races* (5 vols., New York, 1874-75), reissued with *History of the Pacific States* (28 vols.) and with six supplementary vol-

off prospective biographers and, it must be admitted, considerably retarded the present writer.

In his eighty-five years Bancroft was, among other things, businessman, publisher, collector, historian, essayist, and philosopher. Self-made and largely self-tutored, in each of these lines he was a pioneer, breaking new ground. His life thus was complex as well as long, not easily encompassed at book length, much less in a brief paper.

Bancroft was born in 1832 at Granville, Ohio, an offshoot and a transplanting of Puritan New England. His schooling stopped short of college, and at sixteen he began clerking in a Buffalo bookstore. In 1852, as a belated Argonaut, he went to California, experimented as miner, teamster, and clerk, and wound up with six or eight thousand dollars. A trip back east to the States made him homesick for California, and in 1856 he went west again and opened a bookstore in San Francisco. The beginning was simple. It was a one-salesman shop, and the proprietor acted as nightwatchman, janitor, and general handyman. Yet within a few years it became San Francisco's leading book mart, and for a generation it continued to be the foremost institution of its kind west of Chicago, employing more than three hundred persons, overflowing a five-story building, and active in book publishing and job printing as well as in merchandising.³

So prosperous was the business that Bancroft could travel extensively and in his late thirties could think seriously of retiring. Actually he did not sever his connections with business, but he began to give his chief attention to the pursuit of history.

Somewhat earlier—in 1859, to be precise—he had begun to collect Californiana.⁴ Gradually his search widened to a world-wide canvass for materials on the western half of North America from Panama to Alaska. In this search he had the good fortune to be first in the field. Yet the real basis of his suc-

umes as the *Works* (39 vols., San Francisco, 1882-90); *Chronicles of the Builders* (7 vols. and index, San Francisco, 1891-92); *The Book of the Fair* (5 vols., Chicago and San Francisco, 1893); *The Book of Wealth* (10 vols., New York, 1896-1908); *Vida de Porfirio Díaz* (San Francisco, 1887); *A Popular History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887); *Resources and Development of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1893); *The New Pacific* (New York, 1899); *Retrospection, Political and Personal* (New York, 1912); *History of Mexico* (New York, 1914); and *In These Latter Days* (Chicago, 1917).

³ The chief source on Bancroft's early career is his *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 47-167, wherein the rise of the business house is likewise described. On the latter point see also "A. L. Bancroft & Co.," *Pacific Printer*, June, 1877, and "A Cosmopolitan Publishing House," *Printers World*, March, 1881.

⁴ On his collecting consult *Literary Industries*, *passim*, but especially pp. 168-217, 365-445, 468-561, and 618-49; his "Journal While in Europe, 1866-1867," a 240-page manuscript in the Bancroft Library; [Hubert Howe Bancroft], *The Bancroft Historical Library* (San Francisco, 1886); [*id.*], *Evolution of a Library* (n.p., [1901]); and Reuben Gold Thwaites, "Report on the Bancroft Library," *University [of California] Chronicle*, VIII (1905-1906), 126-43.

cess lay in his philosophy of collecting. He believed in collecting for content rather than for externals of format. He believed in sweeping in every item that seemed to have even slight bearing on his subject. He had high regard for newspapers, and this before most historians had discovered them. He went after manuscripts, preferring the originals but if necessary resorting to copies and abstracts. He created historical materials by taking dictations from hundreds of pioneers and old-timers. He argued, oftentimes successfully, that it was a patriotic service to put materials in his collection. He was a sturdy beggar and a good borrower, but he drew heavily on his financial resources to buy from dealers, out of catalogues, and at auctions. At the time of its sale to the University of California, Reuben Gold Thwaites appraised the collection at more than \$300,000.⁵ It has since appreciated in value at least tenfold; and Director Herbert E. Bolton has said that with \$10,000,000 and twenty years in which to spend it the collection could not be duplicated or satisfactorily replaced.⁶

As his library grew, Bancroft felt repeated urges to make some use of it. He considered publishing selected original narratives. He toyed with the idea of a Pacific states cyclopedia. He also thought of establishing a newspaper patterned after but improving upon the London *Times*. Fortunately his decision took another direction. In his words, "I would strike at once for the highest, brightest mark before me. . . . History-writing I conceived to be among the highest of human occupations, and this should be my choice."⁷

He was never in doubt about what history to undertake. It would be that of his field of collecting, the Pacific states, a modest one twelfth of the earth's land surface. He proposed, furthermore, a straightforward, frontal, factual attack upon this vast subject matter. He would attempt comprehensive and exhaustive treatment and leave philosophical theorizing to others. In freshness and in significance his opportunity as a historian was even more magnificent than as a collector.

From the outset he realized that he was undertaking more than any one man could do. In businesslike fashion he therefore hired assistants, employing first and last some six hundred persons to help in the production of his works. After much experimenting and at an outlay of \$35,000 he devised a subject index to his entire collection. More than twice this amount went into abstracting and note-taking. Going still further, he set some of his men to writing first drafts, and the less revision required, the better he liked it. Theoretically he made himself responsible for all that went finally into

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ In conversation with the writer.

⁷ Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, pp. 228-29.

print, and in practice he did this sufficiently so that his 30,000-page, 12,000,000-word opus has unity of design and method and character. Oftentimes his personal contact was slight, for example with the chapters he read on the cable car between his library and his printery, yet the thirty-nine volumes are an integrated whole.⁸

When it came to promoting and marketing his works Bancroft was equally the businessman. Before releasing his first volume, he took proof sheets in hand and made a tour of New England and the eastern states, buttonholing Parkman, Lowell, Palfrey, Whittier, Emerson, Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Godkin, Higginson, and other arbiters of opinion to make clear to them the merits of his achievement. As reviewer for the *Overland Monthly* he personally selected Daniel Coit Gilman, president of the University of California, and when the review turned out to be "flabby" he tore up the manuscript and referred the editors to J. Ross Browne, then probably California's best-known writer. To avoid further mishap, Browne's review, a glowing tribute, was written for him by a member of Bancroft's staff.⁹ All things considered, it is not surprising that this book got a rousing sendoff. "Never probably," Bancroft observed, "was a book so generally and so favorably reviewed by the best journals in Europe and America. Never was an author more suddenly or more thoroughly brought to the attention of learned and literary men everywhere."¹⁰

Foreseeing no likelihood that the ordinary channels of the book trade would provide a market for his voluminous works, Bancroft decided to be his own publisher and to sell the set by subscription. The campaign was carefully engineered. Canvassers were schooled in interviewing and selling, and the way was skillfully prepared for them through newspaper publicity, pamphlets and prospectuses, and letters of introduction.¹¹ The sales program roused some animosity. In the Prickly Pear Valley in Montana, for example, there was a mass meeting of disgruntled subscribers;¹² and, in San Francisco, Leland Stanford, who out of civic pride had agreed to take forty sets, lived to repent his generosity.¹³ By subscription selling, however, Bancroft made this

⁸ Bancroft's own description of his literary workshop and method appears in *Literary Industries*, pp. 230-76, 562-617. See also Henry L. Oak, "Literary Industries" in a New Light (San Francisco, 1893), and Morris, in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, IV.

⁹ Oak, p. 57.

¹⁰ Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, p. 361; or, as a modern writer has paraphrased it, "No budding historian before or since ever launched his maiden effort with a greater splash," Lewis, in *Colophon*, new style, I, 327.

¹¹ See in particular [Nathan J. Stone], *Information for Agents to Assist in Selling the Works of Hubert H. Bancroft* (n.p., n.d.).

¹² Reported in the Helena, Montana, *Daily Independent*, October 14, 1885, and the Bozeman, Montana, *Weekly Avant Courier*, May 13, 1886.

¹³ George T. Clark, "Leland Stanford and H. H. Bancroft's 'History,' a Bibliographical Curiosity," *Bibliographical Society of America, Papers*, XXVII (1933), 12-23.

gargantuan publishing venture pay, made it yield a profit of something like half a million dollars. What is more important, he got enough of his books into circulation so that, though out of print for fifty years, the set has never been rare, but has been readily available to every library and every user wanting it. This is the real triumph of his marketing program.

The *Works* fall into four main divisions. The first five volumes are an excursion into anthropology wherein are tabulated all the facts that Bancroft and his staff could find recorded about the native races of the Pacific states. Anthropology has since become a science and, through utilizing archaeology and field work among living Indians, has corrected and extended the Bancroft description of the western Indians. But for its day, the 1870's, *Native Races* represents a creditable achievement, particularly interesting in its matter-of-fact, reportorial approach and in its tribal groupings, which approximate today's accepted culture areas.

Another segment, consisting of almost a score of volumes, relates the history of Spanish North America (Florida and Louisiana omitted). The organization is regional, with three volumes on Central America, six on Mexico, two on the north Mexican states and Texas, and so on. The treatment increases in exhaustiveness with progression northwestward and culminates in the five volumes devoted to California as a province under Spain and Mexico. Chiefly by resort to the archives of Spain and Mexico, which were neglected by Bancroft and all his contemporaries, this generation's scholars have remedied the Bancroft account through a series of spot studies and monographs. No one, however, has undertaken to redo the entire job, and Bancroft remains the largest and the basic contributor to the history of Spanish North America.

As historian of California his pre-eminence is even greater. This was where his library was richest and where he saw the climax of development in the Pacific states. To California's history, therefore, he allotted seven volumes, supplemented by two volumes of social analysis, *California Pastoral* and *California Inter Pocula*, and two, *Popular Tribunals*, on the history of vigilance. In recent years this field has been cultivated by a host of professional and amateur researchers. Yet our aggregate knowledge of California history derives less from these scholars than from Bancroft. Eventually the moderns must excel; theirs is the advantage of scientific training, of access to and recognition of the treasures in Hispanic archives, and of eligibility to investigate the remarkable growth of the state since 1890. Yet to date, the cumulative results of their efforts have not matched, let alone surpassed, Bancroft's contribution as historian of California.

Another nine volumes cover, almost as thoroughly, the Rocky Mountain and northwestern states from Nevada, Utah, and Colorado to Alaska. These volumes are less even, less exhaustive, and less happily organized, yet the persevering reader will get a detailed picture of the forces that went into the making of these ten states. Again, no modern writer has undertaken a re-appraisal of this entire subject, and no one has essayed, on a like scale, to bridge the gap between the 1880's and the present. Here is another vast field of regional history where Bancroft stands alone.

As supplement to his histories Bancroft announced a set of biographies, the *Kings of the Commonwealth*, which before publication he toned down to *Chronicles of the Builders*. Following these seven volumes came two other subscription works, *The Book of the Fair* and *The Book of Wealth*, in five and ten volumes. The two latter are not of special interest except as examples of sumptuous bookmaking. The *Chronicles* were both better and worse. Together with supporting essays on such topics as agriculture, mining, and railroads, they presented biographies of some one hundred men, examples of the more successful bankers, lawyers, farmers, tradesmen, and industrialists who had built the West. These were men so much like Bancroft that in a sense he was writing variations on his own biography. Selection unfortunately was on a fee basis, the fees ranging from \$500 to \$10,000 and the take amounting to some \$219,000.¹⁴ The subscription character of this work put it under a cloud and had the further effect of casting suspicion upon the preceding histories. Intrinsically the *Chronicles* possess real usefulness. Yet it is clear that Bancroft's standing among his contemporaries and in the estimate of the historical profession would have been better if the idea of doing these biographies had never occurred to him.

Despite the magnitude of his achievements Bancroft receipted for much abuse. When his business house was gutted in a million dollar fire, he ruefully observed that the event was admirably calculated "to confer the greatest pleasure upon the greatest number."¹⁵ Again he remarked that there were hundreds in California who damned him every day.¹⁶ He was one of Ambrose Bierce's favorite targets,¹⁷ and other journalists liked to berate him. A nephew sued him for libel,¹⁸ and his librarian attempted blackmail against him.¹⁹ The Society of California Pioneers also pilloried him. Infuriated by

¹⁴ Harry B. Hambly, "List of Subscribers to 'Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth,' Stating Amount Subscribed and Paid," October, 1936, MS., Bancroft Library.

¹⁵ Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, p. 777.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

¹⁷ In particular see his column in the *San Francisco Examiner*, Jan. 22, 1893.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19-Oct. 8, 1893.

¹⁹ Henry L. Oak to H. H. Bancroft, Seigler Springs, Apr. 3, 1892, printed in Oak, pp. 66-67.

his findings on Frémont, the Bear Flaggers, and various pioneers—findings which present-day scholarship almost entirely confirms—the society with elaborate formality expelled him from honorary membership.²⁰ Largely because of this unpopularity the California legislature declined to purchase his library in 1892 and for the same reason the university regents hesitated in 1905. In 1903 and 1911 two papers by professional historians,²¹ to date the most extended notices that have been accorded him, renewed the familiar charges, especially that he was not the sole author and, in fact, was not the real author of the volumes called his works.

This issue is far too complicated for satisfactory discussion in brief compass. Perhaps it will suffice here to offer the judgment that Bancroft's failure to credit his helpers, explicitly or semiexplicitly, on the title pages or in the prefaces, was the greatest mistake of his life. On the other hand, the substitution of any single name for his on any of the volumes would have been still more misleading. The question of authorship is the thing harped on in both these articles. Their long-term and cumulative effect has been to belittle Bancroft as a historian and to discredit his *Works*. Illustrative of the tenacity of this idea is the obituary item with which the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* in 1918 took note of his death. The editor was ready to grant that "Mr. Bancroft, the most voluminous of Pacific West historians, may have left a fame more enduring in the long lapse of time than that of any other person who has lived and wrought in this area," but he coupled with it reassertion of the Oregon doctrine that Frances Fuller Victor wrote Bancroft's northwestern volumes.²²

The reputation of a historian seldom improves after his death. A few classical historians like Herodotus and Thucydides have a current repute that compares favorably with what they enjoyed in their lifetimes. Another few of more recent vintage, including mostly such brilliant literary craftsmen as Gibbon, Prescott, and Parkman, though less widely read today, have retained most of their original luster. More commonly, as new sources are uncovered, new techniques developed, new methods of evaluation devised, and new bases of interpretation discovered, the historians of a bygone era tend to depreciate. The saying is that for each generation history must be re-

²⁰ Society of California Pioneers, *Misrepresentations of Early California History Corrected: Proceedings of the Society of California Pioneers in regard to Certain Misrepresentations of Men and Events in Early California History Made in the Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft and Commonly Known as Bancroft's Histories* (San Francisco, 1894).

²¹ Morris, in *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, IV, and Hunt, in *Hist. Soc. of Southern California, Publications*, VIII.

²² *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, XIX (1918), 74-75.

written, and, to a considerable extent, this is what the reading public and the profession have demanded. It is, therefore, a matter of mark that Bancroft has been much more praised, in the quarter century after his death, than he was by his contemporaries.

Henry Morse Stephens, for example, hailed him as "the greatest of a half dozen great American historians, and the only one who had an adequate understanding of the historical West."²³ Charles Edward Chapman asserted that his *Works* "constitute the greatest single achievement in the history of American historiography."²⁴ The dean of Texas historians describes his *North Mexican States and Texas* as "the most satisfactory comprehensive history of Texas available," and the six volumes on Mexico as "perhaps the best work in its field in either English or Spanish."²⁵ Bernard DeVoto says, "I cannot imagine anyone's writing about the history of the West without constantly referring to Bancroft."²⁶ Franklin Walker, in his recent commentary on early California letters, though critical of the obscuration of authorship, praises the collection and the histories, pointing out that the latter "have to date maintained their preeminence as the basic authority on the half continent with which they deal." "One would not go far wrong," he continues, "in asserting that Hubert Howe Bancroft, the frontier bookseller who turned historian, accomplished the greatest feat of historiography since Thucydides."²⁷

The explanation of this changed attitude is relatively simple. Time, though not the solvent for all undeserved aspersions, does tend to rectify. In the past quarter century researchers in ever increasing numbers have undertaken investigations of various parts of the Bancroft field. By experience this scholarly army has learned that for its purposes the Bancroft Library is the prime collection of materials, and that the Bancroft volumes are not merely the bulk-iest but by all odds the most valuable reference. Thus by pragmatic test, the collection and the set, by proving themselves, have vindicated their creator and won him a belated recognition. Consequently, one who praises Bancroft today is on safer, or at least on more accepted, ground than those who had the wisdom and the courage to do so in the 1890's or in 1918.

Obviously the measure of Bancroft's achievement must be three-dimensional, embracing his work as businessman, as collector, and as historian. In each of these categories it is apparent not only that the fates smiled upon

²³ San Francisco *Examiner*, Mar. 3, 1918.

²⁴ Charles Edward Chapman, *A History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), p. 499.

²⁵ Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville, 1925), pp. 532, 534.

²⁶ Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston, 1943), p. 525.

²⁷ Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939), pp. 302-15.

him but also that he fully earned his successes. Because of his lack of training and experience, it is doubtless most surprising that he succeeded as a historian. But he discovered a hitherto neglected subject, rich in human interest, which seemed to be the last great chapter in the transit of civilization from Greece and Rome to western Europe, across the Atlantic, and to continent's end on the shores of the Pacific. Wisely he chose to deal with this grand subject in its entirety rather than to be satisfied with the annals of some minor locality. Wisely he surrounded himself with a staff, because the task patently outreached his individual capacity. Wisely he chose to subordinate generalization and moralizing and to concentrate on presentation of ascertained and unadorned facts. It is of such stuff that the thirty thousand pages of the *Works* largely consist. Essentially they are a recital in endless detail of the particulars of Pacific slope history, for California unbelievably complete, for other areas only less so. They are the core around which every library of western history is built, and, though long since out of print, they are the most cited, the most used, and the most followed of all references in the field. In actual practice, therefore, Bancroft is honored above all other historians of western North America.

In the pattern of his career Bancroft may be thought of as the symbol of his generation. Other Westerners were creating businesses and amassing fortunes, some much larger than his. Others, though not so many, were using their wealth to bring cultural improvement to what had been a rough frontier: Adolph Sutro by collecting English pamphlets, Mexican imprints and manuscripts, and early Californiana; James Lick by endowing an observatory; and Leland Stanford by establishing a university. Still others were turning from the entertainment literature that had characterized the gold rush era to attempt more serious, scientific writing. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* is the most famous example, but in the field of history the *Works* would qualify as an equally meritorious contribution. Bancroft's business success thus conformed to the West's economic pattern, his collecting expressed its cultural aspirations, and his publications illustrated its intellectual maturation.

In the fullness of time he may prove to have been the greatest of them all. Already he has eclipsed many of his better publicized contemporaries, including Thomas Starr King and E. D. Baker, the Union orators; William C. Ralston, once called "the man who built San Francisco"; the Big Four; the Kings of the Comstock; and Francis Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, and Ambrose Bierce, once luminaries of considerably greater luster. The prominence of these men was based, it now appears, on a political cause, a bank,

a mere accumulation of wealth, a style in poetry, or some other transitory factor, which, though impressive at the time, in the longer run has diminished or disappeared. Bancroft, on the contrary, in his library and his histories set up durable and viable assurances of lasting and growing recognition. A prodigious historian he certainly was; generations hence he may loom up as the most significant figure that the West has produced.

Emperor Francis II and the Austrian "Jacobins," 1792-1796

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM*

EMPEROR FRANCIS II (Francis I of Austria) abhorred political change. "No," he once said, refusing some Italian demands for political reform, "every concession is dangerous. Man with his insatiable nature always asks for something more. Give him the hand, and he wants the arm; give him the arm, and he wants the whole body. I do not wish to give them my head."¹

This is not to imply, however, that Francis had a clear idea, when he succeeded Leopold II in 1792, of how to exercise his God-given power. He knew, from his father's comments and from observation, that turmoil and discord had been the most marked results of Emperor Joseph's revolutionary zeal. He was aware, too, that the sudden departure from this radical system during the final months of Joseph's reign and the two years of Leopold's had led to the appearance of numerous inconsistencies and contradictions which left even the ablest jurists in doubt as to the actual state of the laws.

Evidently it was unwise to attempt to restore in two or three years an order which the energetic Joseph, as adviser to Maria Theresa and in his own right, had altered over a period of three decades. But since the government of the Austrian monarchy *was* in a muddle, something ought to be done to bring order out of administrative and legal chaos.

The task was made harder by several conditioning factors. Francis had to bear in mind his additional responsibilities as Holy Roman emperor, both for the sake of the prestige involved and because imperial events had an influence on Austrian foreign relations. Then, the work of resettlement, complicated in time of peace, had to be undertaken amidst twenty-three years of almost uninterrupted warfare against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Finally, the new spirit engendered by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution had definitely made itself felt in Austria, especially among the professional classes and the lesser officials appointed by Joseph. Hence, when the bewildered twenty-four-year-old Francis sought advice from his more experienced elders, he discovered that they were divided into two opposing groups: Josephinians and anti-Josephinians.

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¹ Francis to Judge Antonio Salvotti, quoted in Alessandro Luzio, *Antonio Salvotti e i processi del ventuno* (Rome, 1901), p. 129.

The anti-Josephinians sought influence as the Nobles' party (*Adelspartei*). Their leaders thought they discerned "an unmistakable resemblance between the dispositions of Joseph and those of the French Revolutionaries." Therefore they would have preferred to see the Josephinian laws pass into oblivion. Had these "Obscurantists," as they sometimes were called, had their way, the legislation dating from 1760 and even earlier would have been "nullified en masse."² The Josephinians comprised the Enlightened party (*Aufklärungs-partei*). Their leaders feared this very reaction and hence were impatient to see a renewal and intensification of Joseph's policies. As the Obscurantists included most of the upper nobility and higher clerics, so the "Jacobins," as their enemies liked to call the reformers, included members of the lower clergy, numerous minor officials, some professional men, and a portion of the country's youth, who chafed for opportunity to rise according to merit rather than birth.³

The views of the more moderate elements of both parties bore some resemblance to each other. The better informed and less obstinate among the Nobles were aware that the changes of which they disapproved had come to pass not merely in Austria but, to a greater or lesser extent, in most of the countries on the Continent. They knew, too, that "most of the officials in the middle categories clung to the new ideas," and that this spirit was beginning to manifest itself among certain members of the bourgeoisie in the larger cities. They realized, therefore, that a blanket return to the pre-Josephinian regime would cause a great outcry, and that at a time when all possible unity and strength were needed to combat the military challenge of the new France.

The calmer members of the Enlightened group also believed that rapid change, even in the direction which they favored, would be both difficult and dangerous in view of the confused domestic and tense international situations. Besides, they hoped that the example of French developments and the success of French arms eventually would convince those in authority of the inevitability of liberal reform. Hence both groups of moderates were inclined to a policy of watchful waiting, advocating neither blind reaction nor precipitate reform. This reasoning, on the whole, had the greatest appeal for Francis. He was determined to forestall any radical developments but was equally opposed to an unreasoning return to bygone institutions merely because these were venerable.⁴

² Ignaz Beidtel, *Geschichte der österreichischen Staatsverwaltung 1740-1848* (Innsbruck, 1896-98), II, 4.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 4; Anton H. Springer, *Geschichte Österreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden 1809* (Leipzig, 1863-65), I, 53.

The mass of the people probably had no strong feelings one way or the other. Each group or class wished for certain changes, but these were rarely political in scope. The peasants wanted permission to make pilgrimages to the shrines, as had been the custom before Joseph. The merchants in the cities wished for modifications in the guild system. Most elements would have welcomed changes in the tax setup. But for the rest, the people were loyal to the dynasty and looked to it for protection against oppression by the privileged groups.⁵

In the circumstances, what was needed for the welfare of the state itself, aside from dynastic considerations, was a thorough study of the whole administrative framework by public-spirited experts. Leopold had contemplated some such project but died before doing anything definite about it. Francis made no effort to realize his father's plan, probably because the serious division of opinion among his councillors made him distrustful of all but a handful of intimates—and these not the most intelligent men in the monarchy. Indeed, with the elevation of his former tutor, Count Francis von Colloredo, to the post of chief adviser to the emperor, the idea of any expert survey of political conditions was pushed far into the background.

Colloredo regarded the French Revolution as the work of a small group of self-seeking troublemakers whose machinations, not having been checked by immediate vigorous action, could be ended only by the restoration of the Bourbons. He was convinced, too, that the revolutionaries carried on their subversive activities under the guise of "science" and "enlightenment." Hence he looked with disfavor upon intellectuals as a group and was suspicious of all but the most conservative lawyers, journalists, and political thinkers. His ideal was to maintain the political *status quo*, through strict censorship if necessary. And to this ideal, *quieta non movere*, he and his supporters were able to win the emperor.

Because Colloredo's opinions and influence were well known, many of the liberal minor officials thought it wise to cover up their philosophical principles. Though they apparently did not succeed in hoodwinking Francis, they were able to retain some of their Josephinian views, profess loyalty and devotion to the sovereign, and keep their jobs. But they did substitute the word "culture" for the word "enlightenment," and began to speak pointedly of "social welfare" rather than "social reform." This official jockeying, often hypocritical, further undermined administrative unity.

The confusion was increased, finally, through Francis' wish that his officials speak their minds freely and thus present the several sides of any

⁵ Beidtel, II, 5.

question.⁶ As a result, he received many conflicting recommendations and proposals, which made him more and more uncertain about his final decisions. In sheer desperation he often postponed settlements and thus himself hampered the administrative efficiency which he so much desired.⁷

In this political atmosphere the Viennese police in the summer of 1794 announced the discovery of a "Jacobin conspiracy" to overthrow the monarchy and convert it into a republic on the French model. This news set Francis' mind in a political mold which remained rigid for the rest of his life. Thereafter, "the spectre of revolution" (*Revolutionsgespenst*) never ceased to haunt the monarch.⁸ And thus it happened that the chief reminder of Joseph's reforming days, zealously fostered even under Francis, was the institution of an all-powerful police.⁹

Following his late father's advice to keep a sharp lookout for suspicious characters and subversive publications, Francis, on January 3, 1793, established a new state authority called the *Polizeihofstelle* or Police Bureau. Count John Anthony von Pergen (1725-1814), who as chief of police under Joseph and Leopold from 1782-1791 had been identified with the origins of the Austrian secret police, became head of the new department. But because he was now sixty-seven years old, Pergen was assisted by the youthful Count Francis Joseph von Saurau (1760-1832).¹⁰

Saurau, erstwhile companion to Francis, was not only younger than Pergen but abler and far more ambitious. Although at one time sympathetic to the Enlightenment, he was unwaveringly loyal to the dynasty. Above all he was a conscientious bureaucrat interested in political advancement. Zealous in ferreting out political malcontents, he also was despotic in his actions,

⁶ See, for example, the protocols of the ministerial conferences as collected in Austria, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 225-28 (1792), 229-30 (1793), 231 (1794), 232-33 (1795), etc.; in a letter of January 30, 1793, to his brother Leopold, Francis wrote, "I answer your letter with pleasure, to thank you for the enclosed information and for your frankness, which is always welcome." Austria, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände des Hausarchivs, fas. 98, k. 6, f. 7.

⁷ Archduke Charles—no one else seemed to dare—openly tried to reduce the influence of Colloredo. But the old ajo was destined to keep his advantage some time longer. Not until 1805 was he dismissed, following disastrous Austrian defeats at the hands of the French in that year.

⁸ [Francis X. Huber], *Beytrag zur Charakteristik und Regierungs-Geschichte der Kaiser Josephs II., Leopolds II. und Franz II. zur Prüfung für die Zeitgenossen und zum Behufe für künftige Historio und Biographen dieser Monarchen* (Paris, 1799 [1800?]), pp. 219 ff.; Heinrich von Srbik, *Metternich: Der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (Munich, 1925), I, 443 ff.

⁹ Karl and Mathilde Uhlirz, *Handbuch der Geschichte Österreichs und seiner Nachbarländer Böhmen und Ungarn* (Graz, Vienna, Leipzig, 1927-39), II, 466.

¹⁰ Viktor Bibl, *Die Wiener Polizei: Eine kulturhistorische Studie* (Leipzig, Vienna, New York, 1927), pp. 225 ff., 272; *id.*, *Der Zerfall Österreichs* (Vienna, 1922-24), I, 76; F. Walter, "Die Organisierung der staatlichen Polizei unter Kaiser Josef II.," *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, VII (1927), 22-53; August Fournier, "Kaiser Josef II. und der 'geheime Dienst.' Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der österreichischen Polizei," in his *Historische Studien und Skizzen*, 3d series (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), pp. 1-16; Pavel von Mitrofanov, *Joseph II. Seine politische und kulturelle Tätigkeit* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1910), I, 269 ff.

harsh in his judgments, and ready to bring to justice even close personal friends if he thought they were guilty of subversive activities.

Whereas one of the ablest observers of the day, Baron Charles Frederick Kübeck von Kübau, regarded Saurau as "a gifted, sensible man," the count's opponents called him a Torquemada and accused him of building his career upon the corpses of men who were guilty more of folly than of treason. He was accused, also, of inventing conspiracies so that he might crush them and thus impress the emperor with his zeal and alertness. Such a charge would be as difficult to disprove as to prove. We are certain only that he was generally popular, that Francis was grateful to him, and that, in co-operation with Pergen, he laid the groundwork for the later and more notorious police systems of Count Joseph von Sedlnitzky and Prince Metternich.¹¹

The principles henceforth underlying police administration in Austria were enunciated by Pergen, approved by Francis, and acted upon by Saurau. They were explained to the provincial governors in a circular letter by Count Pergen under the date of April 5, 1793:

Your Excellency will note . . . that all official police acts relating to security measures must rest entirely on a basis of humaneness, reasonableness, and justice. . . .

Inasmuch as the security of person and property constitute the true happiness of man, these regulations afford public proof of the mildness of the régime under which we live and the humaneness of our monarch. Just as these principles must serve, on the one hand, to check any rash action on the part of the provincial chiefs . . . so do they impose on these officers the duty of maintaining constant vigil to discover and hold responsible—always within the prescribed limits—any individuals who, blinded by *pride* or *self-interest* resulting from *theoretical* knowledge, dare to arouse popular mistrust of the sovereign . . . by words or deeds. Such persons are then to be patiently instructed regarding their delusions, but if they persist in their opinions and thus become dangerous, they are to be dealt with accordingly.

Your Excellency will, in particular . . . tolerate no clubs or other secret, suspect gatherings under whatever name. These rarely aim at anything good, and because of their potentialities for evil may become dangerous in spite of all intentions to the contrary. This has been amply demonstrated by experience. In this connection it is understood that the scattering or detention of really dangerous persons among the participants must be done without attracting undue notice. . . .

¹¹ Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* (Vienna, 1856-90), XXVIII, 279-83; Adalbert Fäulhammer, "Politische Meinungen und Stimmungen in Wien in den Jahren 1793 und 1794," *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1893), pp. 7-8; Maximilian von Kübeck, ed., *Tagebücher des Carl Friedrich Freiherrn Kübeck von Kübau* (Vienna, 1909-10), I, 439; Beidtel, II, 231; Friedrich A. von Schönholz, *Traditionen zur Charakteristik Österreichs seines Staats- und Volkslebens unter Franz I.*, ed. by Gustav Gugitz (Munich, 1914), I, 29n; *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 76 ff.; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 218 ff.; Karl Hafner, "Franz Josef Graf von Saurau. Mitteilungen zu seiner Biographie und zur Geschichte des Krieges von 1809," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, VII (1909), 24-94; Charles Sealsfield [Carl Postl], *Österreich wie es ist*, tr. from the Eng. and ed. by Victor Klarwill (Vienna, 1919), p. 206.

The provincial chiefs . . . must keep constantly informed on the state of public opinion within the areas under their control and on the actions of any suspicious individuals who may be living in the land. . . . This information, furthermore, must regularly be sent to [Count Pergen] so that he may be able to keep His Majesty posted on the prevailing order in the entire monarchy. . . .

It only remains to make one additional observation regarding the precautions necessary to maintain peace and quiet in the cities and especially in the rural districts. Ordinary security measures do not suffice for the current delicate situation, in which the freedom swindle [*Freyheits-Schwindel*] has gained so much ground and all monarchical governments are facing unrest. Every chief must secretly set in motion all levers for converting those in error and for wiping out all subversive views with which individuals or classes may have been infected by sneaking agitators. This can best be done through the agency of well-disposed citizens who possess the confidence of and have influence over the public, through the unostentatious distribution of patriotic writings by servants of the provincial administration, through a strict watch over privately and publicly circulated tracts, and, above all, through the forthright co-operation of all teachers.

Precisely how these principles are to be applied in each locality and in light of the actual sentiments of the inhabitants . . . should be fairly easy for Your Excellency to decide. Only it must always be borne in mind that there is to be evident no partiality for this class or that, since, after all, the welfare of one depends on that of the other, and the rights and property of each are alike entitled to the protection of the state.¹²

In sending a copy of these instructions to Palatine Archduke Leopold on April 6, 1794, Pergen emphasized that official "observance of said regulations could cause harm to no innocent person, while he who was found guilty could be sentenced only by his legally appropriate judge [*sein gehöriger Richter*]."¹³ Nevertheless, since Austria was at war and French emissaries were urging the subjects of Francis to rebel, the long arm of the police began to reach into every corner of the monarchy. Strict watch was kept over all foreigners, including diplomatic representatives, and over every native who was in position to influence the thoughts of others. Persons who had distinguished themselves in political, social, or economic endeavors were especially interesting to the police. The latter carefully noted the books and papers the intellectuals read, the discussions they held, the company they kept, the journeys they took, and the assemblies and cafés they frequented. Spies were placed in every branch of the government and among all levels of the population. Skill was displayed in the secret opening of letters and the imitation of private seals.¹⁴

Much of this was based on precedent, for the counterattack on subversion, stimulated through the efforts of the energetic "red-baiter" Alois Hoffmann, had begun during the reign of Emperor Leopold. In July, 1791, for example, Leopold was informed that a certain manufacturer, heated by wine, had so

¹² Circular Schreiben an die Herren Länder Chiefs (Abschrift), Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 149, k. 8, f. 53-58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, f. 59. ¹⁴ Uhrlirz, II¹, 469.

far forgotten himself in a café as to chide the Germans for lacking the courage to imitate the French revolutionaries. "A diet of bread and water coupled with suitable labor in a workhouse" soon "thinned the blood of this wretched victim of the liberty swindle!"¹⁵ But the outbreak of war in April, 1792, the increasing influence of the French example, and the advent of an energetic police commissioner greatly extended the field of action for the supporters of the *status quo*.

Saurau's hunt for "sneaking agitators" and "Jacobins" led to a series of notorious trials in 1794 and 1795. It had for some time been rumored that conspirators were plotting to blow up a strategic Vienna bridge, start incendiary fires in several parts of the city, and take advantage of the ensuing disorder to precipitate a revolution under the cry: "Long live liberty!" According to these stories the imperial family was marked for murder, while the aristocrats and wealthier members of the middle class were to be plundered. It now was recalled, also, that as early as December, 1792, the police had found mysterious bundles of inflammatory materials scattered throughout the capital. Opponents of the regime whispered that all these tales were figments of a policeman's imagination, but Saurau informed the emperor that he was in real danger. At last, on the night of July 31-August 1, 1794, the police suddenly and swiftly took into custody a number of prominent residents of Vienna. Additional arrests quickly followed in most of the provinces and in Hungary.¹⁶

Among those taken into custody were Municipal Councillor (Martin) Joseph Prandstätter, a friend of Saurau; First Lieutenant Francis Hebenstreit von Streitenfels, inventor and poet; Professor Baron Andrew von Riedel (Riedl), a former tutor of Emperor Francis; Imperial Councillor Francis Gotthardy (Gottardi), an ex-theatrical director; Dr. John Gottlieb Wolstein, head of the veterinary school in Vienna; John Hackel, retired merchant and amusement concessionaire; the seventeen-year-old Count Leopold von Hohenwart, nephew of that Count Sigismund von Hohenwart who had been the emperor's history teacher and now was bishop of St. Pölten; and Abbot (Joseph) Ignace Martinovics, secret agent under Leopold II.¹⁷

Many of these men and of the scores of less prominent defendants were

¹⁵ Emil K. Blümml and Gustav Gugitz, *Altwienerisches: Bilder und Gestalten* (2d ed.; Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1921), II, 310.

¹⁶ [Franz Gräffer], *Francisceische Cuviosa; oder ganz besondere Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Lebens- und Regierungs-Periode des Kaisers Franz II. (I.)* (Vienna, 1849), pp. 32-33; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 228 ff.; Blümml and Gugitz, pp. 311 ff., 315 ff.; Bibl., *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 78-79; Hafner, in *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, VII, 26-27.

¹⁷ Schönholz, I, 28n. 30n; Gräffer, pp. 17 ff.; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 226 ff., 257-58; Bibl., *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 79; *id.*, *Die Wiener Polizei*, p. 302; Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Sigismund Anton Graf Hohenwart, Fürsterzbischof von Wien* (Graz and Vienna, 1912), pp. 53-54.

ex-officials. Having served under Joseph and Leopold, they had been pensioned by Francis and now were bitter against the administration which cut short their careers. Virtually all were lodge members, belonging either to the Freemasons or the Illuminati—secret societies then widely regarded as the arch instigators of revolution. The investigations and trials dragged on for more than a year, most of the accused being sentenced and punished individually or in small groups. And while the proceedings continued, the government emphasized the seriousness of the situation by regarrisoning abandoned posts in Vienna and its suburbs and by repairing the old city gates—a job that had been neglected for more than a century!¹⁸

The full details of the trials have never become public knowledge¹⁹ and it seems not unlikely that some of the pertinent documents were destroyed. But the government, functioning through a special commission headed by Count Saurau and Magistrate Joseph Francis Martinolli,²⁰ satisfied itself that all the accused were guilty of subversive crimes.²¹ All had attended secret gatherings and been heard to speak of the administration in a disloyal way. Some had offered for sale copies of the French Constitution of 1793. Several had composed or distributed revolutionary tracts and inflammatory appeals. Others had worked out plans for inciting the peasantry and pre-

¹⁸ Gräffer, p. 31; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 226 ff.; Domokos G. Kosáry, *A History of Hungary* (Cleveland, 1941), pp. 175–77; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 79; Sebastian Brunner, *Die Mysterien der Aufklärung in Österreich, 1770–1800* (Mainz, 1869), *passim*; [Anthon J. Gross-Hoffinger], *Das Buch der Freiheit, oder der Geist des 19. Jahrhunderts, von einem ausgewanderten Oesterreicher* (Meissen, 1834), pp. 316 ff.; *Geheime Geschichte des Verschwörungs-Systems der Jakobiner in den österreichischen Staaten. Für Wahrheitsfreunde* (London [Heilbronn], 1795), probably inspired by Vienna government; *Die Jakobiner in Wien: Österreichische Memoiren aus dem letzten Decennium des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Zürich and Winterthur, 1842); *Der Prozess des Majestätsverbrechens in Ungarn im Jahre 1795* (Leipzig, 1800); Gustav B[rabbée], "Kaiser Franz II., die Wiener Freimaurer, und die Wiener Jakobiner," *Allgemeine österreichische Freimaurer-Zeitung*, 1876, pp. 60–62, 66–70, 82–84; Ludwig Rapp, *Freimaurer in Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1867); *id.*, *Eine Jakobinerverschwörung in Tirol. Episode aus der neueren Tiroler Geschichte* (Innsbruck, 1876); Ludwig Lewis, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich und Ungarn* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1872); Ignatius A. Fessler, *Sämmtliche Schriften über Freymaurerey* (2d ed.; Freiberg, 1805); [Karl von Chorinsky, et al.], *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns. Zwölf Vorträge am 30. und 31. März und 1. April 1897 zu Wien gehalten* (Vienna, 1897); W. B. [Johann B. Pfeilschifter], *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich* (Regensburg, 1868); [Claude T. Thory, comp.], *Acta latomorum, ou chronologie de l'histoire de la franche-maçonnerie . . .* Paris, documents and bibl.; *Die Freimaurer keine Jakobiner. Urtheil eines freymüthigen Mannes. Herausgegeben von Joseph Kottnauer* (Prague, 1793); Leopold Engel, *Geschichte des Illuminaten-Ordens* (Berlin, 1906); Robert Bartsch, "Die Jakobiner in Wien," *Österreichische Rundschau*, VII (1906), 504–11; Charles W. Heckethorn, *The Secret Societies of All Ages and All Countries* (London, 1875), I, bk. viii, has brief general history of freemasonry; Lajos Abafi [L. von Aigner], *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Budapest, 1890–99), covers 1726–85; August L. F. Wolfstieg, *Bibliographie der freimaurerischen Literatur* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1923), esp. I, 657–79; Bernhard Beyer, *Erster Ergänzungsband* (sup. vol. to above; Leipzig, 1926), esp. pp. 190–96.

¹⁹ Uhlirz, II¹, 469.

²⁰ Martinolli or Martinoly had earlier been dismissed by Emperor Leopold for sentencing a man on the information of an agent and without a trial.

²¹ Schönholz, I, 29; *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 233 ff., 237 ff.; Karl Weiss, *Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (2d ed.; Vienna, 1882–83), II, 229, 234.

cipitating a general revolution. Many of the group were present at the secret planting of a "tree of liberty," during which ceremony a vulgar and subversive song, written by Hebenstreit, was chanted.²²

This song, called "Eipeldauerlied," expressed satisfaction over the circumstance that Louis XVI had paid with his life for being "an enemy of the people," scolded the "Child-Emperor" Francis for upholding the aristocracy and fighting the French (who had declared war on him), and demanded the destruction of the nobility. The fact that the language of the song was common and obviously calculated to arouse the unthinking masses to violence made the whole affair the more serious. An idea of the composition's style may be had from the last stanza, which egged the masses on against the nobles as follows:

Drum schlagt's d'Hundsleut tot,
Nit langsam, wie die Franzosen;
Sonst machen's Enk no tausend Noth,
S'ist nimmer auf sie z'losen.

So kill the dogs with smashing blows,
Not like the Frenchmen, slowly;
Else they'll cause you a thousand woes,
For naught to them is holy.²³

In the eyes of the Austrian government the two most dangerous prisoners were von Hebenstreit and Martinovics. The former, of Bohemian birth, entered the Austrian army at the age of twenty (1768). After a time he deserted and then for a brief period joined the Prussian colors. Later the emperor pardoned him and readmitted him to the Austrian forces, where he eventually became a first lieutenant. Hebenstreit was an intelligent and well-educated man of decidedly radical political and economic views. His lodge brothers, according to report, bestowed upon him the honorary title *homo*. Among his achievements was the invention of a new type of "war machine" or cannon that was not particularly effective but which he offered to the French.

The investigating commission found Hebenstreit guilty of "spreading French-democratic principles, inflaming and inciting the public, writing revolutionary tracts, lese-majesty, arousing the populace to a disturbance of

²² Gräffer, pp. 17 ff.; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 80-81; Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, pp. 14-15; *Urtheil über den Martin Joseph Prandstätter und Heinrich Jeline*, Wien, den 3. August 1795; *Urtheil über den Landesverräther und Verführer Andreas Riedl*, Wien, den 29. Julius 1795; *Über die Verurtheilung einiger Staats-Verbrecher*, Wien, den 12ten. März 1795, relating to Hackel, Gotthardy, and a former Lemberg police official named Francis Xavier von Troll. Copies of these leaflets are (or were) in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

²³ *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns*, p. 229.

law and order, composing a subversive popular song, and offering a newly invented cannon to France and Poland." For these crimes he was sentenced to "the confiscation of his property, nullification of his patent of nobility, dishonorable discharge from the armed forces, and hanging." The execution was carried out publicly in Vienna (January, 1795) and the condemned man ascended the scaffold bearing a placard with the inscription: "Francis Hebenstreit, for treason."²⁴

Martinovics, regarded as the prime conspirator, was born in 1755, the son of a South Slavic army officer. He grew up to be a learned monk and abbot, conspicuous for his restlessness and ambition. During the reign of Emperor Joseph he was associated with the university at Lemberg in Galicia. Under Leopold, who thought well of him, he became a secret agent and link between the government and the discontented Magyar estates. Disgruntled over his dismissal by Francis, he soon became the central figure in a plot to overthrow the dynasty. One of the chief planks in the abbot's revolutionary program was the expropriation of church properties!²⁵

As it happened, the London police, who had discovered Martinovics' contacts with Paris, supplied their Viennese colleagues with numerous details about his plans.²⁶ Having decided upon a revolutionary career, he "soon worked himself into the confidence of the radicals, advertising himself with the lie that he was entrusted by Robespierre to organize a revolt. He founded two secret societies, one of which, known as the Reformers, propagated the aspirations of the common [*i.e.*, lower] nobility; while the other, called the Society for Freedom and Equality, propounded revolutionary ideas."²⁷

Martinovics' house in Vienna became the chief gathering place for Austrian revolutionaries and members of secret societies, the total number of persons involved with him being between seventy-five and one hundred. Their names were all made known to the police by Martinovics himself, in a desperate effort to secure lenient treatment.²⁸ Described by a contemporary lodge brother as a man of "undisciplined ambition and greed, a decided atheist and political fanatic,"²⁹ Martinovics was beheaded at Ofen in May,

²⁴ Gräffer, p. 19; Schönholz, I, 34n; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 82-83; Bartsch, in *Österreichische Rundschau*, VII, 504-11. Emperor Francis restored the death penalty for treason on January 2, 1795; that is, after Hebenstreit and his colleagues had been arrested. The executions therefore took place under an *ex post facto* law, which seemed unfair even to several cabinet officers at the time.

²⁵ Wurzbach, XVII, 50-55; [Franz Kratter], *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand von Galizien. Ein Beytrag zur Statistik und Menschenkenntniss* (Vienna, 1786), pp. 38 ff.

²⁶ Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 15.

²⁷ Kosáry, p. 175; *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns*, pp. 229-30.

²⁸ Kosáry, pp. 175-76; Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 15.

²⁹ I. A. Fessler, quoted in Schönholz, I, 30n.

1795, having first been made to witness the decapitation of four of his closest Hungarian friends and co-conspirators.³⁰

In the end, all defendants were found guilty and sentenced by the special commission, with Francis refusing to grant any pardons at the time. Almost a score of the radicals were executed. The nobles lost their titles. Most of the conspirators were deprived of their property. All were pilloried. And jail sentences were imposed ranging from two to sixty years.

Regarding the fate of the conspirators tried in Hungary, Francis wrote his brother, Palatine Leopold, "I leave the matter of the execution of the delinquents entirely in your hands. It might be useful to arrange for the private printing of some materials dealing with the violent deeds contemplated by the evil-doers and the appropriateness of their punishment. We did that here among the Germans and with good effect. I hope to God that this may be the first and last time that we will have to make such infamous discoveries."³¹ And twelve days later, "I have received your letter with joy and see therefrom that the last of the executions has passed off without incident and to the general satisfaction. Unhappily this example was needful, and the wicked fellows have proved through their death that they deserved nothing better."³²

During the century and a half since 1795, numerous critics have attacked the harshness of these sentences and Francis' unwillingness to mitigate them.³³ An outraged liberal of 1798 complained that "during this Inquisition-like persecution Francis, with his wife and his children, went to church as diligently as ever, and sang and prayed and heard masses . . . all the while permitting the incarcerations, judgments, and executions to continue without in the least worrying about them."³⁴ Eighty years later another critic, himself not outstanding as a liberal, denounced Francis as a "petty soul" and a "spiritual relative" (*ein Geistesverwandter*) of Philip II of Spain.³⁵ And in 1922 a third objector wrote: "It was entirely in accord with the emperor's nature to decree such an example in order to induce fear and fright."³⁶

³⁰ Wurzbach, XVII, 53; Schönholz, I, 30n, 32n; Vilmos Fraknói, *Martinovics élete* [life of Martinovics] (Budapest, 1921), a new edition of his *Martinovics es tarsainak összeesküvése* (Budapest, 1880); [Francis X. Huber?], *Briefe eines Franzosen, geschrieben im 6. Jahr der Republik über die geheime Policey in Wien* (Strassburg, 1799), pp. 428 ff.; Henrik Marczali, "Die Verschwörung des Martinovics," *Ungarische Revue*, I (1881), 11-29 (a review article of the 1880 edition of Fraknói).

³¹ Francis to Archduke Leopold, May 12, 1795, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 98, k. 8, f. 37.

³² Francis to Archduke Leopold, May 24, 1795, *ibid.*, f. 40.

³³ In September, 1802, Francis did pardon all those conspirators who still remained in confinement. Schönholz, I, 35n.

³⁴ *Briefe eines Franzosen*, p. 439.

³⁵ Heinrich G. von Treitschke, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1879-94), II, 567; Bibl., *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 83.

³⁶ Bibl., *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 83.

These and other critics of Francis have made a point of emphasizing the past meritorious services of the defendants, their small number, and their claim to having been heedless rather than treasonable. Thus, by minimizing the importance of the subversive actions and stressing the harshness of the penalties, the anti-Franciscans have generally been able to arouse in their readers sympathy for the conspirators and disgust for the heartless Vienna government. But in the eyes of this government the "Jacobins" represented the worst type of evildoer, something akin to the modern fifth columnist. Martinovics, Hebenstreit, and their followers were advocating the violent overthrow of a system which the ruling group regarded as divinely ordained. To the conservatives of the day these plots therefore seemed criminal rather than heedless, especially since most of the defendants were intelligent and not likely to be fooled into believing that their revolutionary plans, in time of war, were harmless.³⁷

The reaction of the Viennese citizenry to the trials is noteworthy. At first the burghers appeared stunned at the unheralded arrests and the emergency military precautions.³⁸ But soon curiosity replaced astonishment and the populace became impatient at the delays attending the investigation.³⁹ The restiveness and the anti-Jacobin sentiments were so pronounced that the government felt constrained to administer a rebuke. "Instead of being impatient with the slow course of justice," ran an official statement, "the Viennese should rejoice in living under an administration that not only protects innocence and property, but gives even the worst criminal time to build up his case and punishes him according to the laws only after his guilt has been fully established."⁴⁰

Thereafter the crowds made the most of every public execution or lesser punishment. The pilloried conspirators were shamefully treated. Elegantly attired persons came on horseback to witness the hanging of Hebenstreit. Young women were conspicuous in the milling mobs. When the body of a conspirator named Cajetanus Gilofsky von Uratzova, who had committed suicide in prison, was hanged according to sentence, the people cast mud and

³⁷ Hackel was a possible exception in the matter of intelligence. It was said of him that, in his stupidity and gluttony, he probably thought the word revolution signified a new French ragout. *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, pp. 262-63.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 227 ff.; Gräffer, p. 31.

³⁹ Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, pp. 15-16; Walther Tritzsch, *Franz von Österreich, der Kaiser des "Gott erhalte"* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 245.

⁴⁰ *Über die Verurtheilung einiger Staats-Verbrecher, Wien, den 12ten März 1795*; Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, pp. 15-16; [Franz Gräffer], *Josephinische Curiosa; oder ganz besondere, theils nicht mehr, theils noch nicht bekannte Persönlichkeiten, Geheimnisse, Details, Actenstücke und Denkwürdigkeiten der Lebens- und Zeitgeschichte Kaiser Josephs II.* (Vienna, 1848-50), III, 187.

stones at the corpse.⁴¹ Small wonder that a disgusted witness wrote, "I don't like this business of the Viennese being so greedy to see executions."⁴² Many years later, housemaids who never knew or had long forgotten the origins thereof, still hailed each other with lurid exclamations that had come into circulation at the time of the Jacobin trials. "What a spectacle, dear Mr. Hackel!" they would shout, and "Rotten weather, Mr. Prandstätter!" ("*Mein lieber Hackel, das ist ein Spektakel!*" and "*Potz Wetter, Herr Prandstätter!*")⁴³

One of the most illuminating contemporary records of these exhibitions was contributed by a publicist and minor official named Joseph Richter. Among many other occupations he edited a periodical leaflet containing the supposed letters of a country bumpkin visiting Vienna to his cousin "in the sticks." In one of these letters Richter wrote:

Cousin, at last the wish of the Viennese has come true. Yesterday [March 12, 1795] three members of the clubbist gang were sentenced as accessories to treason.⁴⁴ Cousin, you just can't imagine the crush there was on the Hohenmarkt [where the punishments were carried out]. The people were as thick as ants, and their heads waved back and forth so that the scene looked like a ripe wheatfield in the wind. Some people even clung to the housetops, and in the windows one head rose above the other. . . .

Next, cousin, came the turn of the fellow who owned the amusement booth [Hackel] and at whose games the people had drawn more blanks than there were heads in the crowd. They could hardly await his coming . . . and when he was brought along at last the spectators raised a howl of glee that beat anything heard at a new ballet. I thought the houses were going to cave in, and you couldn't hear a word of the judgment when it was read. . . . In the one day they sold more than twenty thousand copies of the sentence; that's the kind of impression it made on the people!⁴⁵

This positive reaction of the public to the trials can be better understood if one bears in mind that popular antipathy for "Jacobin" activities had been evident long before the happenings of 1794-1795. According to the testimony of Francis Xavier Huber, whose writings provide one of the major critical sources for the period, it was dangerous even in 1792 to express certain opinions in public. "I myself prophesied openly in the Jägerhorn [a tavern] in 1792," he wrote, "that France would become a republic and Austria would

⁴¹ Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 15; *Beschreibung auf Gilofskis Tod. Den 10. September 1794* (Vienna, 1794), in Vienna Stadtbibliothek; Joseph Richter, *Die Eipeldauer Briefe 1785-1813*, ed. and with intro. by Eugen von Paunel (Munich, 1917-18), I, 220, 372.

⁴² *Der Eipeldauer*, I, 235.

⁴³ Schönholz, I, 34-35; Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, p. 26n.

⁴⁴ The three were Francis Gotthard, John Hackel, and Francis Xavier von Troll, the last an ex-police officer from Lemberg.

⁴⁵ *Der Eipeldauer*, I, 252-54.

lose the Netherlands and Lombardy. Immediately a host of archpatriots pounced upon me, labeling me a Jacobin and an emissary of the French."⁴⁶

A police report of February 8, 1793, indicated that "some citizens were dismissing the French tutors whom they had engaged to teach their children, that a number of landlords had given notice to French tenants to vacate their premises, and that signs had been put up in several restaurants denying service to Frenchmen." Various individuals, furthermore, "had expressed the peculiar sentiment that the French language should be prohibited, while others proposed the ousting of all Frenchmen from the country."⁴⁷ A few months later some Viennese hotheads nailed a summons to the great door of St. Stephen's Cathedral, calling on the populace to murder the conspirators. "Burghers!" it read, "This is a challenge! Let us avenge our fellow-burghers in France and assassinate all the Jacobins here! Such a club is to be found at No. 950 Franciscanerplatz!"⁴⁸

The Venetian ambassador to Vienna was much impressed by what he saw of the public spirit. "The Austrian subjects," he wrote, "enraged to the highest degree, especially after the unhappy fate of the [French] king, have made numerous spontaneous patriotic gifts to the emperor. Although the sum total may not be very great in relation to the enormous expenditures that are required in these circumstances, nonetheless it is not unworthy of consideration—especially since it shows the affection of the subject for the sovereign and reveals a fine disposition to repel the arms of the French as well as their doctrines."⁴⁹

It did not calm the public spirit to see captured French officers moving about freely on Austrian soil. According to an official report, there were 767 French officers and 11,859 French soldiers held as prisoners of war in Inner Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary at the close of 1793. Since the officers were fairly free to go and come as they pleased, within certain geographic limits, some of them doubtless found opportunity to air republican views. Only when an officer really abused his privileges and was caught disseminating subversive doctrines was he in danger of being placed under stricter watch or even under arrest. Despite police reports on the unfavorable results of such a policy, the war ministry would go no further in checking the freedom of the captive commissioned personnel.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Beytrag zur Charakteristik*, p. 224n.

⁴⁷ Report of Count Pergen, quoted in Alexander Elmer, *Aus der Geheimmappe des Kaisers Franz* (Vienna, 1926), p. 22; see also Blümml and Gugitz, II, 312.

⁴⁸ Weiss, II, 234 and n.

⁴⁹ Alfred von Arneth, ed., *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Österreich im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1863), p. 341.

⁵⁰ Elmer, pp. 25–26.

The emperor himself was astonished at the vehemence of popular feeling. In a letter of December, 1792, to his brother Leopold he mentioned that the authorities were busily and successfully "hunting" French emissaries and agents, and then continued, "The whole country here is so embittered against the French that we constantly have to restrain the people from committing excesses at their expense."⁵¹ And shortly thereafter he wrote, again from Vienna, "There is no news here except that the whole population is so furious against the French that one must refrain from speaking their language; it is hard to keep the people quiet."⁵²

On the other hand, Francis himself was very suspicious of French intellectuals and travelers. He was especially distrustful of French tutors and governesses because these often had a strong hold on the minds of their charges. "My German subjects of whatever estate," he commanded, "should learn to think in German."⁵³ And when numerous aristocrats pleaded for exceptions to a general decree ordering the expulsion of such foreign instructors, Francis almost invariably refused. "My decision stands," he would reply. "This and all other French tutors and governesses must leave the country."⁵⁴

As time went on, the restrictions on foreigners of any occupation became more severe. In January, 1793, Francis informed Palatine Leopold that he had ordered the dissolution of all secret clubs, and then added, "In the interest of security I have issued an order that no Frenchman may remain in the country for more than eight days or, for that matter, even enter the Austrian domains, who cannot display a pass from the state chancellery. Such passes must also be acquired by any Frenchmen now resident in the land. You will please enforce this order in Hungary for I assure you that there often are very wicked people among the immigrants."⁵⁵

For a time Francis insisted on approving all passes himself, after having been informed of all available knowledge of the petitioner's circumstances and past.⁵⁶ But after a few months of this time-consuming and boring work, Francis wrote Baron John von Thugut, later foreign minister of Austria, "In order that I may not perpetually be plagued with the petitions of so many French immigrants who wish to enter and temporarily reside in my lands, I

⁵¹ Francis to Archduke Leopold, Dec. 16, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 97, k. 1c, f. 161.

⁵² Francis to Archduke Leopold, Feb. 9, 1793, *ibid.*, fas. 98, k. 6, f. 9.

⁵³ Elmer, pp. 23-24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁵⁵ Francis to Archduke Leopold, Jan. 5, 1793, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 98, k. 6, f. 2. For the imperial order requiring immigrants to possess passes, see note and enclosure of Francis to Prince Kaunitz, Nov. 24, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 228 (1792), k. 11, f. 204-205.

⁵⁶ Francis to Count (John) Philipp von Cobenzl, Jan. 4, 1793, *ibid.*, fas. 229 (1793), k. 1, f. 21.

hereby confer upon you the authority to make the necessary decisions. But you must regularly consult Count Pergen in these matters and afterward inform me of all dispositions."⁵⁷ Meanwhile it had been made amply clear that passes were to be issued only to such persons as would definitely never become "a danger to nor a burden on the state."⁵⁸

Palatine Leopold, for his part, had been conscientiously following his brother's instructions in Hungary. As a sample of his activity, we may note a report which he sent to the emperor in December, 1792:

I discovered some days ago that a club has been meeting in Pest, which is said to have for its purpose the stirring up of both townsmen and peasants. Secondly, I have heard from several sources about the favorable comments being made in restaurants concerning the French, indeed, that in one tavern the health of the French was drunk. Since these things came to me from reliable quarters and I regarded them as matters not to be neglected, I immediately took the following precautions.

Concerning the club, whose meeting place we know, I have ordered [the appropriate officers] to discover its membership and in particular its leaders. Count Zichy [Count Charles Zichy von Vasonykeö], who is completely reliable in the matter, has orders, as soon as the leaders are discovered, to call them into his presence, explain to them the seriousness of their lapse, and warn them not to make any more missteps. After this has been done I shall nonetheless keep a watchful eye on them. Should they once again fall into error, I shall be forced to take sterner measures and shall have to ask Your Majesty what is to be done with them. . . .

Regarding the coffee houses, I have ordered [the appropriate officers in Pest and Ofen] to send trusty men to watch them. These [agents] are to make note of the people who deliver such [unlawful] harangues . . . in order to warn them and, if this warning prove of no avail, to punish them severely. . . . Since I have heard that similar things are going on in Pressburg, I shall also take similar steps there. For I believe that if one punishes such swinishness promptly, this will serve as an example to all; but if one lets it take root and gather too many followers, then punishment is bound to arouse popular unrest.⁵⁹

Leopold's measures were only partially successful. Two years later Francis still found cause to complain about subversive clubs in Hungary and Transylvania.⁶⁰ The police, moreover, were worried over the type of literature that was being circulated and "widely read" in the larger Hungarian cities. This comprised "books with the most dangerous contents, including one entitled *The Ruins*," and a *Journal Jacobain* which "far surpassed *Le Moniteur*."⁶¹ In addition, many copies of French newspapers must have reached

⁵⁷ Francis to Baron Thugut, Nov. 24, 1794, Austria, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Kabinetts-Archiv, Protokoll der Allerhöchsten Hand-Billets, 1794, no. 549.

⁵⁸ Enclosure with note from Francis to Prince Kaunitz, Nov. 24, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 228 (1792), k. 11, f. 204-205.

⁵⁹ Archduke Leopold to Francis, Dec. 3, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Sammelbände, fas. 118, f. 235-36.

⁶⁰ Francis to Palatine Leopold, Mar. 3, 1795, *ibid.*, fas. 98, k. 8, f. 16.

⁶¹ Bericht Pergens über das Journal Jacobain 1794, *ibid.*, fas. 149, k. 7, f. 29.

the Hungarian reading public, for the official correspondence of the day is studded with repeated prohibitions against their circulation.⁶² And this despite an official decree that "all those who have in their possession any pasquils, manifestoes, proclamations, or other writings stemming from the [revolutionary] riffraff, or of whom it can be proved that they have passed such items on to others, either directly or by word of mouth, shall be regarded in the same [unfavorable] light as the authors thereof and shall be subjected to exemplary punishment, without regard to social or political station."⁶³

Pamphlets and newspapers were not the only literary thorns in the flesh of the Austrian authorities. In January, 1794, the emperor was disturbed by the importation of French calendars for that year. "The sale of the new French calendar," he wrote, "is to be prohibited at once. By making possible comparisons with the Christian calendar, it provides occasion chiefly for miserable jokes and religious mockery. I am displeased that in existing circumstances, in which every effort is being made to withdraw all such French products from the public view, this sale has been tolerated. Henceforth I expect a more diligent and exacting censorship so that it need not remain for me to ban such pieces *after* they have been circulated among the people."⁶⁴

Shortly thereafter the emperor also complained that a local bookseller had been allowed to receive six copies of a certain "suspicious *Journal encyclopédique, ou universel*." To Count Leopold von Kollowrat he wrote:

Inasmuch as this journal certainly is a fit subject for prohibition, you are to make all necessary inquiries and then order the appropriate disposition of the case. It is well known that French literature for some years, and especially since the outbreak of the Revolution, has degenerated into nothing more than pamphleteering. Miserable wit has taken the place of sound scholarship in these writings which, moreover, not containing true knowledge, are neither advantageous nor useful to the state. You will therefore see to it that the strictest censorship is placed in all my hereditary lands on every French book, brochure, and journal which has appeared since the outbreak of the Revolution or that may appear in future; the same applies to any translations that may be made thereof.⁶⁵

Subversive intent was traced by the authorities even to an opera. They claimed that *The Magic Flute* (*Die Zauberflöte*) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) was in reality a political allegory on the French Revolution.⁶⁶ The composer, in truth, did belong to a lodge, and years later one

⁶² Staatsarchiv, Billete, 1793 ff., *passim*.

⁶³ Enclosure with note of Francis to Prince Kaunitz, Nov. 24, 1792, Staatsarchiv, Vorträge, fas. 228 (1792), k. 11, f. 204-205.

⁶⁴ Francis to Count Leopold von Kollowrat, Jan. 15, 1794, Staatsarchiv, Billete, 1794, no. 36.

⁶⁵ Francis to Count Kollowrat, Mar. 19, 1794, *ibid.*, no. 162.

⁶⁶ Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 85; *Geheime Geschichte des Verschwörungs-Systems*, *passim*; Gräffer, *Josephinische Curiosa*, III, 181; Olin Downes, "Mozart—150 Years After," *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1941.

of his fellow masons proudly characterized *The Magic Flute* as Mozart's "greatest and most comprehensive masonic composition . . . glorifying freemasonry on the stage."⁶⁷ Hence, whereas friendly critics were inclined to the view that Mozart, after all, "was only the creator of the excellent music and had had nothing to do with the literary structure of the piece,"⁶⁸ others believed that he had consciously spread revolutionary propaganda.⁶⁹

In any case, the opera, first performed in 1791, was well received by the Viennese public. Sixty-two consecutive performances were given, always before large audiences.⁷⁰ Apparently word got around that it *was* a political allegory, and someone even prepared a double list of characters for the enlightenment of those who were not clever enough of their own accord to detect the parallels. The privately circulated sheet was got up as follows:

List of Characters

Queen of the Night	The former administration [Maria Theresa]
Pamina, her daughter	Liberty, always a daughter of despotism
Tamino	The people
Three women	Delegates of the three estates
Sarastro	The wisdom of better legislation
Priests of Sarastro	The National Assembly
Papageno	The aristocracy
Old woman	Equality
Monostatos, a Moor	The émigrés
Slaves	Servants and hirelings of the émigrés
Three youths	Wisdom, justice, and love of country, which guide Tamino
Serpent	The financial deficit ⁷¹

"The allegory forsooth does not belong to the cleverest," wrote one observer, "but it was regarded as sufficiently pithy to further its secret purposes."⁷²

The precautionary lengths to which the government was driven through

⁶⁷ Quoted in Brunner, p. 37, from [Moritz A. Zille], *Die Zauberflöte: Text-Erläuterungen für alle Verehrer Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 7.

⁶⁸ Gräffer, *Josephinische Curiosa*, III, 181.

⁶⁹ Brunner, pp. 37-38; see also Edgar Istel, *Die Freimaurerei in Mozarts "Zauberflöte"* (Berlin, 1928), and Fritz Brukner, ed., *Die Zauberflöte: Unbekannte Handschriften und seltene Drucke aus der Frühzeit von Mozarts Oper* (Vienna, 1934). The text of the opera was written by a theatrical director named Emanuel Schikaneder (Schikeneder), perhaps with the aid of Karl Ludwig Gieseke. Istel, pp. 4-8; Brukner, pp. 11 ff.

⁷⁰ Gräffer, *Josephinische Curiosa*, III, 181-82.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, III, 182-83.

⁷² *Ibid.*, III, 182.

fear of subterfuges was well illustrated in an incident of 1796. An Austrian commercial firm in that year endorsed the petition of a Marseille cap manufacturer to establish a factory in Trieste. The Frenchman had built up a sizable market for his caps in the Levant and now wished to move closer to his customers. The governor of Trieste and the appropriate court office reported favorably on the request, but the Vienna bureau thought it advisable to get an opinion from the police department.

This was thought desirable, first, because the manufacturer might wish to bring with him some skilled workmen from France, and secondly, because "these red caps, destined for the Levant where they have long been the customary headgear, nevertheless do seem to bear a resemblance, at least in color, to the French liberty caps." Hence the police might prefer to set certain conditions that would ensure delivery of all such caps to the Levant, allowing not one to be sold within the Austrian monarchy.

The request eventually was granted, with heavy restrictions. The Austrian firm sponsoring the petition had to accept responsibility for all French workers who might be admitted. These immigrants must live where they could easily be watched at all times. The French manufacturer had to render quarterly accountings proving that every cap made had been dispatched to the Levant. Finally, each employee would be carefully observed to make sure that he "really busied himself earnestly" with capmaking and had not entered the country under false pretenses in order to carry on subversive activities.⁷³

One of Count Saurau's greatest achievements in stimulating devotion among Francis' subjects also occurred in 1796. Saurau approached the poet Lorenz Leopold Haschka and asked him to compose a hymn which would unite the monarchy in a firm bond of dynastic loyalty.⁷⁴ Such a song would show the potential Jacobins—if the trials had not fully served to do this—how useless it would be to try to make rebels out of the "good Viennese."⁷⁵ Haschka accepted the call, and when the popular composer, (Francis) Joseph Haydn, agreed to furnish the music, the success of the project was assured.

Filled with appreciation for and praise of the sovereign, the hymn was first played in public in the great National Theater on February 12, 1797, the twenty-ninth anniversary of the emperor's birth. It quickly took hold of the

⁷³ Johann Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie und ihrer Förderung unter Kaiser Franz I* (Vienna, 1914), pp. 15-16.

⁷⁴ Reinhold Lorenz, *Volksbewaffnung und Staatsidee in Österreich (1792-1797)* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1926), p. 107.

⁷⁵ Gräffer, *Franciscische Curiosa*, pp. 43-44; Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 84; *Die Freimaurerei Österreich-Ungarns*, pp. 250-51.

popular fancy and was everywhere sung with zest, so that Saurau did not have to provide the artificial build-up which he had at first thought necessary.⁷⁶ The words, with some modifications, comprised the Austrian national anthem until 1918.⁷⁷

It remains only to mention one serious consequence of the government's fear of anything that might encourage the demand for political change. There resulted a veritable "flight from politics" on the part of some able and intelligent persons who feared to offer their services under a system built upon suspicion and employing denunciation and secret agents as weapons in its fight to maintain the *status quo*.⁷⁸ "A large part of the Austrian intelligentsia," wrote a careful student of the period, "now withdrew from all political activity. Decades later we Austrians still, half mockingly, half suspiciously, called educated men who busied themselves with literature and, if ever so timidly, with politics, Jacobins."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Lorenz, p. 107; Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, pp. 43-45; Emil Bohn, *Die Nationalhymnen der europäischen Völker* (Breslau, 1908), pp. 18-19; Hafner, in *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, VII, 28n; Böck, "Zum Jubiläum der österreichischen Volkshymne," *Wiener Neujahrsalmanach*, 1897, pp. 51 ff.

⁷⁷ The Haydn melody later was used for other anthems, too, including "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles." The first stanza of Haschka's hymn was:

Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!
Hoch als Herrscher, hoch als Weiser
Steht er in des Ruhmes Glanz!
Liebe windet Lorbeerreiser
Ihm zum ewig grünen Kranz.
Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser,
Unsern guten Kaiser Franz!

Gräffer, *Francisceische Curiosa*, p. 48. An English translation may be found in Granville Bantock, ed., *Sixty Patriotic Songs of All Nations* (Boston, 1913), pp. 60-63.

⁷⁸ Bibl, *Der Zerfall Österreichs*, I, 83.

⁷⁹ Fäulhammer, in *Programm des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums in Salzburg*, p. 16.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

History and the Social Science Research Council

ROY F. NICHOLS*

I

TWENTY years ago the American Historical Association agreed to participate in the then recently organized Social Science Research Council and to join with six other national societies¹ in electing members to its board of directors. The completion of this score of years of affiliation and the character of these troubled times make it appropriate to review the nature and fruits of the relationship and to look into the possibilities of even more effective co-operation in the future.

At the close of the first World War the scholarly world was endeavoring to adjust to the new demands for scientific knowledge produced by the exigencies of that conflict. Even before the entrance of the United States into the war the scientific disciplines had organized the National Research Council. The American Council of Learned Societies came into being shortly after the dawn of peace. It was almost inevitable that social science should seek some similar organization. In 1921 the American Political Science Association took the first formal steps. William A. Dunning, its newly elected president and sometime president of the American Historical Association, appointed a committee which drafted a plan for the Social Science Research Council. This body, organized in 1923, was joined two years later by the historians.

At that time certain scholars were impressed by the fact that the foundations of the social sciences, particularly of economics, sociology, and political science, were preponderantly deductive and based upon a wide range of thought backed only by limited observation rather than by inductive method and extensive compilation of factual data. The efforts already made to turn to inductive methods had resulted in the collection of great quantities of facts

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¹ American Political Science Association, American Economic Association, American Sociological Society, American Anthropological Association, American Psychological Association, American Statistical Association. The members from the American Historical Association other than the present representatives have been Guy Stanton Ford, Arthur M. Schlesinger, William E. Dodd, Carlton J. H. Hayes, and Carl Wittke.

of a descriptive nature. Those working these data tended to confine themselves to studies in comparative economic, political, and social structures and functions. They had not been able to develop comprehensive views of society as an evolving organism which needed to be considered in its historic perspective and in its complex cross-section interrelationships.

The new organization began at once to canvass the possible ways of improving research by promoting co-operative effort by scholars of all the social sciences focusing upon general problems. The leaders of the new organization felt that the disciplines represented in the council were of haphazard and accidental growth and that none of them could provide all the data and techniques needed to solve basic social problems while all of them could contribute a share in co-operation. Efforts were begun therefore to encourage research in certain basic problems of social science, to consider and to advise about the setting up of such projects, and to secure funds to make possible their operation. The council was looking forward toward the advancement of a science of society which should be coherent and at the same time comprehensive.

Stated meetings were held, funds were obtained, conferences arranged and committees appointed. The consideration of projects was soon begun, money was allocated, and work started in a variety of fields, as often as possible under the co-operative direction of representatives of the various disciplines. In the course of the formulation of its program, the work of the council gradually became organized in seven general categories. Efforts were made to improve research organization, to develop personnel, to preserve and improve materials and enlarge their use, to improve research methods, to facilitate the dissemination of information about materials and methods and the results of investigation, to aid research wherever possible, and to enhance the general appreciation of the significance of the social sciences.

The twenty years of the membership of the A.H.A. in the S.S.R.C. have been divided into two almost equal periods. The first was one of projects. Relatively large sums of money were in hand to be distributed to promote research and most of the energy of the council was spent in considering projects, advising on their setup and operation, and allocating funds. In these years the delegates of the Association participated actively. However, few projects of primarily historical interest emerged to be financed with large sums. Most historians were not thinking in terms of co-operative projects on a large scale, and their modest individual wants were met by the annual award of fellowships and grants-in-aid.

While no large projects of a distinctly historical nature appeared during

this period, at least twenty-five of the historical guild served on committees of the council and two of the delegates bore much of the administrative responsibility, acting as chairmen of the problems and policy committee and as executive officers of the council.² Some publications of general interest to historians were sponsored, such as Beard's study of national interest, Bemis' and Griffin's guide to diplomatic history, and the historical portions of *Methods of Social Science*.³ Financial aid was given to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson for his part in the listing of the world's diplomatic officers, which he was undertaking as chairman of a committee of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Most notable was the dynamic interest of the late Robert C. Binkley as head of the joint committee of the S.S.R.C. and the A.C.L.S. on materials for research.⁴

An interesting result of the relationship with the council was a grant to the A.H.A. from the council for a report on the state and opportunities of historical research. With this money a series of conferences was arranged to discuss the quality of historical research then current and to formulate plans for its improvement. Five such conferences were held in various parts of the country and a series of reports prepared and published.⁵

During this early period as well as in the years that followed, the council administered a well-financed fellowship and grants-in-aid program. Post-doctoral research training fellowships were announced and a careful system was devised for selecting the best qualified candidates. Particular interest was shown in scholars who were planning projects of interdisciplinary character. A second type of fellowship was later devised to provide special training earlier in the student's career for those who wished to develop such interests on a predoctoral level in the graduate schools of the nation. These were known as fellowships for field training and were designed to provide an opportunity for acquiring additional field experience necessary for research. In the years 1925-1939, historians were awarded 53 out of 264 fellowships granted in the postdoctoral range and 15 in the field training program, making a total of 68 out of 334.⁶ They participated even more actively in the grants-in-aid program where a majority of the awards were made to them.

In the second half of the double decade council interest turned from passing on projects to planning new types of research, to studying new tech-

² Guy Stanton Ford and Arthur M. Schlesinger have been chairmen of the council.

³ Charles A. Beard, *The Idea of National Interest* (New York, 1934); Samuel F. Bemis and Grace G. Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States* (Washington, 1935); Stuart A. Rice, ed., *Methods in Social Science* (Chicago, 1931).

⁴ Robert C. Binkley, *Methods of Reproducing Research Materials* (Ann Arbor, 1931).

⁵ *Historical Scholarship in America* (New York, 1932).

⁶ *Fellows of the Social Science Research Council* (New York, 1939).

niques, and to reconsidering old ones. It was believed that better methods could be developed more effectively if research planners were more certain as to the effectiveness of methods in current use. This could be ascertained only by submitting them to some form of critical appraisal. A committee on appraisal was appointed, with representatives of the several disciplines, which undertook to ascertain which works had been regarded as outstanding during the preceding decade within the several disciplines and then to explore in some detail the reasons for which, or criteria according to which, these works had been so highly rated. Each work thus chosen by members of the profession was assigned to a mature scholar who, after examining the reviews, made an independent analysis of the purpose of the book, the methods pursued in its preparation, and a critique of the results attained in the light of subsequent evaluations and adoption of these methods by the profession. This report was then transmitted to the author of the work under appraisal for rejoinder. These documents were in turn presented to a conference consisting of some ten outstanding scholars in the field or fields, drawn from as many social science disciplines as appeared to be actively interested in the work under review. These conferees went over the whole procedure. The discussions at this conference were reported and printed, together with the appraisal and the rejoinder. Walter P. Webb's *Great Plains* was chosen for the historical work to be so considered.⁷

The sociological work appraised in this fashion was Thomas' and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant*.⁸ Its appraisal caused much discussion of the best methods of using personal documents, such as autobiographies, diaries, letters, questionnaires and verbatim records, and the like, materials long well-known to historians but much less used by scholars in other disciplines. It was apparent that different evaluations were placed upon this type of data in the various fields; so it was decided to have memorandums prepared by scholars in the different subjects. These are in process of publication. Louis Gottschalk prepared the discussion of the use of such data by historians.⁹

A second committee of particular interest to historians was set up to explore the control of social data and to consider problems of the preservation and uses of materials. This followed the earlier committee on materials, previously mentioned. The new group has devoted itself to promoting the use of material in the National Archives by supplying information to social

⁷ Fred A. Shannon, *An Appraisal of Walter Prescott Webb's The Great Plains* (New York, 1940).

⁸ Herbert Blumer, *An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York, 1939).

⁹ Louis Gottschalk, C. Kluckhohn, R. C. Angell, *Use of the Personal Document in History, Cultural Anthropology and Sociology* (New York, 1945).

scientists, not in the historical guild, regarding the wealth of material in the great collection of the government. It has also worked to secure the co-operation of the various state governments and archival establishments in collecting, processing, and preserving adequate records of the total war effort of their respective commonwealths.

A third committee was authorized upon the recommendation of a conference held to consider ways and means to promote basic historical research in the field of local history. This committee undertook to plan a guide to the study of local history, particularly designed to be useful in directing the energies and interests of the many local historians into paths more useful to social science. The fruit of their labors is the guide published under the title of *Local History*.¹⁰

Within the last few years three new committees have been created to plan the more thorough tilling of fruitful fields still too little exploited. One in economic history had hardly begun action before the war greatly curtailed its manpower and almost suspended its operations. Its main interests were developing along the lines of study of the role of government in American economic development, of American politico-economic thought in the 1790's, of economic and business legislation in various states prior to the Civil War, and the role of entrepreneurship.

The outbreak of World War II aroused the immediate interest among the delegates from the A.H.A. in the preparation of an adequate record and in planning ways to inaugurate a series of pilot studies in the various phases of the wartime behavior of society. A committee on war studies was shortly created with an executive secretary devoting full time to this task for two years. Plans have been made for twenty-five pilot studies in this field and scholars have been interested enough to undertake most of them. This committee has co-operated with the committee on the records of war administration sponsored by the United States Bureau of the Budget and together they have formed a national advisory council on war history under the chairmanship of Dr. Guy Stanton Ford. This body has been cordially recognized by the President of the United States.

Finally a committee on historiography has been constituted. A survey of research in American history had raised questions regarding the current thinking of historians and others on the nature and meaning of history. A conference made certain recommendations and was constituted a committee to carry them out. This group is interested in the nature of the prevailing

¹⁰ Donald D. Parker, *Local History*, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson (New York, 1944). See review below, p. 591.

concepts of historians and the public about history. It is studying the possibility of more precise definitions of terms, of more rigorous standards of thought. It is preparing to report upon the current methods of historical thought and utterance.

II

The experience of A.H.A. participation in the S.S.R.C. during the last twenty years thus summarized suggests a possibly more significant relationship between the two bodies in the future, for it reveals both a record of accomplishment and areas in which co-operation has fallen short.

Comparison of the character of research in history and in the sister disciplines shows a divergence of interest which leads scholars in other fields to point out that they do not receive from the historians the historical data or analyses that they would find most useful.

Social scientists tend to analyze the evolution of a given society in terms of some such outline as the following:

History of a Cultural Group

- A. Mobilization and Distribution of the Population
 - Physiography
 - Initial Migration
 - Natural Increase
 - Immigration, Emigration, and Redistribution
- B. Organization of Institutions
 - Subsistence
 - Production
 - Distribution
 - Consumption
 - Reproduction and the Family
 - Health
 - Communication and Expression
 - Press
 - Literature
 - Arts
 - Adjustment
 - Protection and Restraint
 - Government and Politics
 - Morals
 - Morale
 - Recreation
 - Use of Leisure
 - Sport and Entertainment
 - Improvement
 - Religion
 - Philosophy
 - Science
 - Education

- C. Group Relationships
 - Racial and Cultural
 - Intercommunity and Interclass
 - International
 - Diplomacy
 - War
 - Economics
 - Culture

A careful comparison of this analytical outline with a survey of current research output among historians made by the council shows an overattention to some fields and a neglect of others. More attention is given to the institutions of control and authority, *i.e.*, political, and much less to those influences which determine the essential capacities, skills, and behavior of individuals and groups in society. It would be to the advantage of social science if a greater amount of historical interest could be directed into these latter channels.

More significant is the historian's tendency to shirk another responsibility. History is more than a fact-bearing handmaiden for the other social sciences. It has a distinctly intellectual function of primary importance, namely, the definition of long-term institutional trends. It should be ever active in seeking a dialectic and a technique of analysis. But there is a prevalent disposition to limit historical writing to narration. Historians may well pay more attention to such questions as the nature, origin, and influence of attitudes, the redirecting and accelerating force of cataclysms, and the dynamics of human behavior. Joint consideration of theories of social development would advance the frontiers of a science of society.

History is in a position to make a unique contribution to such a science. Any science, physical or social, is concerned with direction and seeks to plot lines of motion so that it may project them into the future and thus gain some knowledge of possible expectancy. Most of the natural sciences devise controlled experiments so that they can predict with some statistical accuracy what may happen under given circumstances. Social science seeks to discover such a method for studying the behavior of the human race. History supplies the fourth dimension to the social sciences, for it is the only one of them that is primarily concerned with the development of institutions over long periods of time—that stresses secular trends.

In this connection it has been suggested that there be attempted studies of longer time range than historical scholars are accustomed to make. Such constant recurrences as war and peace, such persistent attitudes as anti-Semitism, and the nature of long-term cycles in economic and other forms of be-

havior need to be studied not individually within epochs but comparatively over millenniums. At a time when there are pressing problems involving the control and redistribution of large aggregates of population and vast schemes for state-controlled economy, it is well to remember that the ancient empires faced similar problems. Would it be possible for ancient, medieval, and modern historians to work co-operatively in assembling knowledge of previous experiences and making it available for modern statesmanship? Also the leaders of the Christian states are faced with the necessity of gaining quickly much more intimate knowledge of Buddhist, Moslem, and Confucian ways of thinking and acting. Could not co-operative projects be formulated and developed by historians of the Western and Eastern societies and religions?

Also questions have been raised regarding the periodization of history. The profession has been using certain time-honored systems of dividing human development into epochs and of tying up scholarship in chronological compartments which have become well-nigh watertight. The committee on historiography is taking up this question in the light of a practical question now arising in American history. The great surge of events has vastly increased the content of the last period of American history, usually defined as "1865 to the present." But when and how will a new division be created? Haphazardly, as in the past? By serious interdisciplinary social science approach? By writers of texts and manuals, or by co-operative, planned efforts? Since the conventional periodizations were largely determined when the old-style political history was dominant, how useful are they now in the newer and enlarged concept of historical coverage? Is there any reason why the periodization of history should be left to chance? Certainly it affects the work of historians as well as the ideas of the informed public about the past.

Finally there is a question of particular moment to the historian as he approaches the problems imposed upon his craft by the complexity of contemporary confusions and the fruits of his own prowess. Historical data are now overwhelming in quantity. The vast masses of records daily being made and preserved in the splendid and numerous repositories created largely by the insistence of scholars have become literally stupendous. The historian's techniques for treating data have been built upon the idea of careful physical handling of documents, one by one, by individual scholars. Now that materials are available by the ton, such techniques are less practical than formerly.

The answer to the question thus raised is not easy. But it is true that the other social sciences have made notable advances in sampling and statistical

techniques, which provide means of handling masses of data mechanically and yet with surprising accuracy and which supply results interpreting the bulky accumulation. Is not co-operative study of this problem designed to apply more of this technical skill to history in order?

III

Historians have a contribution to make to the social sciences which is fundamental. On the other hand historians can gain a great deal from more consistent study of the methods, points of view, and findings of their fellows in the other disciplines. There is unfortunately too much in the present organization of the collegiate and university world to emphasize division and rivalry, too little to invite and encourage co-operation. Closer association cannot fail to be mutually profitable. The historians cannot afford to minimize this opportunity by neglect or indifference.

The historians elected to the S.S.R.C. have always acted in a dual capacity. Primarily they have worked with their S.S.R.C. associates to advance the frontiers of knowledge and to perfect the interpretation of the facts. They have seldom departed from this role. On the other hand they are representatives of a discipline and in a sense have a special constituency. The delegation is always interested in reporting to the constituents and receiving their advice and counsel. Just now when the council is restudying its programs and purposes, such advice would be most valued.¹¹

The last war set in motion new activities in the fields of the social sciences. During this present war there are many evidences of even greater impetus to these disciplines.¹² Scholars among them are already taking thought regarding new advances which can be promoted at the conclusion of the conflict. The Social Science Research Council more than ever has need of thoughtful suggestions and constructive criticism from its constituents.

¹¹ The delegates from the American Historical Association are Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin, Shepard B. Clough, of Columbia, and the writer, at the University of Pennsylvania. They would welcome correspondence.

¹² Roy F. Nichols, "War and Research in Social Science," *American Philosophical Society, Proceedings*, LXXXVII, 361-64.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE HOUSE OF MACMILLAN (1843-1943). By *Charles Morgan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. 247. \$3.00.)

How the origin and one hundred years' growth of a great publishing company can be presented interestingly, candidly, and adequately, though of course not fully, in one small volume has been demonstrated by this survey of the *House of Macmillan*, from the smallest possible beginning in 1843 to one of the largest and most comprehensive publishing concerns in the world. It might be called the history of the Macmillan family tree: its branching out in all directions; the variety of its fruit, in both kind and flavor; and the extent to which it has developed and satisfied the intellectual taste of the English-reading public in all fields for three generations. The book is almost wholly concerned with the English house, and gives only brief though appreciative reference to the development of the company in this country.

The two founders, Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, were poor Scottish boys who began their careers as bookseller's clerks or assistants, but soon, having acquired adequate experience and many friends, set up, without capital, a bookshop of their own in Cambridge. Although they had little formal education, they were wide and diligent readers with clear and steady purposes, and they effectively cultivated friendly and helpful relations with their customers. Daniel wrote that "most of the able young men in the University are our customers, and many of them most kind friends." Their shop became a center "where undergraduates and dons came to chat and read the newspapers." "Our retail trade," he wrote further, "will be chiefly valuable as bringing about us young men who will grow into authors." Their first book appeared late in 1843, and although for some time their publishing venture proceeded at a slow pace, chiefly in education and theology, it developed at a gradually increasing rate, broadening into social, literary, scientific, and practically all other fields.

This survey contains a large amount of most revealing information not only of the ideals, standards, purposes, and prejudices, the foresight and the errors of the publishers but also much of the personal as well as business relations of the publishers and their advisers with their authors—the give and take, the pressure and resistance, the controversies and the close friendships. These are made vivid and realistic by the inclusion here for the first time of many letters to and from authors, reader's reports, and other material, along with narrative and comment involving such names as Kingsley, Masson, Hughes, Palgrave, Bryce, Pater, Matthew Arnold, Gladstone, John Morley, Andrew Lang, Lewis Carroll, Henry

James, Hardy, Kipling, Yeats, and many other great and more recent ones in science, scholarship, theology, and education. As one reviewer has said, here is a mine of bibliographical entertainment; in no small degree the literary history of a century. It is a clear and suggestive overview of the co-operative purposes and achievements of authors and publishers in the growth and enrichment of intellectual interest and taste.

Boston, Massachusetts

FRANKLIN W. SCOTT

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION. By *Karl Polanyi*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1944. Pp. xiii, 305. \$3.00.)

WHETHER the historians like it or not, much that passes for history these days is being written by economists, anthropologists, sociologists, and students of psychology. It is not enough to point out that some of this "history" is the work of men ignorant in all fields perpetrating their balderdash on the subject they know least about. Doubtless many such books have been written; but there are others—books that represent an honest effort on the part of men not specially trained in history to come to grips with real historical problems. When the professional historian treats such works with aloof disdain, he is demonstrating not his superiority but merely craft snobbishness and jurisdictional jealousy.

Karl Polanyi, whose special field of study is economics, has written in *The Great Transformation* an inquiry into a historical problem; his effort is well worth the attention of historians. Polanyi's book in part deals with the effect of economic conceptions held by men of considerable power in the nineteenth century on the history of that century. The central conception is that of the self-regulating economic system with its corollary of free markets in labor, land, and money. Polanyi points out that no sooner was the theory of self-regulation enunciated and the attempt made to put it into practice than countermeasures were taken to prevent its full operation by the government and labor in the form of factory laws and unions and by the government and agrarian interests in the form of tariffs. Free (or commodity) money, however, survived to become the holy cow of the proponents of self-regulation. After the first World War, in most of Europe basic institutions of nineteenth century society—the balance of power system, liberal government, and the free movement of wages and rents—were ruthlessly sacrificed to the maintenance of the international gold standard because the prime requisite for the operation of the market economy had come to be the confidence of the business community in the free transferability of money in the world market. With the utmost ease the rise of fascism, concurring with the downfall of the international gold standard, collapsed the great institutions of the nineteenth century, whose foundations had already been sapped in the previous decades by their most ardent advocates. Polanyi does not present a chronological account of the process just outlined, but he fills in enough detail to make his narrative a most

satisfactory analysis of the relation of "liberal" economic ideals to some of the political, economic, and social developments in the Western world in the past century.

Despite the brilliance of *The Great Transformation* the work is marred by serious flaws. It would not be hard to set down a rather long itemized list of distortions of fact (not misstatement of fact) running through the book. This, however, would be an unproductive exercise since the distortions of fact themselves spring from distortions of method that are fundamental to Mr. Polanyi's scheme of analysis. The first distortion of method is a concomitant of the employment of the "culture-pattern" technique now popular with anthropologists. A culture pattern is a group of rationally related generalizations about a given society which serve to make intelligible a large number of observed facts about that society. The culture-pattern technique seems to work rather well on primitive societies, stable societies, and those aspects of a society in flux that are not themselves undergoing rapid change. In a changing situation the culture-pattern method gets into serious difficulties. It is useful only so long as it is conceived of as a force operating on social facts but not altered by them. It has to be a sort of mover unmoved or else its relations with the social facts become hopelessly confused; but in a changing society there is always a time before a particular culture pattern existed and a time after which it no longer exists. Since it can only make its entrance on and exit from the stage of history all in one piece, it is necessary to posit a revolution both to get it on and to get it off. That is precisely what Polanyi has done. He identifies the self-regulating market with "liberalism" and with the civilization of the nineteenth century. The Industrial Revolution, he says, was not a technological change but was the currency, land, and poor law legislation of England in the two decades after Waterloo. This revolution ushered in the self-regulating market. To make this thesis stick he has to twist the history of the eighteenth century into an unrecognizable shape by contending that it was a period of "interventionism," and to pretend that archaic survivals of Tudor social legislation interposed real obstacles to the operation of free markets instead of being mere peripheral nuisances. Having created a revolution to produce the summary birth of his culture pattern, Polanyi has no trouble in finding another revolution to bring about its demise, the fascist revolution of the 1930's. Yet while the conception of a self-regulating market doubtless showed signs of morbidity (or perhaps suffered a sea change) both before and after the rise of fascism, the idea has not disappeared. Those of us who listened to the campaign oratory of 1944 may suspect that Mr. Polanyi called the coroner before the body was cold.

The two essential requirements of the culture-pattern method—simplicity and unchangeability—result in a further distortion in *The Great Transformation*, the arbitrary threefold identification of the idea of self-regulation, liberalism, and nineteenth century civilization. Although the means by which the Benthamite founders of liberalism pursued their end was the self-regulating market, the end

was the attainment of human welfare and the amelioration of human suffering by means of legislation based on the empirical investigation of social facts. Most self-professed liberals from the younger Mill through Hobhouse to Sir William Beveridge have felt that this end constituted the permanent essence of liberalism, while the means, the self-regulating market, far from being sacrosanct, should be modified in the light of further knowledge. In this sense the liberal creed is anything but obsolete; but of this development Polanyi has nothing to say. It is no accident that excepting the egregious Mises he quotes not a single classical economist after the time of Ricardo. The culture-pattern method does not allow for the internal transformation of the pattern itself.

Another almost quaint result of Polanyi's use of anthropological data is the reinstatement of the natural man. The trouble with the liberal creed of the self-regulating market, he says, was that it was not natural. The economic man with his "propensity to truck and barter" far from being natural is a figment of the imagination, and his creators were trying to impose on society a utopia, against which men for self-protection set up the barriers that "liberals" deplore. In a sense the criticism is justified, but when the author turns around and on the basis of the customs of the Kaffirs and Trobriand Islanders constructs a "natural society" of a rather idyllic sort based on "reciprocity" and "redistribution," he presents a prettied-up version of the noble savage, the natural man of the eighteenth century, that is no more convincing than Adam Smith's eternal haggler. The truth of the matter is that any doctrine about the nature of man that attains the minimum consistency necessary to make it useful in a program of social action perforce does violence to the infinite variety of humanity. This is unfortunate, and it has resulted and probably will result in untold human suffering, but since no social action is possible otherwise, the only alternative to imperfection is stagnation.

It is the paradox of *The Great Transformation* that the merits of the book, the shrewd insights it exhibits throughout, are not irrelevant to Polanyi's distorted perspective but instead flow from it, or rather from the fact that he does approach the data of history with a considered point of view. He finds meaning in events and sees connections among them that historians with no coherent and reasoned point of view tend to overlook. And this is precisely the reason that "outsiders" are taking over the professional historian's work. They may see some meanings that are not there. Frequently they see connections that are there and that we missed because in our hearts we were not looking for much of anything. If we historians find the "outsiders" a bit bumptious and their vast generalizations about how things happened somewhat dubious, still we cannot afford to seal ourselves off from them. Rather we should examine their work with that active and receptive skepticism that T. H. Huxley once recommended, using the one instrument of which our training has made us masters, a sharp and vivid sense of the nature of historical evidence. By such means, and to the profit of their proponents, promising approaches to historical data can rapidly be cleared of the weird debris

that usually clutters them, and historians at the same time may gain a share of the lively insights that are the reward of pioneering.

Washington, D. C.

J. H. HEXTER

CITIZEN TOUSSAINT. By *Ralph Korngold*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1944. Pp. xvii, 358. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Charles D. Hazen once remarked that Lacour-Gayet's four-volume work on Talleyrand was a good, not a great biography. But he unqualifiedly pronounced Trevelyan's life of Macaulay a great biography. The chief basis for these judgments perhaps was the attitude of each of the two biographers toward his subject. Lacour-Gayet could see little good in the famous diplomat; he could neither forgive nor forget the treachery to Napoleon. Trevelyan on the other hand recounted in glowing terms the virtues and accomplishments of his celebrated uncle-historian.

If sympathy with his subject were the sole criterion by which to evaluate Mr. Korngold's study of Toussaint L'Ouverture, it would rate high. The tone of the book is indicated in the foreword. After noting that the Negro leader was a slave for forty-seven out of the fifty-nine years of his existence, the author asks the challenging question: "If Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln had had such a handicap to contend with who knows if they would have attained his stature?" In the pages that follow, divided into four parts (Haiti before Toussaint, Toussaint's climb to power, Toussaint rules, Toussaint's fall and death), Korngold shows how Toussaint surmounted his handicaps and became master of St. Domingue, France's most important colony, only to end his days a wretched captive in a French prison. For sheer ability and magnanimity of character this black man towered above others. Yet the Toussaint here depicted is not a "spotless saint." He practiced deception time and again, he enjoyed the favors of various mistresses white and colored, he looked the other way when Dessalines wreaked vengeance on the conquered mulattoes in the southern part of the colony—such were among his shortcomings.

A book like this puts the reviewer at a loss. Korngold does not pretend to have produced a work of research and has not. He points to the work by Pauléus Sannon as the only biography of Toussaint of value to the student. It would be idle, therefore, to complain because this fresh, vigorous interpretation of Toussaint's career lacks footnotes, omits from the nineteen-page bibliography a number of pertinent studies, and is marred by sundry errors of fact. The general effect is pleasing. The limitations of the biographical approach to history are not the fault of Mr. Korngold.

A great biography of Toussaint would present the national hero of Haiti, as does Mr. Korngold, as an extraordinary, even noble, figure who sought to maintain the freedom of his people. It would also do justice to Napoleon. It would

recognize that the sending of the Leclerc expedition against Toussaint in 1801 was merely one aspect of the reaction against the Revolution, a reflection of the desire of France to become again a respectable member of the family of nations which upheld slavery. In attempting to reduce the Negro general to subordination and set the sugar mills to turning anew for European profit, Napoleon hoped to accomplish what Pitt, with the aid of *émigré* plantation owners like Malouet, had failed to accomplish between 1793 and 1798. If Toussaint had sat in the Tuileries in Napoleon's place would he have done otherwise?

The National Archives

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE

THE FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR THE WEST INDIES, 1665-1713. By Nellis M. Crouse. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 324. \$4.00.)

IN this book Dr. Crouse continues his *French Pioneers in the West Indies* (1940) and traces an additional half century of European rivalry in the area. Since there is no good account in English of the French Caribbean colonies for the latter half of that period, it is unfortunate that in this work Anglo-French diplomacy is somewhat neglected and the economic aspects of the subject almost completely ignored. These years witnessed a continual struggle between England and France, with occasional breathing spells, which on one occasion amounted to a decade. The author is more impressed by the ability, enterprise, and daring of the French administrators, soldiers, and sailors than of the English. Although he gives several instances of rivalry between the various ranks of French officials in the area, the friction among the English administrators was even more pronounced, reaching unfortunate climaxes in the jealousy between Commodore Wilmot and Captain Lillingston and in the outright treason of two of Admiral Benbow's captains. Dr. Crouse considers that this phase of Anglo-French rivalry in the Caribbean ended in a stalemate, although he insists that the French West Indies entered a period of prosperity in the peaceful years following the Treaty of Utrecht.

This work is based upon printed sources and the better-known secondary works. The author has not explored the manuscript collections in the Public Record Office, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, and, much more significantly, those in the Archives Nationales. Such sources may well have been inaccessible when this book was written, but many transcripts and photostats from them are available in the Library of Congress and the Canadian archives at Ottawa. Nor have the contemporary pamphlets and periodicals been utilized, although many of the French and English ones are deeply concerned with the struggle for the West Indies, especially from 1689 to 1713. Even such well-known sources as the *Memoires de St. Simon*, or those of Souches, and the *Journal de Dangeau* have not been consulted, although they frequently give the latest news (or gossip) concerning English and French preparations for West Indian expeditions. Josiah Burchett's *Naval Transactions*, another important source, has not been cited.

Altogether the bibliography is a bit scanty for so extensive a topic and is not annotated. Better-known secondary works, such as Commander J. H. Owen's *War at Sea under Queen Anne, 1702-1708* and V. T. Harlow, *Christopher Codrington*, are omitted. Two of the reviewer's articles are listed, but a third, which is quite as pertinent, was missed. Although these criticisms suggest a counsel of perfection, such is not unattainable, as is shown by S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (1912), which discusses the economic aspects of the problem and is based upon a wide reading of unpublished as well as printed sources.

The work contains few errors, although it includes the customary misstatements (p. 250) about the Spanish Succession in 1700, which Sir Richard Lodge did his best to correct some years ago in an article in *History*. Although the narrative is clear, it would be made far more interesting if special maps of the separate islands had been prepared to illustrate the military campaigns. Despite all these criticisms, this is the best account in English of the latter half of the period. Fortunately, the footnotes are where every historian feels they should be.

Indiana University

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN

BRITISH ENTERPRISE IN NIGERIA. By *Arthur Norton Cook*, Professor of History, Temple University. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Pp. ix, 330. \$3.50.)

IN the preface Professor Cook makes the claim that his is a detached point of view. This is a bold claim for an author to make of his own book, and it is, therefore, pleasant to be able to report that Professor Cook has indeed approached the history of Nigeria with an open mind. This probably also explains why he was so successful in obtaining help from Lord Lugard and other important actors in the last half century of Nigerian history.

Based for the most part upon printed sources, some of them not easily available, this book gives a straightforward account of the political development and the diplomatic background of the largest and most important British colony in West Africa. In a useful and clear fashion it gives the main facts of Nigerian history. By its side there is room for several descriptive studies of the other African colonies. Professor Cook is quite right in pointing out the neglect of African studies in this country and abroad.

Foundation studies of the African colonies are necessary in order that a still more essential task may be undertaken—the modern re-evaluation of imperialism, whether in Africa or elsewhere. The time has come for modern scholarship to go beyond J. A. Hobson, the Neo-Marxians, and the school of sentimental anthropology. Historical research on imperialism in England, France, and America is in a rut. The type of work done by W. M. Macmillan in England and J. H. Bocke in Holland has so far apparently attracted little attention. It is probably true that the war has been partly to blame for this neglect.

The capital problems in imperial history are no longer the fairly straightforward accounts of diplomacy, political institutions, and commerce. How have the centuries or the generations of contact with the Western world transformed the native races of the colonial regions? What happened to native institutions when they were compelled to carry the weight of Western individualism, modern science, capitalistic money-mindedness, expensive means of transportation, cigarettes, and taxes? How far has native society been drawn out of its own economy into vulnerable dependence upon a capricious world economy? What new problems have these transformations engendered? If there continues to be such a thing as trusteeship in the postwar world, what should be its aim? Should it be to preserve native institutions in the name of indirect rule and the dual mandate, or should it endeavor to stimulate the new forms of life that are arising out of the ruins of the old?

In two final chapters Professor Cook hints at some of these problems but does not pursue them. His book does, however, open the road to these problems. Let those who are attracted by them, however, remember that a conventional training in historical method, or a conventional trip to the Public Record Office, will not get them very far.

Cornell University

C. W. DE KIEWIET

WITHOUT BITTERNESS: WESTERN NATIONS IN POST-WAR AFRICA.

By *A. A. Nwafor Orizu*. (New York: Creative Age Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 395. \$3.00.)

THIS interesting volume gives American readers, for the first time, an opportunity to comprehend certain aspects of colonial policy in Africa from the viewpoint of the educated and articulate African. The author, who has attended mission schools in his own country and three universities in the United States, has accumulated a wealth of comparative historical and political data which give his gentle approach to the problems of his people an excellent background.

The modern African, *Orizu* implies, holds no grudges against European powers, but takes, instead, a positive attitude toward the future of Africa based on the following postulates: (1) that Africans are perfectly capable of governing themselves now, (2) that in order to compete on an equal basis with European nations Africans need to know more about international commerce and politics, and (3) that in order to deal in an equitable fashion with a self-governing Africa, other world powers must know more about Africans. The problem, thus, is one of education, both for Africans and for Europeans.

It should be mentioned, as a caution for the reader not already familiar with the African scene, that *Orizu* has, to some extent, confused the situation and aspirations of British West Africa with those of Africa as a whole, so that at no time are we quite sure of the degree of validity of his generalizations concerning

"African" attitudes. However, as concerns West Africa, Orizu's interpretations of the historical and contemporary scene, as well as his specific suggestions for the improvement of native administration, are well grounded and stimulating.

An extremely interesting section of *Without Bitterness* deals with the social philosophy which Orizu calls "zikism," a name adapted from that of Nnamdi Azikiwe, the foremost proponent of the official social faith of the Nigerian youth movement. This pragmatic program stresses education, democracy, African unity, and co-operation with European rulers to any extent which appears to further the cause of African freedom.

Although Orizu has mastered the intricacies of English prose style, his use of philosophical generalizations which parallel West African proverbs, his willingness to draw from legend for historical materials, and his lapses into fervent and fluid oratory, serve to reassure the reader that, in spite of an impressive Western veneer acquired through his experiences in American universities, the author is thoroughly and genuinely an African. And it is this quality, even more than his impressive display of well-marshalled facts and arguments, which gives his book *Without Bitterness* its essential validity as an interpretation of colonial policy "from the under Side."

Northwestern University

RICHARD A. WATERMAN

GREAT SOLDIERS OF WORLD WAR II. By Major H. A. DeWeerd, Associate Editor, *Infantry Journal*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1944. Pp. 316. \$3.75.)

As the author himself admits, it is a bit early to attempt any serious evaluation of the major events of the war and of the leaders responsible for their direction. On the other hand, to cite Major DeWeerd's quotation of an old saw: "Truths can be seen wandering about the battlefield naked on the night after an encounter but by the next morning they are all in uniform." His effort to strike a balance between those two extremes is largely successful. At least it marks a long advance over the snap judgment which characterizes the day-by-day appraisals offered the reading public by the commentators in the press.

From Gamelin (definitely not a "Great Soldier of World War II") down to those like Eisenhower whose greatest days may still lie in the future, the reader is given a series of human pictures in broad cameo. The elements of strength and weakness in the character of each, and the little foibles as well—Montgomery's hobnailed egotism, MacArthur's flights into Biblical hyperbole, Hitler's paranoiac ecstasies—are combined into a series of vivid sketches of the men who have figured importantly in the events of the war. The major operations from which these "great captains" emerged into the limelight are skillfully employed to measure their effectiveness in action.

A number of well-intrenched myths are neatly dispatched. For instance,

Rommel as a beer-hall bully, lifted to high rank in the military hierarchy through the leverage of personal services to Hitler in the days of Nazi infancy, disappears. We discover instead a youth of middle-class origin entering the army in 1910 as a *Fahnenjunker*, serving with distinction on various fronts of World War I, pursuing a conventional military career during the twenty years of the truce, and eventually "labeled as a 100 per cent Nazi only when he was retreating or his army in trouble." Sheer merit brought him to the top. Rommel's brag and bluster may have irritated friends as well as foes, and his sail trimming to meet Nazidom's political gales made him *persona non grata* to the Junker generals. Such shortcomings in no way touched the fact that Rommel was a master of the strategy and tactics of the modern mechanized blitz. The author likewise disposes of the oft-reported "dismissals" of Timoshenko by Stalin, although in this instance the invariably closemouthed policy of Moscow leaves the evidence a bit thin. Timoshenko, it appears, was the ideal leader for breaking the heart of the German armies which were driving for Moscow in 1941. When a slashing Russian counteroffensive was wanted, Zhukov or some other leader was called in, while Timoshenko appeared on some other front where shaky defense lines had to be rewelded.

Military students will quarrel with the author on certain scores. For the most part the shortcomings of his interim report are inevitable in so early an appraisal of military leaders whose careers are far from run. Even without thought to the events since D-day in France, and particularly the recent German break-through into Belgium, Rundstedt belongs in any list that includes Wavell or Rommel—or any other leader cited. The same must be said for Yamashita, conqueror of Singapore after a campaign marked by a high order of generalship. Like claims to consideration could be made for Koneff, Zhukov, and Guderian, to mention only a few who have made their mark as troop leaders. A second category is equally deserving of attention, namely the men who worked in the field of strategy or of high politics and strategy. History has made due acknowledgment of von Schlieffen's claims to fame as a genius in the drafting of war plans. In the light of Germany's military successes to 1942, is not Brauchitsch's claim to recognition equally valid, even though, like Schlieffen, he saw his plans largely nullified by the "intuition" of higher authority? And what of Tojo, chief architect of the clique who designed Japan's military dominance of East Asia and the western Pacific? If we must have Gamelin as a gravedigger of France, Tojo surely merits a similar title as slave to a false military concept. And, turning to the United States, no one can be blind to the fact of General Marshall's contribution in his double capacity as creator of the modern American Army and co-ordinator in the supreme task of mobilizing the full resources of the nations opposing the Axis. Nor can one overlook the part played by our General Arnold in the forging and employment of an air arm surpassing the dreams of the Douhet school. Lastly, when one recalls Berlin's cold-blooded conclusion that the supply problem of the Allies would be insuperable, he must confess that the Somervell motto, "the impossible takes a

little longer," has primed the drive to a new high water mark in military production and logistics.

Major DeWeerd goes to the top rung of overall strategy to select for study such figures as the government heads of Britain, Germany, and China. DeGaulle is added for good measure, chiefly however as a prophet without honor in his own land, vainly attempting to convert his countrymen to the need of building a mechanized war machine. Conspicuously absent are Stalin and President Roosevelt. However obscure the details of their parts in directing the major strategy of the war effort, one can have no doubt as to where they will rank in the final record.

Most of these omissions can be accounted for on the ground that military secrecy precludes public discussion at this time of the part played by certain key individuals in the war. That black-out particularly covers our own leading nationals. Such an explanation does not suffice in the case of Stalin, leaving one to wonder whether considerations of policy, or of Moscow's secretiveness—or both—are responsible. In any event it is to be hoped that the author will look on his presentation as a first draft. The critical days ahead which will determine the hour and measure of our victory should bring to the fore not a few leaders who now stand just short of full recognition. It was late in the day when Sherman and Sheridan forged to the front. Grant would surely have lapsed into obscurity if President Lincoln had not backed, against powerful opposition, the general who trained on whiskey. And both Washington and Robert E. Lee would have been doomed to secondary roles if the cabals aimed at their elimination had been successful. The full race must be run before sound evaluation is possible. Major DeWeerd has given us an excellent interim report. That was apparently the limit of his objective. The shape of future events and the lifting of the black-out will provide the basis for the mature appraisal demanded by the importance of the subject.

United States Military Academy

HERMAN BEUKEMA

Ancient and Medieval History

THE THEME OF PLATO'S REPUBLIC. By *Robert George Hoerber*. [Washington University, Department of Greek.] (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House. 1944. Pp. x, 119.)

THE author undertakes to prove that the *Republic* is not a political treatise, as its title implies, nor even a philosophical definition of justice but simply an ethical discussion of justice, as indicated by an alternative title, *On Justice*, the purpose of the outlined state being merely to "illustrate the soul of the individual" (p. 113). In support of this thesis, he lists a series of putative omissions and inadequacies: the disharmonies in the discussion on political legislation, such as the admission that the ideal construction is not a possible state; the treatment of the subject as

not being exhaustive; what he claims to have been a philosophical rather than a political purpose back of Plato's visits to Sicily; the lack of harmony between the political theory of the *Republic* on one hand, and the *Laws*, *Statesman*, and *Epistles* on the other; as well as Aristotle's interpretation of the work.

Dr. Hoerber ignores the fact that Plato himself (surely a first-class authority upon the theme of his own works) called the *Republic* a discourse *On Government* (*Timaeus* 17c), and besides goes so far as to express belief in the claim that Plato himself was responsible for the subtitle ("appears to rest upon good evidence," p. 76), a faith which familiarity with Ernst Nachmanson's masterly study of the titles of Greek books (1941; supplemented by F. W. Lenz in *A.J.P.* 65 [1944] 315-6), and with L. W. Daly's identical conclusions for Latin (1943), would presumably have rendered vain. Furthermore the source of Diogenes Laertius (3.60) called the *Republic* "a political dialogue," and Proclus (*Comm.* I, 9, 10 ff.) asserts that the subject matter is "politics and true righteousness." More important even than Proclus, because its source is pre-Neoplatonic (perhaps Theon himself), will be found to be the admirable treatment by Alfarabi (teacher of Avicenna), as now available in the edition and translation by E. Rosenthal and R. Walzer (1943), 24 and 25, the substance of which is that Plato was looking for a new social order, one that was fit for the life of a good man, since the contemporary order was incompatible with a true *vita humana*. Finally, if imperfections, whether putative or actual, in the execution of some intricate plan can be allowed to serve as conclusive proof that no such plan had ever been contemplated in the first instance, then a very considerable portion of the world's literature must necessarily be regarded as having had some purpose other than that which it has professed, or, in not a few instances, none at all.

The author has read the *Republic* with great care, he is thoughtful, and he argues ingeniously, but he has taken somewhat too little account of what his predecessors have already said on his subject. So imperfect, indeed, on several different counts is the bibliography that probably a more favorable impression would have been created had there been none at all. In the study of a work like Plato's *Republic* to ignore such names as Shorey, Wilamowitz, Schneider, and Greene (for the *Scholion*), among many others, is something almost astonishing. Especially unfortunate is the omission of an admirable paper by M. T. McClure (in *Studies in the History of Ideas*, Columbia University [1925] II; 27-48), with exactly the same title as the author's own dissertation. Mr. McClure has made it clear that the chief concern of the *Republic* is the age-old problem of how to be happy though good; or, as he puts it: the true thesis of the *Republic* is to show that "when the institutions of society are modeled in accordance with nature, the good life will also be the happy life" (p. 28). But Mr. McClure does not worry about a dichotomy between ethics and politics, which for a fifth century Athenian, as Plato was down to the period of his early maturity, would probably have been repellent, although certain aspects of such an occasional problem had been partially

foreshadowed in the *Antigone* and especially in the *Troades*. The Aristotelian separation of the two, although it remained for Aristotle himself chiefly a mere practical convenience in the classification of subject matter for his lectures, was nevertheless symptomatic of a change in attitude toward the sum total of social thought. This became conspicuous in the fourth century, ominously for all future time, and not least of all for our own age, when the morality of a private individual and that of an agent of the state only too often appear to be not entirely identical. In other words, the author's problem, as far as Plato himself is concerned, perhaps did not even quite exist; and although Plato would have recognized it, it may be doubted if he would have allowed it to be posed as sharply as does Dr. Hoerber.

University of Illinois

W. A. OLDFATHER and MARIAN HARMAN

MICHIGAN PAPYRI. Volume V, PAPYRI FROM TEBTUNIS, Part II. Edited by Elinor Mullett Husselman, Arthur E. R. Boak, William F. Edgerton. In two volumes. Volume VI, PAPYRI AND OSTRACA FROM KARANIS. Edited by Herbert Chayyim Youtie and Orsamus Merrill Pearl. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Volumes XXIX, XLVII.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1944. Pp. xx, 446; xxi, 252, plates. Vol. V, \$5.00; Vol. VI, \$4.00.)

THE activities of the *grapheion*, or record office, of the village of Tebtunis in the early half of the first century are already known through the registers and accounts published in *Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I (*Michigan Papyri*, Vol. II [1933]). The 131 texts published in the present volume include a few more fragmentary documents of this kind and a variety of other documents for the most part prepared by the *grapheion*: petitions to strategus or exegete, a public oath, three tax receipts, ordinances and other documents of guilds, contracts of sale, leases, divisions of property, loans, receipts, etc.

The *grapheion* documents may be all ephemeral rather than official file copies. "None . . . show any evidence of having been part of a roll" (i.e., the *tomos sunkollesimos*, which was the record office "file"). There are preliminary drafts left incomplete until certain names or certain measurements, boundaries or what not could be ascertained. A few have marks indicating cancellation. Many were prepared as duplicates for the contracting parties but were not taken by them because they did not need or want them or did not want to pay for them. However, taken together, they give a more complete idea of the amount and kinds of paper work done in the *grapheion* than the merely enumerative registers.

"The contracts and the subscriptions . . . do not individually contain much that is new or important," but there are always new words and new names, new situations and other new information of one sort or another in such collections of texts. For example, there are three new names of strategi; we learn that the emperor

Claudius had a private estate in Egypt; and it appears that the *grapheion* was under the direct charge of the *nomographos*, at least in this period.

There is a good deal of human interest in several of the property divisions, in the petitions to the strategus in cases of robbery and assault, etc. Certain groups of documents are connected with one another by the names of the contracting parties and reveal the business complications in the life of small property owners with large families. The editors have been at some pains to chart four families, each of a score of people, who bought and sold to each other or divided among themselves everything from a fallen house to an inheritance of a hundred acres of land and thirteen slaves.

One of the divisions of property (no. 321) is stated to be effective after the death of the father, while another (no. 322) is "from the present time." The editors, however, believe that immediate possession was given in both cases, though undivided in the first case. It is true that in both cases the father—in no. 322, the father and mother—are to receive during their lives regular payments of food and money; but the father in no. 321 receives only twelve artabas of wheat and twelve silver drachmas per year, and these are all paid by the oldest son, who receives the largest share of the property, whereas the father and mother in no. 322 receive twenty-four artabas of wheat, seventy-two cotulae of oil and three hundred silver drachmas. Was this difference due to the considerable difference in size between the estates or a difference in standard of living, or did the father in no. 321 continue with his farming as well as with his flute playing, on which his eldest son was to pay his tax?

One of the petitions (no. 231) is interesting in itself and also because of the difficulty of translating it. One of the villagers had made false accusations ("sycophancy") and assaults, and his victims had started procedures against him. Even when he was under accusation he attacked Kronion, as the editors explain "in the hope of frightening him to drop his complaint," but as they translate, "wishing to hound him by penalties so that, after having handed in charges, Kronion perished because of his poverty."

Volume VI, *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis*, may be considered a continuation of Volume IV, *Tax Rolls from Karanis* (1936), and of the Michigan "Humanistic Series," Volume XXXIV, *Greek Ostraca* (1935), and Volumes XXV and XXX, *Karanis . . . Report of Excavations* (1931, 1933).

The 65 papyri and 272 ostraca all come from the University of Michigan's excavations at Karanis, and, since their dates range from the second or first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., it would have been interesting to know something more of the respective areas and levels at which the finds were made (like the indications given in *Greek Ostraca*).

The majority of the texts are concerned with tax payments and with declarations, registrations, etc., for tax purposes. In no. 365, "Excerpt from the Minutes of the Epistrategus," the name of the epistrategus is new in the list of officials, and

some of the special privileges of Antinoites are specifically indicated. No. 368 gives a new terminus of the strategus Sarapion's tenure. In connection with no. 370, the editors bring up to date the list of known census registrations, and explain those which omit names of occupants of the property reported, as being made by or for absentee owners. On the basis of no. 375, the government's annual revenue in grain from the ninety-four cleruchies of Karanis in the second century is estimated at no less than 55,000 to 65,000 artabas.

In no. 383 the occurrence of the abbreviations *met*, *ent*, etc. (probably some form of double dating) are examples of problems not yet solved but advanced toward solution by additional evidence. (Cf. the reviewer's comments on *Columbia Papyri* [Greek Series, Vol. II], in *American Journal of Philology*, LVI [1935], 170.)

In no. 421 (a petition) the *archephodos* of Karanis pursuing thieves into Bacchias is himself arrested by the *archephodos* of Bacchias. "Nos. 422-426 are part of a family archive" (of which sixteen other documents are listed) and are petitions of one Gemellus against various abuses. No. 424 may "be unique among petitions . . . in its revelation of forbidden magical practices," the offender throwing a *brephos* ("embryo"), "intending to harm me in with malice"—or shall we say, "to encompass me with a curse"?

Both volumes are competently edited and equipped with full sets of indexes, and constitute useful additions to the corpus of source material for the economic and social history of Greco-Roman Egypt.

Brown University

HENRY B. VAN HOESSEN

STUDIES IN THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS: SOME IMPERIAL VIRTUES OF TIBERIUS AND DRUSUS JULIUS CAESAR. By *Robert Samuel Rogers*, Professor of Latin and Roman Studies, Duke University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 181. \$2.25.)

THIS volume, first presented in large part in the form of lectures at the Johns Hopkins University, provides a welcome addition to Professor Rogers' thorough and illuminating studies of the times of the emperor Tiberius. The first part is devoted to a discussion of "some imperial virtues of Tiberius," namely, his *liberalitas*, *providentia*, *clementia*, and *moderatio*, the second to a historical and biographical study of Tiberius' son, Drusus Julius Caesar. In both the author carefully reviews all the ancient evidence that may bear upon his subject, and his study of Drusus is the more welcome in view of the compendious account now available in *RE*.

Under the Augustan regime public and private interest, loyalty to the emperor, and imperial propaganda alike led, not without influence from Hellenistic models, to increasing religious and secular emphasis upon the virtues of the ruler and created a tradition which Tiberius had to follow almost in his own despite. Since a

wise Liberality is a part of Providence, Rogers properly discusses the two virtues together, and for Providence uses Charlesworth's definition: "that foresight which . . . helped to secure the continued and peaceful existence of the state," was revealed in "the constant care and almost paternal solicitude which Augustus showed for the welfare of his subjects," and is manifested in three ways, "by caring for the welfare of the people, by providing for a stable succession, by warding off conspiracies." It is, in fact, very near to what we should call today a clear sense of official responsibility. The review, largely chronological, of possible examples of Tiberius' acts of Liberality and Providence does not focus clearly which are definitely so labeled in our sources and which are not, and the ancient allegations of parsimony are deliberately laid aside. The known *liberalitates* fall considerably below the Augustan standard in amount (*cf.* *ESAR* 5.14 ff.), but on the whole confirm our view of Tiberius' wisdom. Real disasters and genuine need brought sympathetic and generous action. It is somewhat ironical that his economies withdrew money from circulation and helped to precipitate a crisis that made further Liberality necessary, and that the Providence which detects conspiracies so thoroughly defeated the Providence which supplies a well-trained and responsible successor. Was it all due to Tiberius' ill luck? The author's conclusion, that Tiberius, "*not less than his predecessor* [*italics mine*] possessed the *providentia* . . . which the good ruler must manifest or fail of being a good ruler," is perhaps too sweeping. In the discussion of Clemency, Rogers rightly reminds us that this virtue is exercised, not upon the innocent, but upon the guilty or those presumed to be guilty, and makes good against Sutherland his position that there were examples of Clemency throughout the reign. The occasion of the *Ara Clementiae* in 28 A.D. is more problematical. Rogers holds that it celebrates the decision to banish Agrippina and Nero upon charges less serious than treason. Yet Tacitus asserts that action against them came only after Livia's protection was removed by death in 29, and gives little hint of the nature of the *pavor internus* (*Ann.* 4.74.1-3) that led to the voting of the altar. The evidence for actual conspiracy on Agrippina's part remains indirect, and the date implied in Suetonius (*Cal.* 10.1) may be mistaken. His Moderation entitles Tiberius to a special place among Roman emperors, and Rogers has performed a useful service in recounting the examples and emphasizing their significance. He has however hardly reckoned with the problem raised when Moderation is shown by refusing honors which are quietly accepted later (Taylor, *TAPhA* 60 [1929] 87 ff.). This leads to a more general criticism. One misses a general discussion how far the notion and practice of these virtues shows any development from the Augustan models.

In the section on Drusus Rogers makes out a probable case for the view that he and Germanicus were *Principes Iuventutis* by 9 A.D. His achievements in Illyricum gain deserved recognition, both his firmness with the mutinous legions and later his diplomatic success in establishing the *Regnum Vannianum*. The beginning of his quarrel with Sejanus is plausibly dated about 20 A.D. One further

point: in discussing the Gytheate decree Rogers follows Rostovtzeff in referring the "Aphrodite of Drusus Caesar" to Livilla; yet she is coupled with the "Victory of Germanicus," which no one has had the hardihood to refer to Agrippina. It appears that two virtues or qualities are wanted. Sulla Felix was termed in Greek Epaphroditus and was devoted to the cult of Venus Felix, while Felicitas and Victoria alike became connected with Venus. This gives support to Taylor's suggestion (*loc. cit.* 88) that Felicitas is probably the meaning here. We should then have a related and balanced pair, the Victory of Germanicus and the Felicity of Drusus.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

CAESAR AND CHRIST: A HISTORY OF ROMAN CIVILIZATION AND OF CHRISTIANITY FROM THEIR BEGINNINGS TO A.D. 325. By *Will Durant*. [The Story of Civilization, III.] (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1944. Pp. xvi, 751. \$5.00.)

THE publishers of this volume tell us that the success of Dr. Durant's *Story of Philosophy* (1926) made it possible for him to devote his entire attention thereafter to the large-scale history of civilization which he had been planning since 1914. Two volumes of this history have already appeared, *Our Oriental Heritage* (1935) and *The Life of Greece* (1939). Each was well received by the general public while scholars admitted that in them popularization maintained very high standards. There is no reason to doubt that equal success will attend the present volume, which deals with the history of Rome from the Etruscans to Constantine. Dr. Durant's style is easy and sober, enlivened with humor; his allotment of space to the various aspects of Roman history is good; his judgments are interesting though not very profound; illustrations are well chosen. He has written a much better book than might be anticipated from publicity advertising it as written in terms from yesterday's headlines, and it is even possible that the author squirmed a bit when his publishers hailed him as a new Gibbon.

An academic critic does not find it easy to review such a book for a learned journal because it was not written for scholars and its author makes no pretensions to scholarship. He obviously had a certain amount of training in the classics as a youth, but when he relies upon this training the results are not happy. Thus he remarks that "every schoolboy knows the story of the *Aeneid*," but he goes badly wrong in his own summary of that story. He is more successful when he relies upon modern writers, for his choice of authorities is usually good though his acquaintance with historical literature is limited largely to works such as Ferrero and the volumes in Henri Beer's series, which discuss the subject for the general reader. Dr. Durant tends to exaggerate striking statements made by such writers. A zealous mistake-finder would criticize something on nearly every page, but, except in moments of scholarly wrath, he would probably admit that most of these mistakes concern details that are not important for the story as a whole. The book

should never be used as a work of reference, but its version of Roman history is interesting and moderately accurate. Dr. Durant includes a fuller account of early Christianity than is usual in such works, and in it he does not try to carry water on both shoulders. He once studied for the Roman Catholic priesthood but now he approaches the subject from a liberal point of view, with Guignebert as his principal guide. He gives a sympathetic account of the life and teachings of Jesus, though he feels called upon to censure our Lord gently (p. 562) for being "unbiologically harsh on the desire of a man for a maid." It may also be remarked in passing that here, as in his earlier volumes, it is principally in matters pertaining to sex that the author permits himself that luridity which his publishers call to our attention.

Dr. Durant announces plans to complete his great work in two further volumes, promised at five-year intervals. It may seem strange that so modern-minded a man as he should devote three fifths of a world history to the period before 325 A.D. He will probably find no difficulty in covering the Middle Ages in the next volume, to be entitled *The Age of Faith*, but an equally full account of modern times would require at least three volumes the size of the one before us. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the author will complete his ambitious undertaking for, in spite of its many weaknesses in detail, this history of civilization is a work well worth writing.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

UNIVERSITY RECORDS AND LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Lynn Thorndike*, Professor of History in Columbia University. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor, Number XXXVIII.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 476. \$5.50.)

THE university is a tangible heritage from their European forebears that Americans can readily understand and appreciate. Now those who will read have conveniently at hand in this rich collection of documents illustrating its history from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, translations containing information previously hidden in the medieval Latin, French, or German of the originals. Many of the selections are from the Paris chartulary and from the collections for Bologna, but there is great variety, and few readers, if any, will have easily accessible in their own libraries all the sources from which Professor Thorndike has gathered these materials. His wide knowledge of medieval intellectual history and his expert control of the bibliography of so many phases of medieval life are abundantly reflected in the choices he has made here. Modern editions and also the older compilations have been grist for his mill, and, happily, he has chosen to include selections from manuscript sources as well. The most significant of this type is the "Commendation of the Clerk" (Vatic. Palat. lat. 1252), translated on pages 201-35 and given in the original Latin in Appendix I. This document is rich in information of many sorts and in particular has much to say about students below

university grade. Its long opening section, however, may prove tedious reading for those not familiar with medieval ways. Other selections from manuscripts are No. 118, "Law Advertising at Bologna"; No. 119, "Texts Required for A. B. Degree at Erfurt, 1420"; No. 122, "Academic Itinerary, 1422-1427"; No. 126, "Quodlibeta of 1429 and Before"; and No. 143, "Academic Exercises at Ferrara." Like any such collection, this too must be accepted as reflecting the point of view and particular interests of the compiler. Some would exclude certain of the selections in favor of others; possibly some would wish more references to Oxford and Cambridge; the reviewer might include some of the vivid sections in the Paris proctors' books—but what Thorndike has given has been chosen with learning, skill, keen insight, and deep understanding of one of the most interesting phases of medieval life. If much that he has included is familiar to the scholar, he has enriched the familiar by so thoroughly garnering his materials and casting his nets so wide. Surely this is a volume to stand in every library close to the Powicke-Emden edition of Rashdall and near d'Irsay's more general but useful survey of university life.

The 176 selections in the book are arranged in chronological order. The brief introduction supplies information helpful to readers seeking to group documents according to place of origin or searching for topical information, and the index furnishes references to the many important and distinguished names that appear in the documents. For the reviewer this chronological arrangement seems most satisfactory, for, as Thorndike points out, medieval universities were all very much alike and regional differences and peculiarities were not characteristic as they are in universities today. The originals from which these translations were made are in themselves rarely classic in form and no translator can hide cumbersome sentences and paragraph structure, prolix argument, and other infelicities of the medieval writers. In a few instances even Professor Thorndike could not quite make out what the medieval author had in mind.

As these documents are read seriatim few will fail to remark the faith academic groups seem always to have had in the making of rules and in passing resolutions. In fact the multiplicity of rules and regulations indicates implicitly how ineffective and fruitless so much academic debate could be. One wonders just how many seasoned Parisian lecturers mended their platform manner in compliance with the decree of 1355 (No. 83). At any rate the materials gathered together here give precious insight into so much that is eternally human. Who will fail to recognize those masters who, "moved by envy . . . scorn to admit well prepared subordinates to professorial chairs" (No. 70), or those students who "attend classes but make no effort to learn anything" (No. 71)? And it takes little imagination to picture the consternation at Heidelberg in 1396 that brought forth a rector's proclamation forbidding students to catch the burghers' pigeons. And what anxieties that boy wonder, Fernando of Cordova, must have caused the Parisian masters following his arrival in town in 1445 (No. 148). It is evident that not all the enactments of medieval university bodies were immediately or even ultimately put into effect. A

careful reading of the English proctors' records shows, for instance, that in all probability the order (No. 85) of May, 1358, closing the Street of Straw at Paris was not carried out until some years later. Professor Thorndike has made a real contribution to university studies in Appendix II where he provides a useful map and discusses the foundation and location of colleges at Paris in the later Middle Ages, a topic which Rashdall covers only briefly and where even his recent editors are too frequently in error and one still needing further careful investigation.

Alameda, California

GRAY C. BOYCE

LIBERTIES AND COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: COLLECTED STUDIES IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND TOPOGRAPHY. By *Helen M. Cam*, Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xiv, 267. \$3.75.)

THIS is a "collection of sixteen studies in medieval local history linked together by the belief that medieval local government can only be understood through much short range study of particular places and institutions." It accomplishes fully the usual intent of such publications; to reach more readers than have the separate pieces scattered (in this instance from 1923 to 1939) through reviews and bulletins or as delivered before learned societies; also, and of greater importance, to make clearer the general drift and result of so large a fraction of the author's life work.

The specialized nature of these studies has led Miss Cam, in her valuable introduction, to comment on the relation between the antiquarian and the historian. The former, she says, "holds the live end of an unbroken thread running back into the past he is exploring." The historian often does that too, especially since the momentous day when Maitland taught us how to go "beyond" Domesday. Perhaps the author would classify her "The Hundred outside the North Gate of Oxford" as antiquarian or her "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism" as historical; but rigid classification is not needed, for here surely we have antiquarianism of a sane and helpful type. Throughout we are made to feel a persisting antiquity of institutions from "beyond" the Conquest, the "inveterate dislike of scrapping the obsolete or obsolescent." Even things Celtic are not beyond the pale. We see strong kings as preservers of localisms, from Alfred to the Plantagenets; a type of feudalism constructed "which made it a political education for the privileged"; privilege as the basis of corresponding duty; and the agelong habit of all classes, "transmitted through Anglo-Saxon, Dane, and Norman, of accepting responsibility for the order, liberty, and justice of our own neighborhoods." It would be hard to find a greater theme than this last, and sometime the long story of political responsibility must be told. The author, in all her research, has found and interpreted material relating to it.

As would be expected from Miss Cam's other published work there is much here about the favorite old enigma of the hundred. She rather confirms its royal,

West Saxon source, overlaying, but not erasing, an older communal organization; and there are some newer things about groups of hundreds and the later private hundreds, where the laborious study of villein and free pedigrees, preserved through "the tenacious memory of the illiterate" has revealed an unexpected source. Other themes can be barely mentioned: controverting Professor Stephenson's theory of the later, Continental-like origin of boroughs; a rare bit of crucially needed comparative study, showing why the old popular judgment died out in France and did not in England; the sheriff's declining power paralleled by increasing duties as the instrument of central government, his office becoming professionalized; the quo warranto proceedings of Edward I, where the author is on such familiar ground, shown in their true intent and accomplishment, leaving the Earl Warrenne and his rusty sword very shadowy; emphasis on royal control of private jurisdiction—writs *vs.* "liberties"—writs from the writ of right on leading to control of, or a share in, the "liberties"; wise things said on social, economic, legal, military, and constitutional feudalism—pre-Conquest, post-Conquest, and "new"; and the last two studies (1939), dealing with early parliamentary constituencies, notably illustrating how the very objective work of a later generation has deflated and corrected older grandiose generalizations. Many diligent and modest followers of Maitland, Tout, *et al.* are making us know more about what our antecedent institutions actually were.

University of Minnesota

A. B. WHITE

THE EARLY HISTORY OF DEPOSIT BANKING IN MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE. By *Abbot Payson Usher*, Professor of Economics in Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume LXXV.] Volume I. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xx, 649. \$5.00.)

THE scope of this book is considerably greater than the title indicates. It is the first of two volumes, which, if the promised second is comparable in value to the present one, will constitute an excellent, and in certain respects a definitive analysis of a host of troublesome phases of the economic history of the Middle Ages and the centuries following. The first part of this volume, for example, on the structure and functions of the early credit system treats seven of the major aspects of the subject in as many chapters, each of which in turn brings into view in well-marked divisions almost as many subordinate phases of the subject indicated in the chapter heading. Primitive banks of deposit are satisfactorily described as an introduction to an important chapter on the development of early instruments of credit, leading the reader on to a discussion of the development of modern commercial paper. By way of the fairs and interregional clearance, less original than most other portions of the work, yet critically comprehensive in treatment, the author passes to a presentation of long-term lending and public debts. There follows an admirable chapter on the quantitative importance of credit in early and in modern monetary systems wherein a broad grasp of the

matter is displayed. The final chapter in the first part courageously attacks the complex subject of currencies in medieval and early modern Europe, wherein many controversial points are covered with a minimum of possible confusion to the reader. It is to be noted that the first part of the book is not limited to Spanish developments but aims at giving a general picture of banking and allied problems in Mediterranean Europe, which is conceived apparently as a background for the second part of the volume dealing especially with Spain. The author appears to deal sometimes inadequately with Italian developments, but doubtless this will not be true when the second volume promised is before us.

The second part of the volume, somewhat more than half of the whole, is a penetrating description of almost every conceivable phase of banking in Catalonia from 1240 to 1723. The eighteen chapters are focused mainly on deposit banking and credit creation. Here Professor Usher has made his most notable contribution, based on minute examination of manuscript materials; no pains have been spared to present what may be regarded as practically complete documentation of actualities. With actualities the author assuredly comes to a grip, heartily welcome when one recalls the errors and confusion prevalent in supposedly authoritative general historical and economic works. The subject matter, as the author modestly suggests in his preface, may not be novel, but certainly the treatment of the wealth of materials is significantly illuminating, not only for the history of Spain but by implication and inference for that of the whole Mediterranean region. The reader is left wishing the promised Italian volume were at hand from the same competent hand.

Professor Usher's volume will stand as a major contribution to the economic history of the period, one to which all workers in the field will perforce constantly refer. Idle indeed would be any list of minor queries concerning petty points upon which doubtless many students familiar with the field might dwell; to descend to minutiae in view of the high virtues of the author's work, broad in vision and at the same time founded on acute examination of very difficult materials, would be captious. In the appendixes are nine currency tables for Castile and Catalonia and a glossary of eighty pages of technical and administrative terms, Catalan-English, of commendable clarity, followed by five pages of English-Catalan, the purpose of which is less evident when one observes the care with which so many Catalan terms have already been defined and explained at length with what the reviewer supposes is authority and certainly is confidence. The bibliography of both manuscript material and printed literature is in keeping with the high standards maintained throughout the book; the index is satisfactory. The style and format of the book are all one would expect in excellence from the series of which it is the seventy-fifth. Not often are learned works in economic history so well written as is this study, wherein the English flows with a precision and charm the more attractive because apparently unstudied.

Modern European History

THE YALE EDITION OF HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Edited by *W. S. Lewis*. Volumes XI and XII, HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH MARY AND AGNES BERRY. Edited by *W. S. Lewis* and *A. Dayle Wallace* with the assistance of *Charles H. Bennett* and *Edwine M. Martz*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. lii, 378; viii, 402. \$15.00 per set.)

ALEXANDER Pope knew

... a reasonable woman,
Handsome and witty, yet a friend.

When over seventy years of age Horace Walpole discovered not one but two such paragons, young into the bargain. Their names were Mary and Agnes Berry. His letters to them in the course of the next eight years furnish most of the text for the volumes under review. Our own admiration for Mary Berry, the chief correspondent and Walpole's literary executrix, is tempered by the evidence, circumstantial to be sure, that she destroyed all but eleven of her own letters to Walpole. This fact combined with the existence of little hitherto unpublished material, one letter from Walpole and his "Book of Visitors," make the new volumes somewhat less interesting than their predecessors. On the other hand, the plan of classifying Walpole's letters according to the correspondent, followed throughout the edition, together with skillful editing have resulted in an effective addition to the series thus far published.

The subject matter of these letters is never momentous. "Trumpery," Walpole himself labeled it. The fact is that he did not select these friends to be his correspondents but as close companions. When he was obliged to depend on the post he wrote, so he said, as he would have talked: of himself, of them (*ad nauseam*), of Strawberry Hill, neighborhood gossip, and news as it now came to him only through callers or the papers. Witticisms, anecdotes, literary allusions were calculated to provoke gay returns in-kind. Sombre shadows of the French Revolution, however, frequently fell across the sunlit lawns of Strawberry Hill. Crimes done in the name of liberty raised doubts in Walpole's liberal mind.

Here are human documents presented in a form to make them more than ever useful as an entrance into this strange period of English history. Mary Berry was in a way an embodiment of an age in which Englishmen sought to hold back the hands of time: conservative, yes, but modern enough to declare "any sort or shadow of occupation for women" desirable (II, 123).

Admirable as are the notes, for the student of history they leave something to be desired, especially in connection with allusions to governmental institutions. For example, there is no reference to the droits of the admiralty, which Walpole obviously had in mind when he humorously suggested that the king seize a cer-

tain duchy as a "wreck" (I, 104). The custom of franking letters, so important to Walpole, especially when he did not enjoy the privilege, and so destructive of post office revenues, does not receive a line in the index. General warrants should merit, so it seems, a note of factual information (I, 315).

Such faults of omission, as well as the irregular margins which injure the appearance of these volumes, may perhaps be excused as part of the inevitable casualties of the war. Certainly failure to explain allusions of the kind mentioned above is a less serious blemish on these pages than it would be in the case of other sections of Walpole's correspondence, such as the Mann or Conway letters, to the publication of which historians naturally look forward with keen anticipation.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT: THE *MONTHLY REPOSITORY*, 1806-1838, UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF ROBERT ASPLAND, W. J. FOX, R. H. HORNE, AND LEIGH HUNT. With a chapter on RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS, 1700-1825. By *Francis E. Mineka*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 458. \$4.00.)

ON the relation between radicalism and dissent in nineteenth century England much research has still to be done. What we lack, specifically, is a mass of monographic material on which general studies can be based. Mr. Mineka's book represents exactly the type of thing needed to fill the gap. His subject is the history of the *Monthly Repository* (the journal of the Unitarian movement) throughout its entire brief life, 1806-1838. The topic is well chosen. It is neither too narrowly and mechanically conceived nor too broad to be capable of documentation. Though modest in scope the book is thoroughly sound and useful. Its value—a very real one—is that it gives a workmanlike and well-arranged summary of the materials to be found in the *Monthly Repository*. This journal cannot easily be obtained and even when available it is not convenient to use. But it is an invaluable source of information about currents of ideas among the Unitarians.

Criticism in the *Repository* dealt not only with religion but also with literature and politics, and Mr. Mineka discusses each of these three aspects separately. In religion the *Repository* is of interest today not so much for its learned defense of the Unitarian cause as for its being one of the first channels through which German Biblical criticism spread into England. In literature it gave early recognition to Browning and Tennyson and was the first magazine to publish Browning's poetry. The political element in the *Repository* was prominent from the start, and under the editorship of Fox (1828-1836) the journal broke away from its sectarian connections and became an important organ of the radical party. In this, its most brilliant period, the contributors included Harriet Martineau, John Stuart Mill (both in great quantity), Ebenezer Elliott, John Bowring, Southwood Smith, and many others notable in their own day. In general the political sympathies of the *Repository* were radical, and it took its line from the utilitarians and the classical economists. Its sympathy for the underdog was tempered by the coldly scientific

economic doctrines of the day. In its pages Mill wrote in defense of the new Poor Law and the wage-fund theory. Yet, on the other side of the picture, the *Repository* as early as 1817 published articles attacking Malthus and praising Robert Owen. And Mill, in articles appearing in 1833 and 1834, was qualifying his acceptance of Benthamism and discussing the problems of distribution in a way that foreshadowed his later conversion to a kind of socialism. Early English radicalism was by no means so consistently hostile to the poor as some of its modern detractors have assumed. Mr. Mineka's book contains a great deal of illuminating material, and he should be praised for his concrete contribution to the study of British radicalism and its religious associations.

Smith College

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *J. M. Thompson*, Sometime Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College and University Lecturer in Modern French History. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. xvi, 591. \$5.00.)

It would be difficult and manifestly unfair not to pay the highest tribute to Mr. Thompson's engrossing and detailed volume on the Revolution. Without question this synoptic and well-illustrated study from the pen of England's foremost student of the French Revolution is the most valuable to appear in his country since the publication of Lord Acton's once famous *Lectures*. Wise, learned, and measured are the three words that characterize it. Every chapter reveals his extraordinary scholarship, based on the widest reading, his own researches, and a lifetime of fruitful teaching. Not that his grasp of the subject derives only from his long familiarity with the titans among his predecessors, Aulard, Mathiez, Sagnac, Kropotkin, and Lefebvre, to mention only the most outstanding. For his keen discussions of the more specialized aspects attest eloquently that he has kept himself fully abreast of the researches of the younger scholars in France, in England, and in the United States, too, for that matter, though one would scarcely suspect so from reading his curiously ill-chosen list of the fifty best books on his subject.

To be sure, nothing startlingly new for the professional student emerges from his pages. But such readers, it is to be hoped, will be only a minority. To the non-specialized English readers (in England even more than in the United States), to those nurtured on a diet of such popular expounders as Carlyle, Nesta Webster, and Madelin, his thoughtful work offers a new and rich interpretation. If clarity of writing and sobriety of interpretation are virtues that are not caviar to the general, his book will go far to make intelligible the role of individuals, the issues involved, and the profound transformations effected by a movement that, as a whole, English readers have never understood very well. His account is not marred by the bitter partisanship that disfigures even the best of French scholarship. Nor is his study in the slightest tinctured by the once familiar moralizing that sought with more heat than light to resolve the sterile inquiry whether the

Revolution was good or evil, true or false to France's historic destiny. As an Englishman and a good liberal, Mr. Thompson does not conceal his basic aversion to such desperate remedies as revolutionary solutions. He even insinuates an unnecessary caveat on occasion. But the transcendent merit of his writing is that he understands his period, and he suffuses this understanding of the complex five-year period from the opening of the States'-General to the fall of Robespierre with great historical sympathy and deep humanity. The Revolution, for all its eddies and currents and its more or less distinct phases, remains a bloc.

Particularly thoughtful is his detailed yet incisive handling of such emotion-provoking crises as the capture of the Bastille, the *grande peur*, the September massacres, the Girondin-Jacobin death duel, and the effort of the Triumvirate to usher in the republic of virtue. The pages treating these developments are exemplary for their historical balance and their fine psychological grasp—without benefit, it may be said in passing, of Freudian language—of the combination of loftiness of aims, brutality of means, and nakedness of calculation that went into the fashioning of these climaxes.

The most valuable and careful passages dealing with the earlier constructive years of the Revolution are those in which the author links economic and social issues with the political struggle, the provinces with the capital, the peasantry and workers with the middle classes, and perhaps most of all his searching evaluation of the institutional changes brought about by the deputies of the Constituent Assembly. On the other hand, what distinguishes his story of the turbulent days of the Convention is his remarkably penetrating treatment of Jacobinism: Jacobinism militant, triumphant, and agonizing.

Of the victory of Jacobinism, which assuredly he does not like, Mr. Thompson writes:

This could not have been done simply by the intrigues of a party, or the threats of a mob. . . . It meant that Jacobinism was now identified with the Revolution. . . . It meant that anti-Jacobinism . . . was identified with counter-revolution. For better or for worse, the French people would have it so. The dictatorial regime of the Jacobin group was not imposed upon the Convention from outside: it was evolved from within.

On Jacobinism triumphant, the author takes over but humanizes Mathiez' thesis on the continuity of the dictatorship, modifying it and rewriting it in the light of his fundamental antipathy to centralization and compulsion.

But there was no exact point at which a man ceased to be a Girondin and became a Jacobin; and there was no exact point at which the country changed over from a Girondin to a Jacobin government. The process of conversion started behind the battlefield. It was due, not to the shock-troops of argument, but to the para-troops of hard fact. . . . Power had been passing from the men who believed in persuasion to the men who believed in compulsion. . . . The removal of the Girondins, like the removal of the king, did not reverse the engine of state. It only released the brakes which had hitherto retarded its progress.

Again in characterizing the Jacobin regime as a constitutional expedient of the greatest importance, Mr. Thompson states:

It was an expedient due to sheer political necessity. Robespierre had been right when he said, in his report of December 25th, that the Jacobin theory of government was "as novel as the Revolution that led to it," and that it was no good looking for it in books by political writers who had never anticipated such an eventuality. It was happy improvisation. That is, after all, how constitutional changes are generally made.

And before closing his work with the now familiar thesis of how the Triumvirate went down because the Jacobins fell into the most dangerous snares of dictatorship, Mr. Thompson again makes clear that however much their regime may seem a government by a minority to modern historians, the French people accepted it during the years 1793 to 1794 not because they were wanting in the spirit to rebel against a regime that they learned to abhor but because they lacked the desire then to throw over an administration which they continued to trust.

Washington, D. C.

LEO GERSHOF

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GIAMBATTISTA VICO. Translated from the Italian by *Max Harold Fisch* and *Thomas Goddard Bergin*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 240. \$2.50.)

In presenting Vico's autobiography to English readers, Mr. Max Fisch and Major Thomas Bergin have furnished the first English translation of any of Vico's major writings. Even for those who read Italian easily, Vico's language is difficult, and the convenience of having a scholarly English version such as this one is very great. It is good news that the same translators are at work on the *Scienza Nuova*.

Vico composed his autobiography at intervals when he was resting from his labors on the first and the second *Scienza Nuova*. He did not write in the spirit of self-revelation but at the request of scholars who planned a series of intellectual autobiographies. His motive, therefore, is primarily didactic, and perhaps because the impulse to write was an external one, the tone of the autobiography is stilted and formal. Vico lacked the simple candor which brings thoughts and feelings alive. He produced a stiff narrative in which he solemnly quotes the funeral inscriptions he composed as if they were of comparable significance with his major writings. Only when he speaks of the train of reading and reflection which prepared his mind for the composition of his New Science does the autobiography acquire a tone of vigor and certainty. But it is rich in details which will interest students of the history of ideas.

The introduction to this book is intended to serve also for the forthcoming translation of the *Scienza Nuova* and therefore presents a good deal of information about Vico and about the intellectual milieu of Naples in his period. The results of Croce's studies of Vico's reputation and influence are made available, and

new ground is broken in the account of Vico's reputation in America and of his influence on the Marxist tradition.

The translators do not attempt an independent appraisal of Vico's thought, but their own point of view is apparently that of the historical relativists. They salute Vico as the Galileo of historical studies. But as soon as interpretation is required, it is doubtful whether history should claim the neutrality of science; it is more doubtful whether imaginative constructions of a historic whole—whether those of Vico, Marx, Spengler, or Toynbee—are in any sense scientific. Of such problems Mr. Fisch and Major Bergin seem unaware. They do not ask *why* Vico is claimed as an ancestor by the pseudo-philosophers of Fascism and of Nazism; they simply record the fact. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether they are presenting their own opinions or summarizing Vico's, but there is no expression of disagreement with his fundamental position. A letter from a young American now serving in Italy suggests questions that a writer like Vico fails to answer:

Gradually I have been trying to formulate a few working principles on a number of questions that have had me fairly well paralyzed since my graduate school days. Not very abstruse ideas—simple things like deciding right and wrong political directions. And I have been fighting like hell to overcome the numbness of historical relativism in which I was so thoroughly immersed.

As Emerson remarked, "Thought is fate as well as corn."

Bryn Mawr College

LAURENCE STAPLETON

CHURCH AND STATE IN SILESIA UNDER FREDERICK II (1740-1786).

By *Francis Hanus*, Sacerdos Diocesis Berolinensis, Former College Professor on the "Liceo Aleman de Concepcion" and the "Collegio Aleman de Santiago de Chile," Instructor and Lecturer in the U. S. A. A Dissertation. [The Catholic University of America, S. Facultas Theologica, No. 79.] (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. x, 432. \$3.00.)

IN seizing Silesia Frederick the Great acquired a large population, about half of whom were Roman Catholics, and thus raised the important problem of the relation between the Protestant state and the Catholic church. On this there exists a mass of good material in the documents published by Max Lehmann and Theiner and in the writings of Frederick himself and of Grünhagen, Koser, Hintze, and other historians, but there is little in English. It is therefore a good problem to study. Unfortunately it cannot be said that Dr. Hanus has dealt with it satisfactorily. His book is pretentious, repetitious, and inaccurate.

The author has tried to cover too large a field. Beginning with Charlemagne, he devotes seventy-nine pages to a pious but rather irrelevant account of the spread of Catholicism in medieval Brandenburg as a background to the later period under the Protestant electors, when "Catholics lived without rights and were persecuted" (p. 58), always "treated as second class citizens . . . somewhat like a better sort of slaves" (p. 258). Then come two chapters on Frederick the Great's views

on religion, the church, and philosophy, in which the author makes the point that Bayle was the strongest intellectual influence on the Prussian exponent of Enlightenment. Part III sketches the history of Silesia through the centuries, showing how it was primarily the German Catholic monks and bishops who gradually brought the territory from Polish to German rule and culture.

In Part IV the author comes to his main theme: Frederick's treatment of the Catholic church in Silesia. Unable to persuade the canons of the Cathedral Chapter of Breslau to elect his candidate, the king disregarded their canonical right of election and successively imposed two candidates of his own. Unfortunately these two men appointed by the king were ambitious, vain, worldly, and of unchurch-like life. Serving their own interests or those of the king rather than the best good of the church, they are rightly denounced by the author. "They followed the King like dogs; but none of the canons did so" (p. 255). As many of the most important questions are more or less dealt with in three successive chapters on the three bishops, there is inevitably a good deal of repetition in the next five chapters on Frederick's relations with Rome, the monks, the Jesuits, the Silesian clergy and on the relations between Catholics and Protestants. Finally come five chapters to prove in theological terms what is quite evident—that Frederick's exercise of royal patronage as Protestant *summus episcopus* was not in accord with canon law or the claims of the Catholic church.

There is much that is interesting in this volume, but the author does not inspire confidence in the accuracy of his statements. He often cites works without giving exact page references, even in the case of quotations. A dozen of his titles are inaccurate. His quotations are often very loosely translated, without any indication of omitted passages, and are occasionally ludicrous. D'Argens' remark that one of Frederick's satirical pamphlets was regarded by Catholic Austrians as "plus dangereux que Spinoza" is rendered as "more dangerous than espionage" (p. 294). When "the liar and deceiver of Potsdam" (p. 294) finally brought a happy conclusion to the patronage quarrel by the compromise proposal that the election of the bishop of Breslau should be made by the canons but in the presence of one of Frederick's officials, the pope accepted the proposal; his remark, "l'élection sera seulement une formalité, le souverain sera toujours maître de la faire tomber sur celui, qu'il voudra," becomes in translation, "The sovereign will always be master in the matter of dropping whomever he wishes" (p. 273). More than thirty of the footnote references are incorrect. In addition, there is a formidable list of some seventy misprints or misspellings headed by the British philosophers "Chaftesbury" and "Rolongbroke" (pp. 112, 420, 429).

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

THE JUNKER IN THE PRUSSIAN ADMINISTRATION UNDER WILLIAM II, 1888-1914. By *Lysbeth Walker Muncy*, Instructor in History and

Government at Sweet Briar College. [Brown University Studies, Volume IX.] (Providence: Brown University. 1944. Pp. ix, 256. \$3.00.)

THE present world conflict has produced many discussions on the critical future of Germany. Germany, we are told, has been ruled by Prussia, and Prussia by the Junker class. This oversimplification contains some truth and some confusion. Thus it was an excellent idea to do some thorough research work on the Junkers' influence in Prussia. The author has made a special study on the Prussian administration under William II. She has used as basic materials some primary sources as the *Handbuch über den königlich preussischen Hof und Staat*, and, of course, the *Gothaische Genealogische Taschenbücher*, and all available secondary sources, such as memoirs, biographies, etc. Some German refugees of distinction gave her valuable advice. The result is a good and useful book, fair in spirit, well-considered in judgment, clear in method, lucid in organization. One must congratulate this young scholar for the high accuracy of her work, especially as it deals with so many foreign names and conceptions. The very few misprints and mistakes (for instance, "Moscow" instead of "St. Petersburg," p. 47) are negligible.

However, there are some objections of a more general character. If one writes a book on the Junkers, one should make it perfectly clear what is understood by a Junker. In my opinion, the conception "Junker" has three different meanings—a philological, a sociological, and a political one. Originally, Junker meant the son, later on, the younger sons of a noble family (*i.e.*, Jungherr, the young master). "Junker" for some time was identical with the French "cadet" and therefore was taken over like "cadet" into the military vocabulary. "Fahnenjunker" means ensign or cornet. Meantime the word Junker became usual for the description of all members of the low nobility in Brandenburg-Prussia. The title of baron there was unusual. The vassals were mediate, not immediate liege men of the territorial lord nor of the emperor. The imperial aristocracy used to consider these "Herren von—," who lacked any other title, as not being quite their peers, an attitude which, of course, irritated the Brandenburg-Prussian noblemen. There are instances of some of them describing themselves as "barons" when traveling abroad in order to avoid underestimation of their social standing. The well-known diplomat Fritz von Holstein, for example, did this. In Holland still, the lowest degree of the nobility is called "Jonkheer." Therefore, I think, it is not correct, as the author does, to include the counts, who are members of the high nobility, in the Junker class, as for instance the families Eulenburg, Schwerin, Lehndorff, Zedlitz-Trützschler. There existed a distinct difference between the counts and the Junkers, not only in wealth but in social style, education, interests, and ambition. Silesian counts also, as the Hochberg, Hatzfeldt, Pückler, were *grands seigneurs* of an almost international type who disliked and ridiculed the somewhat boorish average Junker. The "magnates" of the Altmark (province of Saxony) or of East Prussia, including counts and barons, used to emphasize their higher stand-

ard as distinguished from that of the Junkers, and they had good reason to do so.

To make the political role of the Junkers perfectly clear, the author should have told us that there existed in Prussia under William II four different groups—the *Landadel* (landed aristocracy), the *Hofgesellschaft* (court society), the Conservative and Free Conservative parties and the *Bund der Landwirte* (alliance of agriculturists). The first two groups had a social character, the third a political one, the fourth tried very successfully to combine political aims with economic interests. The Junkers were not identical with any one of these groups. But in all four groups the Junkers exercised an almost decisive influence for political purposes, as a unity, because of their strong clan spirit and tough instinct for mutual support, in spite of their individual shortcomings. The Junkers were most powerful in the Mark Brandenburg and Pomerania, but even in the other six provinces of so-called East-Elbia practically no measure could be carried out without taking care of their special wishes. The author makes some good remarks on East Prussia. Certainly this province was by no means the cradle of Junkerism as some people think who have not yet discovered the difference between the eastern provinces of Prussia and the province East Prussia. Many East Prussian noblemen were liberally inclined, as students of their great countryman Immanuel Kant. This attitude gradually changed after 1848, but a curious combination of particularism and loyal independence, animated by monarchic romanticism, prevailed among them later on, in the period of the Weimar Republic.

Quite correctly, the author lays some emphasis on the fact that a Junker landlord could become a *Landrat* (director of a county) without the usual training and a passing of the necessary examinations. Out of a total of 328 Junker *Landräte* she counts ten to twelve cases, a number which seems quite considerable in a period as advanced as that of Emperor William II. One could further supplement this study by discussing some cases of aristocratic army officers who were allowed to join the German diplomatic service without the obligatory special examination. This was of course outside the subject of this book, and it is linked with the more general question of Prussian militarism.

When dealing with the typical Junker family of von Below, the author should have dropped some remarks on Georg von Below, the well-known historian who became remarkable for applying his methods of limited and rather bellicose Junker spirit to scholarly pursuits. All the author says on the tension between Junkerism and judicial leaders, or on the lack of economic and technical interest of the Junkers is correct, but it could have been deepened from a more psychological standpoint. The legal state (*Rechtsstaat*) remained strange to Junkerism.

The overpowering influence of the students' associations having an exclusive character is well known. It was a usual German slogan to speak of a young nobleman as of a person who was doing his studies "at the Hasso-Borussians in Bonn," which meant that the membership of this famous "Corps" was the really important fact, while the university and the faculty counted less! I know a case of a young man who was the son of a Junker general and an American mother. From

his mother, who came from a well-known New York family, the boy had inherited a spirit of liberalism and independence which handicapped the relations with a rather rigid father who, of course, wanted the son to join the Hasso-Borussia in Bonn. On her deathbed the mother had to persuade the general to drop the plan and to spare the son the experience of having to live in an atmosphere so contrary to his convictions.

Many bourgeois families were eager to adapt themselves to the Junker style. The author has given Wolfgang Kapp, the leader of the Putsch of 1920 as an example; he, however, never was ennobled. A better example would have been the grandson of the famous Berlin oculist Albert von Graefe. Young Graefe inherited from a distinguished ancestor, who had been ennobled for his medical merits, a big fortune but nothing of the wisdom and social consciousness of the old doctor. He became a Pomeranian *Rittergutsbesitzer* (gentleman farmer) and behaved in a more feudal way than the genuine Junkers of this most reactionary Prussian province. When elected to the Reichstag, the younger von Graefe delivered a rather arrogant maiden speech, which was interrupted by the Social Democratic deputy Philipp Scheidemann, later a Reich cabinet minister and temporary president of the cabinet, by the exclamation, "*Talmi-Junker!*" (fake Junker). The incident aroused the amusement of all parties of the house.

The author, however, does not say anything about a development in a direction contrary to this feudalization. Many German Junkers became bourgeois by selling their estates, sometimes because of lack of male heirs, and by investing their capital in the usual securities and bonds; the transactions were followed by considerable, even if only temporary economic success. These gentlemen used to remain conservatives and contributed to the formation of the most typical class of the period of William II, the neofeudalism of birth and wealth. Gradually, most families of this type lost their genuine Junker qualities, they began to participate in the new luxury of bankers and industrialists, they dropped traditional puritanism and protestant orthodoxy, and some of them even adopted the spiritual and moral elasticity of the time.

We do hope the able author will continue her research on the political and sociological development of the old ruling class in Prussia and Germany.

Library of Congress

VEIT VALENTIN

OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENT: THE RISE OF THE TOTAL STATE AND TOTAL WAR. By *Ludwig von Mises*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 291. \$3.75.)

THIS extremely readable and stimulating book presents two aspects of unequal value. The one is a restatement of the belief, current a century ago, that in a world of perfect and unhampered capitalism, of free trade and democracy, there would be no incentives for war and conquest. This faith is as utopian as the presently widely accepted myth that in a world of unhampered socialism and of the common

man there would be no incentives for war. Professor Mises is an unrepentant believer in individual liberty and free enterprise which have been the glory, and have built up the strength, of Britain and the United States. Though the reader may doubt whether a "pure" capitalism has ever existed, or can ever exist, in reality or is not rather as much a regulative fiction as "pure" socialism is, nevertheless with the present tendency toward, and glorification of, collectivism the warning voice of liberalism which Professor Mises truly represents may have its value. In the desirable society of free men, bureaucracy and governmental control of economic and social life are necessary evils which must be strictly controlled and wisely used. Some people today deny or forget that they are at their best only results and restraints of human and social imperfection and have nothing good in themselves; Professor Mises, on the other hand, overlooks that whatever their dangers they are nevertheless necessary.

By far more important, and in many ways brilliant, is the interpretation of recent German history in Part III of the book. Professor Mises rightly recognizes that the focal point of the modern crisis of human civilization and of the disturbance of world peace has been, at least for the last sixty or eighty years, in Germany. True, violent attacks upon peace and civilization have lately come from Japan and Italy. But without Germany, these two countries would have never become a military or spiritual danger. The present war "is a German war as was the first World War. It is impossible to conceive the fundamental issues of this most terrible of all wars ever fought without an understanding of the main facts of German history. Many mistakes could have been avoided and many sacrifices spared by a better and clearer insight into the essence and the forces of German nationalism."

After 1870, according to Professor Mises, German nationalism became aggressive because the Germans discovered that they were powerful enough to subdue Europe or even the world. Young and vigorous, compared with the "degenerate" Western nations, virtuous and disciplined warriors, highly educated and diligent, they had nothing to fear from the "profit-loving" Britons, the "corrupt" French, the "cowardly" Italians or the "barbarian" Russians. Britain could rule the waves only because the politically disunited Germans have, after the passing of the old Hansa, neglected sea power. Oblivious of their historic mission, the Germans have indulged in fighting among themselves. The Hohenzollerns first, Hitler later, united the Germans, revived the true German spirit, and fitted them for their *imperium mundi*. That was the background of that Pan-Germanism which animated not only Nazi hotheads but worthy famous professors like Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner who at the turn of the century demanded that "at all costs" thirty million Germans be settled in southern Brazil (with communications safeguarded by battleships) and wrote that in this coming "struggle for space" "idle pretensions like the Monroe Doctrine are not an unsurmountable obstacle." Professor Mises underlines the fact that not Junkers and big business

initiated and inspired this German nationalism, as the popular theory runs, but professors and writers who converted the youth and influenced all classes. The essential ideas of national socialism were completed long before 1914. Hitler only adapted them to a different constellation of political and social circumstances. Internal disputes of parties and classes in Germany after 1880 were less about the ultimate aims than about the methods of German foreign policy. It is wrong to accuse the Social Democrats of betraying the masses in voting for war credits. The masses approved the war and their leaders acted only democratically. The workers fought loyally and enthusiastically in the war of 1914 as they do in the present war. Only when the hoped-for victory did not come and the privations became unbearable, the workers began to understand that they had misjudged the war and its probable outcome.

Regarding the Treaty of Versailles Professor Mises restates some of the obvious facts. The war, not the treaty, caused German misery. If the treaty had been enforced, Germany would have been unable to start a new war. The Polish "corridor" undid the effects of earlier Prussian conquests. It was not the fault of Versailles that the Teutonic Knights had conquered a country not adjoining the Reich. The reparation payments did not impoverish Germany. If the Allies had insisted on their payment, they would have only hampered Germany's rearmament. Somebody had to pay for the damage inflicted; what the aggressors did not pay had to be paid by their victims. The grievances of the Germans did not concern Versailles but primarily the consequences of an "unfair defeat" and *Lebensraum*. Nor did Nazism have its origin in economic depression. Other parties recommended panaceas but they did not win the German masses; in an international depression only in Germany the party carried the people which recommended armaments and war as a panacea for the economic crisis.

This analysis of German nationalism is not new but it is presented by Professor Mises with cogent arguments, with many illuminating references and in a brilliant style. The reader may disagree with the purely economic motivation of the intellectual and political events of the last century, he may think that German nationalism is much more deeply imbedded in German history and intellectual development than Professor Mises does; yet whatever his disagreement, either with the general approach or with some of the value judgments, he will read the book with unflagging interest. And he will learn some new aspects of a problem central to our times. He will find the discussion of what Professor Mises calls polylogism as one of the elements in the disintegration of civilization especially rewarding and his remarks about peace schemes one of the best brief summaries of what can and should be done after this war, a summary which reveals the trained economist who has a pertinent knowledge of the recent history and mentality of different peoples and civilizations.

THE REAL SOVIET RUSSIA. By David J. Dallin. Translated by Joseph Shaplen. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 260. \$3.50.)

MR. Dallin's *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1942* and *Russia and Postwar Europe* have deservedly attracted a great deal of attention and favorable comment. His last book is, perhaps, even more incisive than the previous two.

The volume is designed to serve as an introduction to the study of "the real Soviet Russia." It attempts to set down some of the essential facts concerning the character of the Soviet regime. Mr. Dallin has also imposed upon himself the task of exploding some of the current misinformation on the USSR.

The conclusions the author reaches on several of the topics examined are radically different from most of the forecasts of Russia's future one reads these days. To cite one: Mr. Dallin claims that "the trite phrase that 'Russia will emerge from the war stronger than she was before' is ill founded." He also advances the thought that great internal changes are bound to come, to which the course of war, the price of victory, and the postwar situation in Russia are a prologue.

The gravamen of the book lies in the few pages on the population problem in chapter vi, "The New Social Structure." Parenthetically, these pages present a trenchant and, to this reviewer, convincing criticism of *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union*, published in 1944 by the League of Nations. Mr. Dallin asserts that the population of European Russia, "the heart and the brain of the country," will probably decline after the war to the level of 1914 (with the number of males falling even below this).

The analysis of the class structure (chapters vi to xi) forms the core of the book. It includes a summary of the evidence concerning the number of persons engaged in forced labor in Soviet Russia and describes the conditions of their life. The author makes reference to estimates, ranging as high as twenty million persons comprised in this group. The "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of the USSR, form a class, according to Mr. Dallin, which is "not less and possibly greater than the total number of industrial workers at liberty in Russia." The author asserts that the social-economic system of Soviet Russia cannot exist without forced labor.

The chapter on the Communist party contains some interesting information. In 1905, says the author, the Bolshevik party had in its ranks "in all probability" more members belonging to the lesser nobility than manual workers. And at present a mere 10,000 to 15,000 party members in and around Moscow constitute the real party.

The text is not footnoted. True enough, there are more than four pages of sources arranged by chapters. This list suggests that Mr. Dallin has delved deep into the available evidence. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that so controversial a volume was not extensively annotated.

Because of this lack it is difficult to trace the source of some of the author's

statements. To cite two instances: On page 24 it is said that members of the old nobility were accorded material privileges by the Soviet government and that military conditions "resembling closely those that had prevailed in the old army were even fostered for their benefit." On page 33 it is mentioned that many orthodox priests in regions of Russia occupied by Germany had entered into collaboration with the enemy. At the same time, of the four church dignitaries listed in support of this assertion three had their sees in the Baltic republics and not in prewar Russia.

A query presents itself to this reviewer's mind: Is the information that is available today to the social scientist in the West ample and sufficient to warrant conclusions on the social processes in the course of development and, particularly, on the future of the Soviet Union, or is it only of a definitely and admittedly tentative nature?

Within these limitations, Mr. Dallin has contributed a very original, although highly subjective, analysis and has offered a well thought out prognosis.

Indian Rocks, Florida

D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RUMANIAN JEWS IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES. By *Joseph Kissman*. [In Yiddish.] (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute. 1944. Pp. 118.)

THE three studies comprised in this well-documented book are entitled "Old Rumania and Its Jews"; "Jewish Emigration from Rumania Prior to the First World War"; "The Jewish Labor Movement in Rumania to the End of the Nineteenth Century." A brief English summary is appended. Avoiding the polemical bias which runs through the literature on this subject, Kissman finds that the mistreatment of the stateless Jewish minority, including natives of Moldavia, stemmed chiefly from above, as in tsarist Russia. The Russian pattern, however, with its waves of pogroms coinciding with periods of revolutionary ferment, differed from the Rumanian, for the boyar oligarchy intensified its anti-Jewish policy precisely when it felt most secure. Thus, although the excesses suffered under the latter were relatively bloodless, the measures directed against Rumanian Jewry formed a more unrelenting series. The emigration of this group, which reached its height at the turn of the century, was stimulated by administrative pressure rather than by the spread of anti-Semitic violence. Kissman's brief account of the youth groups of *fussgebers*, who trekked across the Continent to board ships for the New World, is a fresh and valuable contribution.

Official American interest was aroused by this exodus and led Secretary Hay to address a note in 1902 to the powers which had recognized Rumanian independence in 1878. One wishes Kissman had given more attention to the circumstances surrounding that recognition, which was granted despite Bucharest's

evident bad faith in regard to the status of the Jews. Thus, America's humanitarian gesture had, in a sense, been nullified in advance.

With Jassy as its center, an articulate Jewish labor movement arose in the late eighties. Starting within the ranks of the Social Democratic party, the Jewish group soon discovered that the ambitious and fairly unscrupulous leaders in control at Bucharest, who were agitating for universal suffrage, saw no reason to include the Jewish population. Underlying this conflict, which led to the exclusion or withdrawal of the Jassy group from the party in 1895, Kissman sees a conflict between the conservative outlook of the Wallachian center and the more radical and idealistic philosophy of the democratic elements in Moldavia, under the influence of Russian *émigrés*. The Rumanian section of the Second International did in fact merge with the Liberal party in 1897, and the isolated Jewish wing survived the debacle for a year or so. With the revival of the Socialist movement in 1910, the demand of equal rights for Jews was incorporated in the party program as a matter of course. This issue, as is well known, arose to trouble the Peace Conference in 1919, at which Rumania's representatives were again compelled to commit their country to a pledge regarding the status of the Jews.

Washington, D. C.

JOSHUA STARR

THE RISING CRESCENT: TURKEY, YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW. By *Ernest Jackh*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1944. Pp. x, 278. \$3.50.)

THIS work by a former German professor who now teaches at Columbia University is a highly colored apologia for Turkey. The title is somewhat misleading in that there is little of yesterday in it, and that little is included to serve a definite purpose. The Turkey of yesterday and the day before, we are told, was founded upon a model statecraft. The Turk kept a clean and orderly house of his own, and wherever his arms extended—to the Balkans and beyond in Europe, to southernmost Arabia, or to North and West Africa—there order was brought out of chaos. The Ottoman Empire was and long remained the home of tolerance (p. 41). The "cultural and social state of most people was higher after they had become Ottomans than before" (p. 72). Everywhere the Turk bestowed the blessings of good government upon all his subjects. Religious and racial minorities were given privileges unknown in western Europe; and if at times these minorities were maltreated, or even massacred en masse, one must not condemn such acts without "bearing in mind the time factor" and the circumstances under which these acts were committed (p. 42). This glowing picture of the Turks of yesterday is surpassed only by the author's unmeasured adulation for the Turks of today. Turkish nationalism is something pure and sublime and is not contaminated by the narrow nationalism of the West. Turkish life is "in accordance with any bill of human rights" (p. 179). The School of Politics at Ankara is superior to anything

of its kind in the world, for "one could search in vain in both Europe and America to find its equal" (p. 189). Lastly, it will be news for the taxpayers here to learn from this source that the Turks have "paid cash" for all lend-lease material (p. 194).

Idyllic portrayals of brutal facts are not unknown even in contemporary annals, but very few would dare to carry them to such extremes as to insult the reader's intelligence. And it would be idle on the part of this reviewer to try to correct even the most glaring mistakes of facts. He will point out only a few of these. The documents on the German-Turkish alliance of 1914 were made available on three earlier occasions, and *not* for the first time here (*Die Auswärtige Politik des Deutschen Reiches, 1871-1914*, IV [1928]; Mühlmann, *Deutschland und die Türkei, 1913-1914* [1929]; *id.*, *Das Deutsch-Türkische Waffenbündnis im Weltkrieg* [1940]). This alliance of course preceded, and *did not* follow, the Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916) and that of St. Jean de Maurienne (1917). Kiderlen-Wächter never held the rank of German ambassador at Constantinople. The idea of an American mandate over parts of Asiatic Turkey did not originate with the King-Crane Commission. Modern Turkey is not "created within historic and national boundaries of a Turkish state," for Turkey never had a rightful claim over the Sanjak of Alexandretta (*cf.* Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs, 1936*, pp. 767-68). As for the author's opinion on Talaat, one should check this against the estimate of Gooch in *Recent Revelations in European Diplomacy* (1927, p. 130).

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

THE GREEK FOREIGN DEBT AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1821-1898.

By John A. Levadis. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 137. \$2.25.)

THE problem of the Greek foreign debt was so completely interwoven with the political maneuvers of the Great Powers in that country, that the treatment of what might be supposed to be a very dry subject becomes one of rather fascinating interest. This brief account of the Grecian foreign debt is carefully told by the author with a restrained criticism of the financial plunderers of his beloved country that is truly commendable. Mr. Levadis has consulted the most important official publications in the preparation of this work, primary sources in the Greek, French, and English languages as well as the most important secondary sources including significant periodical articles. A detailed bibliography follows the text. The result is a valuable contribution to the history of a key Balkan power in its relations with the European states in the nineteenth century.

The trials of the fearless Grecian insurgents in financing the revolutionary movement of 1821 are recorded in the first chapter. In this early period as well as later, the approach to Grecian financial needs by the representatives of the Great

Powers was determined by their political power interests. To the speculative greed of foreign investors was added mismanagement and reckless expenditure of funds by the Greeks themselves in the revolutionary period. The loans of independence, as the earlier borrowing was called, were followed by the "Guaranteed Loan of Sixty Million Francs," in 1833. Political vagaries plunged the unhappy country into difficulties, with the result that, at the time of the Crimean War, an Anglo-French military force occupied Piræus, the port of Athens, for three years beginning in 1854. There followed an International Financial Commission of Inquiry, which investigated the resources of the country and its public expenditures, and sought to recommend fiscal reforms. The result was moderate improvement in the relations of the debtor Greeks and their European creditors.

In the period from the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 until 1890 the Greek debt continued to expand. It was a period of national development for the little country with no provision to care adequately for the economic consequences. Military expenditures and "modernization" resulted in constant foreign borrowings, which brought on a state of virtual bankruptcy and the suspension of the debt service by the Greek government. Pious outcries by the bondholders followed, with the press of England, France, and Germany inveighing loudly against the Greeks in inelegant language. The debt problem was further intensified by the pitifully useless war of 1897 between Greece and Turkey over the Cretan question. Again the powers stupidly denied the union of Crete with Greece and imposed a heavy indemnity, which the defeated Hellenes were required to pay to the Turks. Finally a plan of financial control was worked out, based but little on the welfare of Greece but designed to guard well the interests of the foreign nationals.

Actually the "Great Protectors," as the powers professed to be, pursued an unduly harsh policy against this helpless people. Indeed the Greeks were held to the unjustly exacting financial obligations until the very moment in 1941, "when an impoverished and fighting Greece was combating the onrush of a common brutal enemy" (p. 113). The European powers have little of which to be proud in their financial dealings with this heroic land, although it is to be admitted that individual Greeks may be included in the same condemnation. It is ardently to be hoped that liberated Greece, at the close of World War II, will not be regarded as a pawn "to be exploited by scheming protectors, but as a nation which has paid with prolonged agony the price expected of those who prefer to live in a world of decency and honor." We are in Mr. Levandis' debt for this balanced and clear account.

New York City

EDGAR J. FISHER

Far Eastern History

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. By *Kumar Goshal*. (New York: Sheridan House. 1944. Pp. viii, 375. \$3.00.)

In the work under review the author, a young Hindu scholar, has presented the fundamentals of (a) India's cultural heritage, from the days of Mohenjo Daro, some five thousand years ago, to the advent of modern Western contact with India, (b) a brief account of the nature of the East India Company's rule in India, (c) British rule in India and the rise of Indian nationalism, (d) the constitution of British India adopted in 1935 and its operation up to the present time, (e) India and the second World War, (f) the Cripps mission and its failure, and (g) the present trend of Indian politics and the responsibility of the United Nations toward the solution of the Indian problem.

Mr. Goshal, in a simple and lucid style, vigorously presents the points of view of an Indian nationalist of the left wing and pleads for India's political freedom, increased and effective industrialization, which is essential to raise the standard of living of nearly 400,000,000 persons, and India's active and whole-hearted co-operation with the United Nations against the Axis powers and establishment of international peace based upon justice and freedom for all peoples.

The author rightly contends that in the present war against Japan, Indian aid and co-operation is a very vital factor in the victory of the cause of the United Nations. "In the post-war world, too, India is bound to play an important role, due to her geographical position, her large population, and her immense natural resources. A free India, industrialised, is essential to the political and economic betterment of the Far East. Instead of lowering the standard of living of the British people, a free India, with a higher standard of living and greater purchasing power, will contribute more than ever before to the genuine welfare of the people of the British Isles."

This work is a welcome addition to growing literature on India. It will serve as an excellent introduction to the study of present day India for the American general public including teachers.

College of the City of New York

TARAKNATH DAS

TREATY PORTS. By *Hallett Abend*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1944. Pp. 271. \$3.00.)

THIS book, one of the "Seaport Series," is both more and less than its title implies. More in that it is, in the main, a popular history of treaty-era relations between China and the West, with some attention to Japan. Less in that the aspects of treaty-port life selected by the author as characteristic, while always interesting and in many instances novel, are far from exhaustive. Mr. Abend deals with the treaty-port "system" as the backbone of Sino-foreign relations. He lightens the narrative with sprightly descriptions of port administration and society at

different periods. While the book makes no pretensions to being the product of original research, it is a serious work which reveals substantial use of standard histories. It is neutral in tone but not without forthright comment upon events and policies.

Mr. Abend describes quite fully the nature of the early trade at Canton, particularly that of the United States. He pictures the Chinese culture of the city, a contrast of opulence and poverty. The rise of American interest in the China trade, consequent upon Great Britain's easy victory and the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, is told with attention to striking incidents and personalities. President Tyler's letter of June 27, 1843, to Emperor Tao Kuang, designedly couched in terms that remind one of a Chinese imperial rescript, is hardly to be called "driveling babble." Its patronizing tone was in line with the attitude of merchants and missionaries that is especially stressed in this book. Apparently the author deprecates smugness and readiness to prevail by force, yet he writes, "It is an uncontrovertible fact that China needed the eighty-eight years of enforced tutelage which the white race imposed upon her." If that be true—this reviewer does not think it is—how reconcile it with the statement that the Japanese, when their turn came, demonstrated that they "had learned more—much more—than the modern arts of making war from their Occidental teachers"?

From the heyday of Canton the author passes to the opening of Japan and then to Shanghai, touching *en passant* upon the early hardships of American consuls, the trade in opium and coolies, and the establishment of Christian missions. The little-known enterprise of Major Perry M. Collins in Siberia is seen to be part of America's westward trek. International Shanghai, called the "Mecca for all outports," is portrayed as a bustling Sodom, unconcernedly rubbing silken elbows with the filthy rags of the Chinese sections. This chapter, and those on "Peking, City of Intrigue" and "The Superior Life" of the Westerner in Japan, devoted largely to back stairs, bars, and brothels, would lead one to infer that the benefits of foreign tutelage were contributed wholly by the missionaries, did he not know, as the author knows, that many a diplomat, merchant, and professional man led an exemplary life.

Concluding chapters trace the rise of Japanese influence and of American leadership against it down to "Pearl Harbor." Mr. Abend believes that Japan would have vassalized China before 1910 but for the treaty-port system. On the other hand he observes that the "dollar-diplomacy" of Taft and Knox "instead of helping the integrity of China, had put it in new peril." Blowing hot and cold, the United States, he holds, was committed by interest and sentiment to oppose by force Japan's egregious program of subjugation. The reviewer agrees with the author that idealism played a major role in our championship of China's cause and with his admonition that idealism is a reckless guide unless it walks with knowledge.

American History

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. By *D. W. Brogan*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xxi, 169. \$2.50.)

THIS little book "is designed to make more intelligible to the British public certain American principles and attitudes. But it makes no pretense to profundity or elaborate learning." One must concede to an author his intention and his methods; and conceding these to Mr. Brogan, one must say that he has written a very good and useful book. He may not have elaborate learning in American history and institutions, but he has read widely in both, and is familiar, through repeated visits and much travel, with the American scene and the people who disport themselves in it. And if his interpretation is not profound, it is at least acute and illuminating in conveying the significance of certain American traits, customs, and institutions. The great object is not to make anyone love or admire Americans and their institutions, but to make "the most interesting country in the world interesting and intelligible to others." What then will these "others" learn about America?

They will learn something about a hundred and one things. They will learn about the influence of our famous "frontier" conditions in shaping American ideas and institutions and behavior patterns; something about Carrie Nation and the influence of women in public life; something about the forces that unite Americans and the conditions that tend to divide them; something about American schools and universities, political institutions, and political parties; something about "pressure blocks," and why politicians are harassed and unhappy about them; why Americans are incurably optimistic, why they are given to bragging and tall stories and overstatement, why they love words and slogans and flamboyant oratory; and (to make an end) why they regard war not as an adventure or an art but as a business. Many aspects of American life are (deliberately) ignored; and nothing is gone into at length (again deliberately); Mr. Brogan is content to convey, to those who do not know America very well, how it strikes him, and why he finds it always interesting, in the hope that others will find it, if not interesting, at all events important and well worth understanding.

There are some dubious generalizations—necessarily so, no doubt; for example, in connection with the role of women in public life, and in connection with politicians and political parties in making America what it is. Mr. Brogan thinks that "The United States was made by politicians," and that "it was not till the parties began to break down . . . that the civil war became practically certain." This is surely putting the cart before the horse. The Union was already dissolved except as an empty legal form before the parties began to break down, and it was that dissolution that broke them down; and it is the United States that makes political parties what they are, and politicians what they must be. This is not to say that the party system (together with the system of Federal and state elections

and the electoral system of choosing a president), and the politicians who run the parties, have not an immense deal to do with keeping the country politically united and politically stable. Nor do I wish to imply that Mr. Brogan does not understand the intricacies of American "politics" very well indeed. He does. As witness the following remarks:

The Representative . . . is put on a spot. If he insists on hogging the limelight and opposing at length the legislative proposals of the Administration, he may be charged, often rightly, with holding up measures necessary for the promotion of the general welfare. If he agrees to the Administration's proposals, he is accused of being a rubber stamp. If he investigates administrative mistakes or follies, he is accused of locking the stable door. If he replies to criticisms by spontaneous action, by highly publicised vigilance, announcing the speedy end of the war or producing a recipe for victory with comfort, he gets a bad press. If he goes off on a witch hunt, he may create the effect of a government in which ballet dancers are investigated by crooners.

Certainly the man who wrote this knows the intricacies of American politics more than superficially. By and large Mr. Brogan exhibits the same kind of knowledge and insight in his discussion of our schools and universities, the virtues and limitations of the "melting pot," the Catholic question, the Negro problem, and many other similar matters. And certainly the "British public" should get from his book, if they read it, a better understanding of Americans and their institutions. That Mr. Brogan has spent much time in the U.S.A. is evident, if for no other reason than because he understands American slang—a rare accomplishment for an Englishman. Maybe, for the "British public," he uses it in excess. I am not sure, for example, whether the British public will get the more subtle implications of the sentence that contains the word "crooners."

Cornell University

CARL BECKER

HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943. By *Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington*. With a Foreword by His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston. Three volumes. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1944. Pp. xix, 812; vi, 766; vi, 808. \$15.00 per set.)

SINCE the first World War American Catholics have become increasingly historically conscious and they have made great strides in promoting historical research and writing in American Roman Catholic history. From the American Catholic University alone, under the direction and inspiration of Monsignor Peter Guilday of the theological faculty and Professor Richard J. Purcell of the history department more than fifty doctoral dissertations in American Catholic history have appeared in the last twenty years. American Catholic history has also profited from the conversion to Roman Catholicism of several distinguished historians who had received their training in non-Catholic universities. I refer particularly to

Carlton J. H. Hayes, for many years a professor of history at Columbia, and Dr. Robert H. Lord, formerly a member of the history faculty at Harvard but now professor of church history at the Catholic Seminary at Brighton and one of the authors of the *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* now under review. As was to be expected, with the principal author trained at Harvard, these three handsome volumes take high rank among Catholic histories. They, however, must be classed as patriotic history, since their purpose was undoubtedly to make Catholics think well of themselves and because they are almost completely devoid of any expression of critical judgment. According to these volumes the Catholic population which has flooded New England in the past one hundred years had few, if any, faults, and Catholics have always been wise and their policies free of mistakes. Official histories of any religious body are likely to be far from objective treatments, and Roman Catholic history has the least chance of any of achieving that end because of the rigid censorship.

The first volume covers the period from the beginning of colonization to 1825 and is divided into two parts. The first is called "Catholic People and Catholic Priests in Colonial New England"; the second part carries the story of New England Catholicism from 1788, the date of the establishment of the first Catholic congregation in Boston, to the end of the reign of Bishop Cheverus, the first bishop of the diocese of Boston. These were the years of small things and as a whole the New Englanders, in spite of their long background of anti-Catholic bias, were generous in their treatment of the early Catholics. At the beginning, a majority of the first Catholic congregation in Boston were French, but by the turn of the century the Irish had come to be in a great majority, with a sprinkling of converts from among the old New England stock. Volume II, covering the years from 1825 to 1866, is the most important of the three, at least from the standpoint of the general history of New England, since the period covered deals with the great flood of Irish immigration which swept into New England from the middle of the century onward.

No immigration ever aroused more resentment and fear on the part of the older American stock than this transplanting of half the population of Ireland to America. It was the most poverty-stricken, illiterate, and improvident immigration that had ever set foot on American soil, and the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic opposition it aroused is a familiar story. The assumption on the part of the authors, which the non-Catholic reader is sure to detect, that this vast horde of ignorant and poverty-stricken Irish was simply entering into its rightful heritage in coming to America and that Roman Catholicism was conferring a great boon upon Puritan New England, recalls James Russell Lowell's essay, "On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners." "Every foreigner," he states, "is persuaded that by doing this country the favor of coming to it, he has laid every native thereof under an obligation" to him. Too often the more recent immigrant stock has been oblivious of what "has been going on here from sturdy father to sturdy son" in making this continent habitable for the "weaker Old World breed that has swarmed to it."

Nowhere in these three volumes, as far as this reviewer remembers, is there the slightest expression of appreciation of what the Catholic immigrant found in New England. The frequent use of the term "bigot" or "bigotry," always applied to non-Catholics and never to Catholics, is, as all the world knows, just another instance of "the pot calling the kettle black." Of course there was resentment on the part of the older Protestant population at the swarming of Irish Catholics on their shores, just as there would have been on the part of Catholics had the situation been reversed. Of course the burning of the Charlestown Convent was a shameful happening, but the Boston firemen were no more reluctant to extinguish the convent fire than they were in saving Lyman Beecher's church, which burned two years before.

The last volume brings the story of the "Roman conquest of New England" down to date. In more recent years have come the Canadian French, another immigrant group devoted to Catholicism, besides Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, all of whom helped to raise the Catholic population of New England. The Boston archdiocese is now the third largest in the United States in membership: 1,092,078. There are more than 1,500 priests, 158 parishes maintaining parochial schools, 24 academies, 2 universities, and 41 charitable institutions. According to the last Federal census (1936) about two fifths of the total population of New England is Catholic; two fifths have no church membership, while all other religious bodies constitute only slightly more than one fifth of the total. It is indeed an impressive accomplishment, but it will be a long time before there is another flowering of New England.

University of Chicago

WILLIAM W. SWEET

PIONEER JESUITS IN NORTHERN MEXICO. By *Peter Masten Dunne*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1944. Pp. x, 227. \$3.00.)

It has been pointed out many times that although we in the United States are acquainted with the work of the Jesuits in New France, we know very little about the equally significant achievements of other members of this order in New Spain. Happily this ignorance is being dispelled; and for this change part of the credit should go to the series of volumes on the history of the Jesuits in Spanish North America, now being issued under the editorship of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton.

Father Dunne's book, the third in this series, is a continuation of his earlier volume on *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*. In that book he was concerned with the Jesuit advance up the Pacific Coast; in this one he tells the story of their activities a little farther east, in the mountains and on plateaus of the present Mexican states of Durango and Coahuila. The period covered is roughly the half century between 1590 and 1640. It was a wild and rugged frontier. Many of the Indians were hostile to the whites; some of them were cannibals. It was necessary that they be pacified or "reduced" before the northward-moving Spanish pioneers could safely open mines and establish ranches. Here was a task

for brave and zealous missionaries—and such the Jesuits were. The story of their successes and failures is told sympathetically and appreciatively: on the one hand, baptisms by the thousands, Christian marriages by the hundreds, pueblos and churches by the scores; on the other, heartbreaking relapses into heathenism by some of the new converts, struggles with native medicine men, rebellions, and martyrdom for many of the fathers. Nearly half of the space in the book is devoted to the great uprising of 1616 among the Tepehuanes, its suppression, and the subsequent reconciliation and reconstruction.

Father Dunne writes as one having authority in his field: he knows the country about which he writes; he knows his sources. The book is based largely on contemporary records, particularly the *anuas* or annual reports of the missionaries. The narrative is factual but not overburdened with details. The style is clear, and the format of the book attractive. There is a useful map on which are shown many, but not all, of the places mentioned in the text.

Interesting in its own right, this volume, which presents to English readers the first detailed account of one phase of the advancing frontier in Mexico, suggests comparisons with the westward movement which was getting under way in the English North American colonies about the same time. On both frontiers religion was an agency of control, but there was little in English North America to match the co-ordinated advance of Spanish political authority and the Catholic faith into northern New Spain.

University of Colorado

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

JOHN STUART AND THE SOUTHERN COLONIAL FRONTIER: A STUDY OF INDIAN RELATIONS, WAR, TRADE, AND LAND PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTHERN WILDERNESS, 1754-1775. By *John Richard Alden*. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XV.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 384.)

THIS book must be highly commended. It is the first factual and comprehensive treatment of the southern frontier during the three decades preceding the American Revolution that has appeared, and on the whole it is well done. It is not the first invasion of the field in question, to be sure, other scholars having previously explored special aspects of the general subject. The work is based on an examination of a wide diversity of sources. This reviewer is aware of no relevant primary source, printed or manuscript, now known which Professor Alden has not thoroughly explored and utilized to advantage. Among the more basic manuscript collections requisitioned for the study were the papers of General Thomas Gage, in the William L. Clements Library, the Indian Books of South Carolina, and photostats and transcripts from the London and Paris archives as found in the Library of Congress, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, and the Historical Commission of South Carolina. Footnotes and bibliography disclose the use of a wide variety of other original sources, as well as numerous monographic studies.

The principal object of imperial and colonial authorities throughout the period traversed by the author was the maintenance of peaceful relations between Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and the Southern Indians. Inevitably involved in this problem, therefore, were such objectives as the control of the Indian trade, which was never adequate, negotiations with the Indians for more lands for white settlers and the establishment of Indian boundary lines, and the creation of interior posts and forts. That the peace was maintained, the bloody Cherokee War being the exception, in the face of the avarice and incorrigibility of English traders, the bickerings and jealousies of colonial governors, and the machinations of French and Spanish agents in the Indian country was due in part to fortuitous events and in part to the policies and indefatigable efforts of such men as Governor Glenn of South Carolina, a key figure in the early period, and John Stuart, superintendent of the Southern Indians from 1762.

In this section Professor Alden has thrown much new light on both Glenn and Stuart. Although the former's grandiose schemes for the expansion of British power into the Southwest and Northwest during King George's War were fruitless, his establishment of Fort Prince George was a substantial achievement. And his willingness to co-operate with other colonial governors was exceptional. Stuart receives the most adequate treatment that the reviewer has seen, and it is to be hoped that the author may see his way clear to prepare an extensive biography of that worthy. As presented by Professor Alden, Stuart appears as the equal if not the superior in ability and character of his more celebrated colleague in the North, Sir William Johnson.

The shortcomings of the book are few and unimportant in contrast with its substantial contributions. The relations of the Southern and Northern Indians might well have received fuller treatment. The East Florida situation receives less attention, relatively, than the sources would indicate it deserves. Professor C. L. Mowat's *East Florida as a British Province* and Professor Cecil Johnson's *British West Florida*, both of which were published almost simultaneously with Alden's work, may be profitably compared with the latter.

Alden's critical appraisals of the pioneer excursions of certain of his more elderly contemporaries (including the reviewer's) make interesting reading and should add to the gaiety as well as the headaches of members of graduate seminars. Possibly, a generation hence, further discoveries may be made which will modify some of the conclusions set down in this book.

Washington, D. C.

CLARENCE E. CARTER

THOMAS CRESAP, MARYLAND FRONTIERSMAN. By *Kenneth P. Bailey*. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1944. Pp. 322. \$4.00.)

THOMAS Cresap, Yorkshire-born American frontiersman, stamped with the color of his vigorous personality several decades of the history of that debatable

region in which Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia sought to substantiate mutually irreconcilable claims. He combined physical prowess and apparently superb health with a truculent self-assertiveness and a hot temper, which at times got the better of a very real measure of shrewd common sense. Ambitious, energetic, and courageous, and not overhampered by the niceties of ethics, he personifies not a few of the human qualities which were subduing the wilderness and winning a continent from the French. Establishing his home in Maryland, or in places which he insisted were a part of Maryland, he became a more zealous vindicator of the Baltimore heritage than the Calverts themselves. Later, though remaining a Marylander, he became a member of the Ohio Company and thus a champion of Virginia's pretensions in the Ohio Valley. In each of these capacities he came into conflict with the Pennsylvanians and proved a redoubtable antagonist both in word and in deed. This, more than his undoubted defects of character, serves to explain why contemporary Pennsylvania accounts have little good to say of him.

Indeed, as the author of the present study fully recognizes, much of the material from which Cresap's career had to be constructed is partisan in character. It thus stood in need of critical treatment, and this Professor Bailey has accorded it in fair measure. Yet his handling of evidence is not entirely above reproach. After virtually proving that Cresap was born in the early years of the eighteenth century, he accepts as satisfactory the date 1694, apparently for the reason that it is the one adopted by the Cresap Society. This date he follows throughout the book except where he lapses into what seems to be the more probable view when he says that Cresap arrived in America as a boy in 1715. He states, on somewhat dubious grounds, that it seems highly probable that it was Cresap who recommended Gist to the Ohio Company as a surveyor, and later asserts without qualification that he had done so. He accepts as independent accounts of Cresap two passages (pp. 99, 100) so similar that their common origin cannot be doubted. Although he considers Cresap the central figure in the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, he so simplifies the issues at stake as to be quite misleading.

The preface has Charles Kingsley characterizing John Smith in words not so employed by him. In places one misses information which seems to be necessary to complete the story. Words are at times used inappropriately, and sentences are not always grammatical. Yet the exposition is such as to give a readable account of a significant and colorful figure. The appendixes present a number of useful documents touching Cresap's career, some already available in print, others reproduced from manuscripts.

University of Pennsylvania

LEONIDAS DODSON

TENNESSEE DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. By *Samuel Cole Williams*, Chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission and formerly Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. A Contribution to the

Sesquicentennial Celebration of Tennessee Statehood in 1946. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1944. Pp. xi, 294.)

THIS volume, the latest of the many contributed by Judge Williams to the history of his native state, is designed to fill the gap between his *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (1937) and his *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (1924). In view of this order of publication of the three volumes, quite different from the sequence of the periods which each respectively covers, anyone approaching the present work will do well to read first the *Dawn*, or at least the preface and introduction thereto, whereby a better understanding will be obtained of Judge Williams' larger plan. Still to be completed, Judge Williams tells us, is another volume, which will cover the history of Tennessee from the establishment of the territory south of the river Ohio to the admission of Tennessee as a state. It is indeed to be hoped that Judge Williams will carry this purpose to fulfillment.

The time of the settlement, by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina, of the country watered by the confluents which make the Tennessee River was one in which, as to the older seaboard communities, there was disintegration of authority not only in such cutmoded proprietorships as that of the Granvilles but also in the royal governments. This was the case particularly with regard to the regulation of the trade of the whites with the Indians and the control of white settlement on Indian lands. Not only the transitional Revolutionary governments but also the state governments which succeeded them were weak both from the military and the financial standpoint.

Traders, land speculators, and settlers alike could proceed with little hindrance from the east, and on the other hand could expect little in the way of assistance or protection. Besides the difficulties presented by the mountains, the rivers, and the forests, those who ventured west risked not only the dangers of the Indian attacks for which officials of the crown and their Tory supporters might be held responsible but also the hostility which they themselves engendered when they convinced the Indians that they came not to trade but to settle on the Indian lands.

This is the background of *Tennessee during the Revolutionary War*. The story of the events was gathered by the first historian of Tennessee, Haywood, from the lips of the pioneers and passed on to Ramsey and the later writers. Theodore Roosevelt, fascinated by the epic quality of the period, revised and knit together the local accounts into his *Winning of the West*. Judge Williams has returned to the standpoint of the individual state, but with full appreciation of the larger stage of which Tennessee was only a part. It has been his task to test every detail of the story in the light of his own wide research and to revise the older accounts.

It was during this period that settlement in central Tennessee developed at what was later Nashville. Here were united the bold land speculation of Richard Henderson and the body of settlers struggling for survival in the midst of Indian

attacks. After the war came to an end, the rush for lands was further promoted when the soldiers of the Revolution sought to realize upon the lands promised to them by North Carolina.

Judge Williams makes it clear that if the mother states could not do much for the Westerners, the latter came to the aid of the mother states. Volunteers from the transmontane valleys gave aid to South Carolina in 1776, helped to defeat Ferguson at King's Mountain and supported Greene in the final push against Cornwallis.

When one finishes this volume he will hardly fail to take up again Judge Williams' narrative of *The Lost State of Franklin*, though he may have read it twenty years ago.

Library of Congress

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

THE CHURCH COLLEGE OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Albea Godbold*.

[Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 221. \$3.00.)

IN view of the present active consideration of the place and the prospects of the small liberal arts college in the future scheme of higher education in our country, this historical account of the beginning and development of the church-related college in the Old South was well worth doing.

Higher education in America had its beginnings and its first flowering in institutions founded by religious bodies primarily concerned in the development of religious leadership, and this form of educational activity continues to exert a powerful influence in our educational life.

Lack of appreciation, to put it mildly, of higher education on the part of the Indians deprived the South of the honor of the establishment of the first college in colonial America. But the second college established in the present limits of the United States, the College of William and Mary in Virginia, was founded by the Episcopalians under a royal grant. The Presbyterians, from the first most deeply interested in education, created an academy in 1775 which was chartered in 1783 as Hampden-Sydney, and about the same time, this communion established Washington College, the forerunner of Washington and Lee University, now not church controlled. Soon thereafter, and especially during the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterians and the Methodists founded colleges for their particular purposes in nearly all of the Southern states. The Baptists, at first quite distrustful of higher education, soon fell into line. The first college in the United States specifically chartered by a state legislature for the higher education of women, the present Wesleyan College in Georgia, was established by Methodists in 1836 and conferred its first baccalaureate degrees in 1840. From this period come such existing colleges as Davidson and Erskine from the Presbyterians, Randolph-Macon, Emory, and Trinity (now Duke University) from the Methodists, Mercer, Richmond, Wake Forest, and Furman from the Baptists. The

Episcopalians, curiously enough, were unsuccessful in the establishment of colleges prior to 1860 except for William and Mary.

The author analyzes the motives and ideals which impelled the churches to establish colleges, the most important being the need for a better-trained ministry, the desire to establish a more democratic opportunity in higher education and to lower its cost, the urge to strengthen denominational loyalty and to propagate the Christian doctrines, and the fear of state-controlled education. Despite many early clashes between the state colleges and the denominational institutions, a *modus vivendi* was soon established and the co-operative character of the adventure in higher education was realized, the forerunner of present understanding and co-operation.

Though the book sometimes presents a confused picture because of the mass of details included, it was well worth doing and constitutes a real contribution to the history of higher education in the South.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

THEODORE H. JACK

JOHN C. CALHOUN, NATIONALIST, 1782-1828. By *Charles M. Wiltse*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 477. \$3.75.)

THIS study of Calhoun's earlier career, much the ablest and most thorough yet published, must take its place at once as the standard account. The author has not only reworked to good advantage the materials which previous biographers used, but he has also exploited other sources, both in print and in manuscript, to which his predecessors did not have access or the value of which they did not appreciate. He presents his findings with a fine sense of proportion and an admirable talent for organization. He has done an especially good job in untangling the snarled threads of War Department problems and presidential politics between 1817 and 1825 and then reweaving the strands in a clear and understandable pattern. Only when he comes to explaining the idea of nullification does his sure expository pen falter a bit.

Mr. Wiltse's approach to his subject is highly sympathetic throughout. Like previous biographers, except the notoriously prejudiced Von Holst, he has tried to offset the testimony of such of Calhoun's contemporaries as J. Q. Adams, who despite their bias have received a ready and repeated hearing at the bar of history. No biographer has succeeded nearly so well as Mr. Wiltse in redressing the balance, and he has succeeded perhaps too well. He throws a light of realism upon Calhoun's critics and rivals, among them Benton, Webster, Jackson, and especially Adams, whom he cogently debunks as a precisian too fastidious to touch the spoils of office. Less critical in dealing with his hero, he pictures the Carolinian as something of a political Galahad, pure in heart and almost alone in his purity. Rather contemptuous of politicians who like Van Buren rose to power in states where the "common man" counted, Mr. Wiltse believes (pp. 163, 266) that Calhoun, far above his contemporaries "in the brilliance of his intellect,"

assumed the common man to be likewise "intelligent" and so misunderstood him—"because in the South there were no common men." This last, by the way, is not the only tenet of the proslavery argument which the author accepts as a proved fact.

Mr. Wiltse's thesis may be stated thus: Calhoun, the one true "nationalist" of his time, originally favored a broad use of Federal powers in the interest of the whole country and became an adherent of the state rights view only after Northern protectionists had perverted the nationalist doctrine to their own sectional ends. So, for instance, Calhoun and the other War Hawks were men of "glowing nationalism." Calhoun's improvements program of 1816 was a piece of disinterested statesmanship; Adams' comparable program of 1825, an instrument of selfish politics. All this will scarcely convince the reader who has reason to believe that the proponents of the War of 1812 were motivated by narrowly sectional considerations just as truly as were the opponents of the war; or who recalls that in 1816 there were Southerners, including South Carolinians, just as in 1825 there were New Englanders, who thought they saw an industrial future for their section and hoped therefore to benefit from Federal aid to industrial enterprise.

In championing the planters' cause after 1828, writes Mr. Wiltse, Calhoun "spoke for all minorities in all democratic states" (p. 11); he "made himself the supreme champion of minority rights and interests everywhere" (p. 398). It would be interesting to see how the author would document those statements. No real defender of "minorities" as such, Calhoun was nevertheless to concern himself with the fate of one other "minority" besides the Southern planter class; and that was to be, curiously enough, the Northern capitalist class.

Northern Michigan College

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE UNFORTIFIED BOUNDARY: A DIARY OF THE FIRST SURVEY OF THE CANADIAN BOUNDARY LINE FROM ST. REGIS TO THE LAKE OF THE WOODS BY MAJOR JOSEPH DELAFIELD, AMERICAN AGENT UNDER ARTICLES VI AND VII OF THE TREATY OF GHENT: FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT RECENTLY DISCOVERED. Edited by *Robert McElroy*, Professor Emeritus of Oxford University and former Professor at Princeton University, and *Thomas Riggs*, United States Commissioner, International Boundary Commission, United States, Alaska, and Canada, and former Governor of Alaska. (New York: Privately printed. 1943. Pp. 490.)

It has been known for many years that there were important unpublished papers affording data on the joint commissions that endeavored to settle the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States in the years following the Treaty of Ghent. To most casual students of American history that dispute concerned itself with the boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick and came to a spectacular crisis in the so-called Restook, or Aroostook War

in the late thirties of the last century. Yet there were equally difficult problems far to the west, namely the ownership of St. George's, now Sugar Island, near Sault Ste. Marie, and the location of the boundary line between Lake Superior and Lake of the Woods. By the end of 1827 all major problems had been resolved except the ownership of the island and the line between Lake Superior and the outlet of Rainy Lake. Because of these two difficulties, the commission charged with attempting to settle them went out of existence in 1827. It is true that the northeast boundary question was not finally settled at that time, but the two governments had come to an agreement about the method of settlement and all seemed propitious for the moment.

So the western part of the problem was the main one for some time after 1827. It is to this part of the story that this book contributes most new material, though touching on all the major issues. The reason is not far to seek. Major John Ross Delafield has produced the personal and unofficial diary of his ancestor, the agent of one of the commissions, under whose personal direction most of the boundary survey from St. Regis to the Lake of the Woods was made in the years from 1817 to 1823. Thus what we have here is a very long introduction of 131 pages by the editors, giving the background for the diary, and the diary divided into twelve books.

For the region east of Detroit the diary is not so important as a new source of information as for the district west of that point. Beyond it and especially beyond Sault Ste. Marie the entries become of great significance for local history. For Delafield's party, steam and sails gave way to voyageurs and birchbark canoes at the Sault, and thus a very intimate knowledge of every part of the subsequent route was made necessary by force of circumstance. Books 10 to 12 carry the story of this portion of Delafield's experiences, the years being those of 1822 and 1823.

It should not be understood from these remarks that the first nine diaries are of little consequence. They will be read with interest and profit by all whose field is the Great Lakes region. They are the travel jottings of an observant, educated, and experienced man. Students of geology, mineralogy, ichthyology, ornithology, and botany will be especially grateful for the new information carried by somewhat casual entries, for Delafield's hobbies were geology and natural history. Unfortunately the editors have deleted some of the scientific data.

"The special duty of the Agent," writes Delafield in his unpublished autobiography, "was to protect the interests of the United States, by making claims to doubtful islands, routes, etc., when they could be substantiated by evidence." The two commissioners received the claims of the agents and tried to make a decision between them. The main reason for the impasse of 1827 was Delafield's advancing an American claim to the territory between the Pigeon River (now the boundary line between northeastern Minnesota and Canada) and the Kaministiquia River (on which the city of Fort William rises) to counterbalance a new claim put forth by the British agent to the area southwest of Grand Portage from the Pigeon River on the north shore of Lake Superior as far as the mouth of the St.

Louis River, where Duluth is now located. The original delineation of the boundary line in the Treaty of Paris of 1783 referred to "Long Lake" and the "water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods." There was no Long Lake of local knowledge on the north shore of Lake Superior, but Mitchell's map of 1755, used by the treaty commissioners, showed the mouth of Pigeon River by that name. British traders, needing the Grand Portage for their canoe traffic to the West, advanced the theory that the "water communication" to Lake of the Woods at the time of the treaty passed up the St. Louis River and by north-flowing lakes and rivers to a point just east of Rainy Lake. The British agent in 1822 and 1823 took up this absurd claim. Delafield countered by saying that the "water communication" contemplated by the treaty was the Kaministiquia River route, at the end of which Fort William stood in 1822-23 and which had been the old French route to the interior. Delafield at least had some plausibility on his side; the British claim had no historic evidence of any merit to back it, and the weight of geography and topography against it.

Had Delafield not made his claim, or had the British claim been accepted, all the United States' supply of iron ore would have become Canadian, for the St. Louis River rises on the watershed holding the great Mesabi and Vermilion iron ore bodies, from which today at least two thirds of America's steel is made. Fortunately for the United States, Webster and Ashburton returned to the Pigeon River route as the "water communication" in their treaty of 1842, which settled the long-standing boundary dispute.

The last two books are rich in information on a region for which there is not much in print. The detail for the geology of Lake Superior is most unusual; and students of the fur trade, of the voyageurs, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the natural history of the region west of the Sault will find much of value. The editors have consistently misread "pose" as "post" in passages describing portage activities, as well as some other colloquialisms of the fur trade. The thick, handsome volume is well printed on unusually fine paper, with many valuable maps and illustrations, copious footnotes, and a good index.

Hamline University

GRACE LEE NUTE

LAKE SUPERIOR. By *Grace Lee Nute*. [The American Lakes Series, edited by Milo M. Quaife.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 376. \$3.50.)

THIS second volume in the "American Lakes Series," edited by Milo M. Quaife, fully maintains the high standard set by Fred Landon in his *Lake Huron*. Dr. Quaife, in his short and pithy introduction, reminds us that but little has been known, at any rate to most of us, of the greatest of all existing freshwater seas, and that if this remains true in the future it will not be the fault of Dr. Nute, who in this study "provides almost everything one could wish to know about Lake Superior." Even to one who happens to have a fairly broad knowledge of the lake in its many moods, and who knows something of its past, this book is a revelation.

It is a word picture of a magnificent subject, as impressive in its broad treatment of certain aspects as it is satisfying in its minute attention to important details. There is here not only scholarship and imagination and the ability to put the right word where it belongs, but also the enthusiasm of one whose pleasure it is to do justice at last to a great but little-known theme.

The quality of a writer often is revealed in the table of contents. In this table of contents one finds both the methodical treatment of the historian and the imagination and charm of the poet; fauna and flora, geology and economics, fur traders and fishermen, inland ports and iron mines, woven into an authentic fabric under such headings as "Footprints on the Sands of Time," "Vulcan's Shop and Neptune's Dream," "The Cord of the Bow," "An Arc of Rocks," and "Red and White Art."

In the body of the book the reader is taken back to the earliest beginnings of Lake Superior, long before either white man or red had appeared on the scene. Of human associations with the lake, Miss Nute makes effective use of what little is known of the Indian until comparatively recent times, and tells very completely the story of the white man on and about Superior, from the days of Etienne Brûlé and the first Jesuit missionaries to the present day. Occasionally she perhaps assumes more knowledge than is possessed by the average reader. Brûlé, for instance, left no narrative, and it might be interesting to know on what evidence Miss Nute bases her belief that he got as far west as Brule River in Wisconsin. Elaborations of this kind, of course, belong to a somewhat different class of book, and the cluttering up of pages with footnotes is not always an unmixed blessing.

A reference on page 45 to the arrival of a party of fur traders at Grand Portage, "with flag flying proudly from the stern of the canoe," raises a point of some slight historical interest. The Hudson's Bay Company had a flag of its own, and one with a long and proud tradition, but these were not H.B.C. men. Their rivals of the North West Company probably had a flag other than the British ensign, but no one seems to have taken the trouble to describe it.

It is difficult in a brief review to give any just idea of the almost innumerable topics dealt with effectively and entertainingly by Dr. Nute. She tells the story of the various canals at the Sault, the activities of fur traders and missionaries, the long negotiations over the international boundary, the discovery of copper and iron, lumbering operations and the fisheries, the evolution of shipping from the birchbark canoe and the Mackinac boat to the great whaleback and modern bulk carrier, with their efficient apparatus for handling grain, iron ore, coal, and so forth.

Altogether a book to be highly recommended, to the serious student as well as to the general reader. Also a notably attractive piece of bookmaking, at a time when bookmaking is no simple task, with many excellent illustrations and an adequate index.

Ottawa, Canada

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

LAKE MICHIGAN. By *Milo M. Quaife*. [The American Lakes Series, edited by Milo M. Quaife.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 384. \$3.50.)

THIRD to appear in the "American Lakes Series," this is the very readable work of the editor and may be viewed as the pattern for the group. Neither geography nor travel guide, the book is rather a regional history designed apparently for popular consumption but not without a substantial foundation of research.

Like its river counterparts, it is not so much the history of a lake as of a locality, for primarily it relates the careers of those who lived along Lake Michigan's shores and, on occasion, crossed its waters. Thus the chapters on the development of lake transportation are brief though effective. Tracing the advance from canoe and sailing vessel to paddle steamer and screw-propelled bulk freighters, it emphasizes an adaptation to the changing cargoes of furs, immigrants, grain, and metal. The account largely avoids the common pitfall of permitting the names of captains, owners, and ships to hide the significant trends. Water travel is amply treated but one may question the author's decision almost to ignore the lake's commercial fisheries. Even the "pigeoners" eclipse the fishermen.

The record of the growth of civilization on and around the lake opens with the disillusionment of China-bound Nicolet and closes with Chicago—the "Eighth Wonder of the World"—and such of its citizens as Al Capone. From bark canoe to armored car. Within these limits it sketches the pertinent experiences of Father Marquette, of traders La Salle, Tonty, and Hubbard, of warriors Pontiac and Robert Rogers, of "Admiral" Newberry, and of prophets Strang and Purnell. In that list there is reflected an emphasis on the era when the lake constituted the major means of transportation. The book further contains what is perhaps the most useful account of the boundary adjustments within the Northwest Territory whereby Michigan surrendered Toledo, and Wisconsin lost the iron and copper country, Duluth, St. Paul, and Chicago. The descriptions of utopian communities—the prosperous Wisconsin Phalanx, the polygamous Kingdom of St. James, and the rather celibate House of David—are never tedious yet constantly reveal the painstaking hand of the scholar.

The final portion, entitled "All around the Coast," is marred by a characteristic common to many recent local studies. In it are deposited those interesting and often significant events which unfortunately possess little in common save geographical contiguity. A chapter labeled "From Waughoshance to Sleeping Bear," for instance, deals hurriedly with Indian villages and legends, fruit raising, islands and sand dunes, the Bay View chautauqua, and the Smelt Festival. The book might have been strengthened by the omission of some items from this latter section and the incorporation of others in the body of the discourse.

From such a book one anticipates little that is essentially new, but it must be conceded in this instance that much is familiar only because the author has been for a third of a century a prolific and scholarly writer and editor whose primary

interest has been the Great Lakes region. Reflected here in miniature are many of his studies including those of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Michigan, as well as innumerable articles written while he was with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and, during the past twenty years, with the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. For some of the chapters the best secondary reference is of his composition, and often the best primary source is from his editing, particularly of the "Lakeside Classics." Through the medium of this book there is brought together for the general reader the product of a lifetime of research, writing, and editing.

Michigan State College

MADISON KUHN

THE LETTERS OF JOHN McLOUGHLIN FROM FORT VANCOUVER TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE: SECOND SERIES, 1839-44. Edited by E. E. Rich, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with an Introduction by W. Kaye Lamb, Librarian of the University of British Columbia. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Series, VI.] (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1943. Pp. xlix, 427, xiii.)

THE second volume of the McLoughlin *Letters* has a dramatic quality which one rarely finds in a collection of business correspondence. In the first volume McLoughlin was revealed as the administrator of a great region, working in apparent harmony with his superiors. Although one might suspect the depth of his loyalty, there was no evidence that he did not fulfill the letter of his instructions. This new volume brings out McLoughlin, the man, and the circumstances in which he emerges are not happy.

Two main themes run through the McLoughlin *Letters* of 1839-44: his disagreement with George Simpson over company policy, and his plea to bring to justice the murderers of his son. After an almost senile reiteration of complaints, the two themes are resolved into a single bitter hatred for Simpson. It is no wonder the governor and committee in 1840 felt McLoughlin's retirement was necessary.

The publication of these *Letters* has been of great significance to the student of the Far Northwest. The relation of the Hudson's Bay Company to the settlers, religious and secular, has long been a matter of dispute. Locally, the issue has been considered in terms of the character of John McLoughlin. But to those interested in economic institutions, the problem has been posed in the question, "How far did the Hudson's Bay Company actually interfere with the entrepreneurial ambitions of the Americans?" The answer can be found in the instructions of the governor and committee and in McLoughlin's reports to them. Although the company scrupulously avoided situations which might arouse the American national government, it nevertheless betrayed its determined policy to keep the immigrants in economic dependence. Its method was the old one so successfully used in meeting the competition of the maritime traders, underselling while competition was present and then restoring prices to a profitable level as quickly as

possible. The missionary settlements provided the first direct challenge to company supremacy. "These people ought, I think, to be energetically opposed," Simpson wrote to McLoughlin in March, 1842, "both at the falls and wherever else they may enter into competition with us . . . and as the water privileges of the Willamette Falls and building sites in that quarter must very soon become valuable, I have to beg that you will take possession of and occupy on behalf of the Company, such portion of the water privileges as you conceive the Company have a claim to by prior occupation" (pp. 265-66). Simpson's directive also covered the retention of an extensive piece of land "to be occupied as a farm or other purpose, as may hereafter be considered advisable."

The location thus to be claimed by the company was that strategic area about the Willamette Falls where Oregon City was already in the process of development. It was here that the immigrants of 1843 located in considerable number and energetically engaged in typically American enterprises such as "taking up" sites with an eye to future speculation. McLoughlin's attempt to carry out his instructions to hold this area resulted in the transfer of American antipathies from the company to him, personally. In December, 1843, he wrote to Simpson, "When I mention my claim, you will please recollect I allude to the site at the Falls . . . which there was no other means of protecting for the Company, but by claiming in my own name" (p. 183). One may very well suspect shrewd foresightedness on the part of Dr. McLoughlin that the company's control of the region was a thing of the past and that he would not be the loser by having the claims in his own name. The sequel to this incident, and the manner in which McLoughlin, as a private individual, succeeded to the company's pretensions, will be revealed, we are told, in the letters to follow. It must be borne in mind, however, that the very first immigrants were those who experienced the fullest effect of the company's monopolistic practices, and it was not difficult to transfer the resulting antagonisms to newcomers. McLoughlin remained in the eyes of the community a symbol of foreign dominance. The bitter experiences of his last years are foreshadowed in the unhappy years of 1839-44.

In the introduction to this volume, Mr. Lamb presents, with his customary skill, a scholarly, impersonal account of McLoughlin's relations to his superiors and to the changing character of company policy.

Reed College

DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN

THE WORLD OF WASHINGTON IRVING. By *Van Wyck Brooks*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1944. Pp. 495. \$3.75.)

WHEN reviewers complain that it is difficult to classify *The Flowering of New England*, *New England: Indian Summer*, and *The World of Washington Irving*, they are saying that Mr. Brooks writes his own variety of social and literary history.

The freshness and the novelty of these books are to be attributed chiefly to the audacity with which Mr. Brooks cuts across academic departmentalization

and brings into juxtaposition all kinds of picturesque people: foreign travelers and native politicians, farmers and frontiersmen, botanists and taxidermists, portrait painters and cabinetmakers, publishers, booksellers, and authors.

The range, the method, and the emphasis of Mr. Brooks in *The World of Washington Irving* are suggested by the names which appear in his index under the letter *A* and by the number of times each appears: Abbey, Edwin (1); Adams, Abigail (5), Charles Francis (1), Henry (2), John (15), John Quincy (4), Samuel (4); Addison (8); Aeschylus (3); Aesop (3); Allen, Ethan (1), Zachariah (1); Allston, Washington (7); Alsop, Richard (1); Ames, Fisher (3); Anacreon (1); Anderson, Alexander (5); André (3); Antoine, Père (1); Apelles (1); Arndt, Ernst (1); Asbury, Francis (4); Astor, John Jacob (11); Athanasius (1); Audubon, John James (24); Austen, Jane (2).

Mr. Brooks further adorns his pages with pleasant odds and ends of information, not always accurate, but usually entertaining: Leigh Hunt's father was mobbed in America, Shelley's grandfather was born in New Jersey, and "Ossian" Macpherson spent two years in Pensacola; Princeton College is said to stand where once stood the wigwam of Chief Tammany of the Delawares; Cooper inherited twenty-three farms from his father, and one of his novels was published simultaneously in thirty-four cities in Europe.

The total result is a panorama of American arts, letters, and life from 1800 to 1840, richly detailed and sufficiently authentic to satisfy the general reader. But special students, when they examine Mr. Brooks's treatment of their particular fields, will find his transcript distinctly more colorful than were the men and the events of those decades. From his Philadelphia and New York of 1800 to his frontier of 1830-1840, Mr. Brooks so orders his materials that a romantic aura is evoked on almost every page.

Not only is the total picture too highly colored but various minor details are inaccurately recorded. Susanna Rowson wrote *Charlotte Temple* in England, not in Boston; Irving was provoked to write his *Knickerbocker* by a guide to New York, not a history; Cooperstown is in central, not western, New York; Ohio was admitted to the union in 1803, not in 1802; Dennie edited *The Port Folio*, not the *Portfolio*, and Irving wrote *A Tour on the Prairies*, not *A Tour of the Prairies* (note how Mr. Brooks, by changing one letter, makes Irving's title much more pretentious), and the like. These slips are probably of little moment to the general reader. But to the historian they reveal that Mr. Brooks, in attempting to master within a few years not only the entire range of American letters but also a great part of American social history, has frequently relied on a hasty examination of secondary sources—and of antiquated sources at that.

As a historian of American literature, then, Mr. Brooks offers little that is new, for he commonly ignores the findings of recent scholarship, buried as they are in monographs and scholarly editions and learned journals, and accepts the best wisdom of the older schools of literary history. In short, *The World of Washington Irving* is a volume into which readers of the *American Historical Review* will dip,

from time to time, both for stimulus and for entertainment, but not for source materials.

University of Minnesota

TREMAINE McDOWELL

GEORGE BANCROFT, BRAHMIN REBEL. By *Russel B. Nye*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Pp. x, 340, xii. \$3.50.)

If, as this author says, history is destined frequently to be rewritten, the same must be true of biography, and it is inevitable that Mark Howe's *Life and Letters of George Bancroft* of 1908 should be followed by the present book. Certainly there is a difference between them: the earlier is deliberate and urbane, with its subject always in evidence and speaking for himself, while the present book is brisk and analytic, and much more occupied with Bancroft the politician than with Bancroft the historian. We probably needed to be reminded that in his day Bancroft was constantly occupied with politics, held Federal office, was Secretary of the Navy, and minister to London and Berlin. Only his long life of ninety years, with his habit of industry, allowed him to combine his two pursuits. Few have more nearly approached George William Curtis' ideal of a scholar in a republic.

We have lately heard much criticism of the futility of many of our doctoral theses; but Mr. Nye's book, arising out of his own thesis, is a proof that they can be worth while. The author's remarkable familiarity with the Massachusetts politics of Bancroft's day, of the Federal affairs of his later years, and of Europe during Bancroft's student years and those of his two ministries, are completely adequate. If in Mr. Howe's book Bancroft appears more genial, human, and personal, in Mr. Nye's he is measured against the background of his time, in which tapestry he does not lose stature. Bancroft was in many ways in advance of his period: he was a transcendentalist before Emerson, a strong believer in the people, an abolitionist though not belonging to that group.

In that sense, as not waiting to go with the crowd, he was what Mr. Nye calls a rebel. Not, however, as one who openly revolts. Bancroft simply thought for himself, left the fold, and went his own way, wisely anticipating the trend of events. The Boston Whigs took his defection unkindly. "I did not find you at home when I called," he said to one Boston lady. "No," she replied, "and you never will." But the best of his old friends came back to him.

Bancroft believed in a philosophy of history, the working of which in our American development he interpreted to the world. It was consistent with his political principles, for on leaving his Boston Brahminism he was but following his belief in the common man as the instrument of the Almighty. This theory he expressed in his ten volumes over forty years; and though in their revision, and in the two volumes of the "Federal Constitution" which followed, he excised much of his earlier magniloquence, he maintained his theory to the end. Yet Bancroft in Berlin was misled by his theories in interpreting current events, when in the formation of the German Empire he believed he saw another example,

parallel to our own, of the influence of the masses on the development of freedom. What an opportunity he missed to proclaim its true meaning and to warn the world of the future of Prussianism! Later writers abandoned Bancroft's method, working instead from facts to generalizations; and moderns are more scrupulous than he in exact quotations and in reference to sources. But his enormous *History of the United States*, which went back to the discovery of the continent, remains a mine of facts, while his notes and papers are, as this reviewer can attest, an invaluable collection of original material. Nor has any follower covered such a vast sweep of our history. Mr. Nye's book is a welcome addition to American biography.

Concord, Massachusetts

ALLEN FRENCH

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR. By *William Frederick Norwood*, Associate Professor of the History of Medicine and Associate Dean in the School of Medicine, College of Medical Evangelists, Los Angeles. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 487. \$6.00.)

As Dr. Henry E. Sigerist observes in his foreword to this volume, "Medical education as it was practised in the United States before the Civil War had certainly nothing to give to the world, and yet it was undoubtedly an important factor in the life of the nation." Dr. Norwood's study is for this reason less a contribution to the history of medicine than a noteworthy addition to the social history of the United States. Its central thesis is that the combination of apprenticeship to a preceptor with a term or two of classroom lectures, by which doctors were trained in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, constituted a uniquely American system of medical education, born of and fostered by the social conditions and attitudes that characterized the young republic.

The outstanding feature of the individualistic American system was the mushrooming multiplication of medical schools, most of them wholly proprietary in form and almost all of them strongly proprietary in tone. In consequence most of the teachers became men engaged in a trade, "profit-conscious rather than profession-conscious," more interested in pocketing fees than in improving the quality of instruction. Continual feuding within and between faculties dissipated mental energies, and competition for students kept standards low. Terms of study were accommodately short; costs and requirements, both for admission and for graduation, were readily adjustable to individual circumstances. Even where enough cadavers could be provided without too much danger and difficulty, or where adequate facilities for bedside instruction were available, the practical courses in dissection and clinical medicine were not required, lest the extra cost and time discourage prospective matriculants. Many a doctor went out to practice without having personally, within the school at least, seen the inside of a human body, examined a patient, or stood by the side of a woman in labor.

The general outline of this story will not be new to students of the subject,

but there is much of fresh interest in the mass of supporting details the author has painstakingly assembled. Following upon a brief survey of colonial practice and practitioners, the bulk of the book (pp. 63-379) is devoted to individual histories of the many schools, grouped according to state or region. A concluding section presents the pattern of the American system as it emerges from the individual accounts. This organization of the material undoubtedly increases the usefulness of the book for reference purposes, but it entails a degree of repetition that is wearisome in a straight-through reading.

So too is the persistent listing of mere names on the constantly changing faculties. This calls to mind, perhaps reflects, the inordinate preoccupation with profession members that is a major weakness of many state and county histories of medicine. The purposes of social history would have been better served by substituting for the faculty lists more information about such matters as the composition and caliber of the student bodies, student life and behavior in and out of the classroom, and the relationships between town and gown other than the conflict over grave robbing. The college clinics, for instance, however negligible educationally, were of great interest and perhaps importance to the lay community.

The Civil War is not merely a convenient terminal point for the study. Its coming had important effects on medical schools both North and South, and the movement for reform in medical education, like so many others, was suspended in the heat of the greater issue. It is to be hoped that in a second volume Dr. Norwood will carry his account down to the present day.

University of Minnesota

HELEN CLAPESATTLE

THE FIRST LINCOLN CAMPAIGN. By *Reinhard H. Luthin*, Columbia University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 328. \$3.50.)

THE origin and rise of the Republican party, the political maneuvering behind Lincoln's election to the presidency, and the causes of the Civil War have long challenged the historian to almost continuous research and writing. In his book Dr. Luthin deals with the first two and implies the third. He succeeds admirably in bringing into sharp focus the political strategy resorted to by party leaders, aspirants to office, and campaign managers. The role of personalities and the complex issues of a highly confused campaign are presented objectively and concisely. In this the author is not breaking new ground, for the subject has received the attention of many students of the period. However, within the framework of his belief that the election of 1860 was a direct cause of the Civil War, the author shows the contest to have been more than a mere political campaign. In his analysis the book becomes a case study of sectionalism, party politics, and the prelude to civil strife.

The title of the book might lead one to believe that the emphasis would be on the actual campaign following the nominating conventions. If so, such is not the case. The first nine chapters deal with the various intrigues incident to the

final rejection of all candidates except Lincoln, and the behind-the-scenes activities relative to the Chicago convention. Only fifty pages are devoted to the national contest between the parties and their candidates. Likewise, the book is shorter than indicated in the bibliographical data. The textual material covers the first 227 pages, while notes and bibliography account for the rest. However, the extensive series of notes and references constitutes an excellent guide to source materials and further indicates the author's industrious research and scholarship.

The first chapter deals with the growth of the new Republican party to 1860. It is the author's contention that early Republicanism was a sectional and purely Northern movement, and that the sectionalism upon which the party rested would not have been so intense had not the North and South differed over legislation to be secured from the Federal government. The questions of the tariff, transportation, land, and foreign relations fomented sectional cleavage. Aware of the importance of the Western vote, the Republican party embraced a program calling for internal improvements, Federal aid for railroads, and free land. Closing their ranks against assault and denying charges of radicalism on the slavery issue, Republican leaders moved to the election of 1860.

Excellent sketches of the leading candidates for the Republican nomination are set forth in a series of seven chapters. Seward is shown as the chief of the anti-slavery element, yet playing an astute political game of vote getting. In the last analysis Seward was too radical to serve the party as a whole. In the case of Chase, Bates, Cameron, Wade, Barks, and McLean, all were to prove unavailable. For one reason or another each was too radical, too conservative, or too much the representative of special interests. Lincoln remained as the one available candidate, and, backed by astute managers plus various political commitments, the convention made its choice.

One could wish that the author had devoted more space to the election battle. It was here that the final decision was made. The way the money was spent, the question of the foreign vote, the forensic efforts of party speakers, and other phases of the campaign deserve further study.

Northwestern University

TRACY E. STREVEY

LEE'S LIEUTENANTS: A STUDY IN COMMAND. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Volume III, GETTYSBURG TO APPOMATTOX. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1944. Pp. xlvii, 862. \$5.00.)

"At first," Dr. Freeman wrote in the opening volume of the three which comprise the complete work of *Lee's Lieutenants*, "one had the feeling that these Confederates had ridden so far toward oblivion that one could not discern the figures or hope to overtake them before they had passed over the horizon of time." But, he added, "after working over historical materials of many sorts names become personalities, characteristics emerge, and reports take on the sound of a voice"—an effect which is vividly passed on to the reader by the historical craftsmanship

and literary power of the author without sacrifice of accuracy and without such devices as "fictionizing."

The whole work of more than 2,200 pages is a study of personalities—the raw material of command—and of how Lee by patience, tact, insight, and example welded his officers, "proud, individualistic, contentious," but gallant and devoted, into the working team of an army command. "There never were such men in an army before," Lee said of the force to the command of which he was called more than a year after the beginning of hostilities in Virginia, and which he immediately and instinctively christened the Army of *Northern* Virginia, destined for offensive operations. "They will go anywhere and do anything if properly led. But there is the difficulty—proper commanders."

The effort to find and develop such commanders in numbers sufficient to meet and make good the heavy losses in battle and attrition from other causes is the thread of the work. The third volume takes up the thread in June, 1863, just after the great victory at Chancellorsville, carries it on to "high tide" on the slopes of the low ridge above Gettysburg, and follows it out on the long ebb to the end at Appomattox. The volume is complete, self-contained, and may be read understandingly and enjoyably for itself alone. It is better read, however, for what it is, the third volume of a composite or multiple biography of the men who led Lee's corps, divisions, and brigades.

The dramatis personae of the whole work include the 47 men who served under Lee with the rank of major general or higher between the time he assumed command and the final surrender, and the 146 men who served as brigadier generals. The first volume of the work, indeed, reaches back through the year of hostilities before Lee came to the command, to set the stage and introduce the organization which he found.

This organization was itself almost fatally defective, the command being divided into "semi-autonomous, frequently jealous and often uncooperative Divisions," a state of affairs which could be remedied with extreme difficulty because of the "paralyzing law" which permitted promotion only in case of permanent vacancies and only from within each command—an interesting example of the particularist tendencies of the Confederate states. It was not until September, 1862, after the Seven Days and Second Manassas had been fought and the war had been carried from the outskirts of Richmond to the vicinity of Washington, that organization of the army into corps was authorized by statute—though it had already been accomplished informally under Longstreet and Jackson—and not until the spring of 1864 that the appointment of officers to fill temporary vacancies was enacted.

The second volume of the work closes with the reorganization of the command, after the death of Jackson, into three corps under Longstreet, "Dick" Ewell, and Ambrose Powell Hill, with the cavalry under Stuart. The third opens with the advance of the reorganized army into Pennsylvania.

Gettysburg is retold and reanalyzed. "The absence of Stuart, the indecision of

Ewell and the sulking of Longstreet," Dr. Freeman concludes, "complicated adverse conditions of combat; but the traditional easy explanation of defeat at Gettysburg as the direct and exclusive result of the shortcomings of these three men cannot be sustained." Longstreet, he writes, is not the "villain of the piece." Instead, "the mistakes of Lee and of Ewell and the long absence of Stuart were personal factors of failure as serious as Longstreet's"—a conclusion with which this reviewer is prepared to agree despite Longstreet's own revelation in his memoirs of his reluctant, hanging-back state of mind.

While the author's judgment of Longstreet's part at Gettysburg is less harsh than that of some, it is made plain that Lee's "war horse" was no more than a competent executive officer, not the great strategist that he fancied himself. "Where Longstreet's planning was original it was not practical, and where it was practical it was not original," Dr. Freeman remarks.

The author's conclusion as to Jackson is that he, too, despite his strategic skill and the power of his personality, would have been less successful as an independent army commander than he was as the great subordinate in whom Lee's "trust and confidence were absolute." One difference—and the same is said of Longstreet—lay in the management of personnel, the reconciliation of controversies so as to save the best services of all engaged, and the composure of jealousies both between West Pointers and civilian officers as a class and among the West Pointers themselves. If anyone doubts that Lee's shining ability to bring men to work together was as much responsible for the record of his army as was his strategic power, he has but to consult the parallel history of the other major Confederate army, the Army of Tennessee, under a commander conspicuously lacking in that quality.

Never having "superabundant ability" to select from in his efforts to build up the command, Lee suffered throughout from attrition. His greatest loss, that of Jackson in May, 1863, was followed a year later by that of Jeb Stuart, who "never brought a piece of false information," but who, nevertheless, does not come out of these pages as quite the plumed perfection of a cavalryman found in earlier studies.

In the one month of May, 1864, the attrition among Lee's general officers under the pounding of Grant's advance was thirty-seven per cent. It no longer was possible to replace losses with professional soldiers and so, during the last months of the war, there began to emerge the leader who up to 1861 had been a civilian—Wade Hampton, who "lacked the glamour Stuart had in the eyes of the hard-riding young troopers of 1862," but who "appealed more strongly to the temper of 1864"; John B. Gordon, whose career was such that "if the final march (to surrender at Appomattox) had been arranged to honor those who had fought hardest and with highest distinction during the last year of the war, Gordon rightly would have been put first"; and William Mahone, "who shared with Gordon and with Hampton the highest distinction of the final year of war."

But though grim necessity had brought to the front these nonprofessional soldiers of exceptional quality in the "darkening autumn of command," and while

professional training proved to be no guarantee of success, it is the studied conclusion of the author that "professional training in arms for men who were to exercise command was vindicated throughout the history of the Army of Northern Virginia." The same might be remarked of all our wars since that time, as well, although some question might be raised as to whether the overwhelming predominance of professional soldiers might not be due in part at least to greater opportunity as well as early training. It took two or more years of warfare to bring such men as Hampton, Gordon, and Mahone, with the Virginia armies, or Forrest with the armies in the West, to divisional command, but, once arrived, their performance did not suffer by comparison. Perhaps earlier and wider opportunity for such exceptional men might have altered the composition of command.

While the *Lieutenants* necessarily gives much attention to the men who commanded the corps and larger units, one of its great merits and greatest charms is that it brings to life scores and scores of the lesser figures. To name even a few of them here would be no more than mere cataloguing, but in the book each one becomes a living figure, stepping out from the past to play his own authentic personal part in the tremendous pageant of this unique multiple biography.

The book is not a history of the Army of Northern Virginia and does not purport to be. It touches only incidentally upon the problems of supply and logistics—that would be another book, which awaits the doing—and its treatment of strategy and tactics is only such as is necessary to bring out the facts as to leadership and command. It is a book, nevertheless, which will be read by students of warfare for the insight which it gives into the workings of military command in the hands of one of history's great soldiers. But it will be read by the far larger number who are neither students of warfare in general nor of this war in particular, because of its parade of personalities. After all, it is not continuing interest in the political theories of the Grecian states nor in the battle tactics of their internecine struggles which causes men still to read Thucydides but rather his exposition of the eternal verities of human nature in time of war.

Washington, D. C.

ROBERT S. HENRY

"FIRST WITH THE MOST" FORREST. By *Robert Selph Henry*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 558. \$4.00.)

FORREST is one of the most written about of all Civil War leaders. Mr. Henry's is the fifth major biography of the dashing Confederate, and the number of lesser books about him rival Dr. Eliot's famous five-foot shelf.

Why all this attention? Certainly not because of his being a gently nurtured beau sabreur. For Forrest was the son of a blacksmith, and his formal schooling aggregated no more than six months. His language was unrefined and his spelling was phonetic. He said "I seen" and "hope tote" (for help carry). He wrote on a thrice-submitted furlough application, "I have tole you twict goddamit No."

(But Mr. Henry proves beyond reasonable doubt that he didn't say "fustest with the mostest"—he didn't go in for extra syllables.)

Forrest rated himself a millionaire at the outbreak of the war. He made much of his fortune trading in slaves. A violent man, given to Olympian displays of temper, he once gave Bragg a dressing down in which he threatened to slap his superior's jaws and served notice never to obey another of his orders. He attacked with a penknife a disgruntled subordinate who tried to kill him and carved the assailant so thoroughly that he died. After the war he split with an ax the skull of a Negro who attacked him with a knife.

Yet there was a streak of tenderness in him. He was devoted to his wife and brothers. He was fond of children and adored by them. In his declining years he joined the church, but like Sam Houston he had difficulty thereafter in keeping his language orthodox.

Forrest's fame rests not on demonstrated ability to lead masses of men in combat. Never did he operate with a force comparable to a modern division. Brice's Cross Roads, his most spectacular victory, was won with about five thousand men. Forrest's renown rests on his prowess as a tactician, a fighter, and a leader. As a tactician he belongs more to the present than to the 1860's. His cavalry was to a large extent "horseborne infantry" supported by highly mobile artillery. At Brice's Cross Roads his men used artillery in close support, rolling the pieces along by hand as they advanced in line against the Federals. He used speed to get there first and cunning to make the enemy think that he was there with the most.

He fought the enemy relentlessly from Shiloh to Selma. And he was consistently to be found in the thick of the fray. He had horses shot under him twenty-nine times, he killed no less than thirty Federals in hand-to-hand encounter, and he was four times wounded. In the heat of battle he was so terrific that would-be-skulkers found it easier to face Yankee bullets than the fire of his wrath.

No one can say what he might have done with a large command. Suffice it to say that he wrought miracles with what he had and that more than once his unadopted recommendations in matters of higher strategy were correct.

Mr. Henry several years ago achieved the distinction of writing the best history of the Confederacy. He now has merited recognition as author of the best biography of Forrest. He has unearthed much material not available to other biographers. His narrative is generously documented and illumined by a series of excellent maps. The author maintains a high level of accuracy and scholarliness without once being obscure or dull.

Washington, D. C.

BELL IRVIN WILEY

JEFFERSON DAVIS AND HIS CABINET. By *Robert W. Patrick*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 401. \$3.75.)

WHEN this book was begun in 1936 the *Journal of Southern History* was in its second year, Douglas S. Freeman had just completed his four-volume biography

of R. E. Lee, and a number of other able historical writers—Craven, Owsley, Ramsdell, Randall, Robinson, etc.—were reviving the interest in the Civil War history of the South, a field which had been opened up by U. B. Phillips and others and which had already become a favorite region for historical exploration. As the author states, the task to which he set himself was an ambitious one.

Since the Confederate administration had failed to win the war, and since men in civil life are not clothed in the glamour of warriors who fall gloriously on the field of battle, Davis' cabinet members had long been relegated to obscurity. Dr. Patrick's task was made more difficult by the fact that only two of the Confederate cabinet members—there were fourteen in all—left memoirs of value, and only five of them had been subjects of biographies. Furthermore, most of these accounts had not sufficiently emphasized their mutual relationships, and the relations between the president and his cabinet. While the work was in its early stages, A. J. Hanna gave a graphic account of the last days of the cabinet in his *Flight into Oblivion* (1938), and B. J. Kendrick's interesting *Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet* (1939) appeared. While these works must have narrowed the author's chosen field, room was left for further treatment of the subject.

Had Dr. Patrick presented his account in chronological form, describing the chief characters as each became prominent on the stage, there would have been less confusion and duplication in the narrative, and a better picture of the administration as a whole would have resulted. But the author frankly admits that he is not attempting a definitive account of the Southern administration. Instead, he takes each department separately and describes each cabinet member in it; and to attain some kind of unity he prefaces his book with two chapters dealing with the beginnings of the war and a general description of President Davis and his cabinet, and adds two concluding chapters giving a picture of life in the Confederate capitals and describing the flight of the chief administrative officers of the Confederacy in 1865. The author succeeds in giving a good account of the personal characteristics of the president and his cabinet, their virtues and shortcomings, their problems, the manner in which they worked together and in their separate departments, and their relations with Congress. In doing this he throws much light on the various phases of the Confederate administration.

Here we find more proof that the troubles of the Confederacy which resulted in its collapse were congenital—lack of manpower and materials, absence of a navy and the means of building one to protect the country from the blockade, extreme individualism in persons and in state governments, and the fatal optimism regarding its strength and the prospects of foreign aid. Dr. Patrick is emphatic in his opinion that the collapse of the Confederacy was not due to weaknesses within its administration. He shows that Davis was an able and co-operative administrator who chose an efficient group of cabinet members upon whom he placed due responsibility, and that these members of his administration were not treated as mere chief clerks in their respective departments.

The style of this useful book is pleasing—with the exception of the somewhat precious chapter headings. The footnotes and full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources and of secondary material testify to the careful work that went into its preparation.

College of William and Mary

RICHARD L. MORTON

THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF OHIO. Edited by *Carl Wittke*, Professor of History, Oberlin College. [Published under the Auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.] In six volumes. Volume IV, THE CIVIL WAR ERA, 1850-1873. By *Eugene H. Roseboom*, Associate Professor of History, Ohio State University. (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xvii, 599. \$25.00 per set.)

PROBABLY no years in United States history, after the Revolution, are more important than the period covered by Dr. Roseboom in *The Civil War Era, 1850-1873*. Describing this epoch in Ohio, he devotes seventy-one pages, less than fifteen per cent of his book, to the war and war politics. Yet in this space he gives an adequate picture of Ohio's "years of doubt" and "years of decision"—the Vallandigham fiasco, John Brough's famous Union Speech, Salmon P. Chase's barefaced bid for the presidency in 1864, the Johnson Island plot, Copperhead intrigues, and Morgan's raid across the southern part of the state.

The remainder of the book describes the emergence of industrial life in rural Ohio, the revolution in transportation—greater than the change to automobiles half a century later; the problems of banking and finance which moved faster than political panaceas; constitutional regulations of cities and city corporations; the growth of coeducation, temperance, liberalism; reforms and reformers.

One chapter, "Nebraska and Nativism," is a perfect foil for Barnes's *Anti-slavery Impulse*. Both present an antithesis to the economic interpretation of the Civil War as a struggle between industrial New England and the rural South. Instead, the Old Northwest appears to have forced the political issue of abolitionism on New England and the conservative South, both more interested in restricting foreign immigration—America for Americans! Dr. Roseboom's investigations also refute the anti-Catholic origins of Know Nothingism. He thus modifies the theses of Thomas and Billington. His exposition of the Methodist church schism into peace and war factions during the Civil War is a phenomenon not mentioned by Sweet in his two books on the subject. Enlarging on Ella Lonn's authoritative work on desertion, the author states that one quarter of Ohio's absent soldiers left the army after Appomattox. These noteworthy contributions amply atone for such an unfortunate slip as "the famous Milliken Case" when the author means "ex parte Milligan."

This volume concludes Ohio's centennial history under the editorship of Carl Wittke. Certainly the work compares favorably with the several composite histories published since Illinois set the pattern in 1918. Each of the Ohio volumes,

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written by one of the state's distinguished scholars, represents original research based on source material. A general index is needed very much—so is a topical bibliography, similar to the one which Angle and Beyer included in their *Handbook of Illinois History*. These two features, combined in an additional volume, would make *The History of the State of Ohio* set a new standard in its field.

Illinois State Historical Library

JAY MONAGHAN

THE WISCONSIN PINE LANDS OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY: A STUDY IN LAND POLICY AND ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP. By *Paul Wallace Gates*, Cornell University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 265. \$3.50.)

HISTORIES of the public domain from the pioneer studies and compilations of Donaldson, Hart, and Sato have dealt mainly with the acquisition and the enactment of disposal policies. For some years Professor Gates has been investigating, both at national and regional sources, the actual and ultimate disposal of the national heritage under the various settlement and grant acts. The present book, which brings together the findings of extensive and prolonged research, contributes significantly to that general theme. The management of the land scrip is the most obscure and confused chapter of land-grant college history. The Cornell experience in relative return was unique and, considering the complications involved, truly remarkable. At the same time the timber resources of the Wisconsin public lands afforded a prize that was struggled for with unusual intensity by the varied rival interests.

Adequate background is provided by the explanation of the attitude of the western states toward the college grant and the experiences of other typical eastern states in the disposal of their scrip. Sources have been sought exhaustively and utilized thoroughly and judiciously. With the appropriate Federal and state documents as the legal record of powers and decrees, the real story has been found in local newspapers and in a surprisingly large volume of manuscripts—land office records, county deeds, the Cornell land papers, and the correspondence of the founder, the officers, the agents of the university, and other speculators in Wisconsin lands.

This intensive regional study provides further evidence of the utter lack of foresight and planning in the whole disposal system. Grant and settlement policies reflecting different elements of pressure were enacted with no regard to conflicting areas and interests. The West opposed the college grants not because they would lead to exploitation but rather from the delay to direct utilization which absentee ownership threatened. On their side states and counties could harass the alien speculator by high and discriminatory taxes.

Amid the struggle of the various special interests, the ultimate public interest was little regarded. The present story is replete with the designs of timber rings, county rings, and railroad lobbies. The success of the Cornell pine land investment

depended upon the ability of her lawyers, land agents, and financiers to outwit or come to terms with the rival forces. Specifically the realization of the relatively munificent endowment from the scrip investment was, the author concludes, "due to the vision of Ezra Cornell, the keen judgment of H. C. Putnam, and the able management of Henry W. Sage."

The book is clearly written, fully documented, and attractively illustrated. It will be of permanent value for the history of the public lands, the land-grant college, and the lumber industry.

Iowa State College

EARLE D. ROSS

PITCHFORK BEN TILLMAN, SOUTH CAROLINIAN. By *Francis Butler Simkins*. [Southern Biography Series, edited by Fred C. Cole and Wendell H. Stephenson.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 577. \$4.50.)

TILLMAN was distinctly an agrarian leader of the land-owning farmer and hence an important figure in one of the great movements of his time. He was an individualistic conservative in his policies, radical only in his violent language. He accomplished certain reforms that would have come sooner or later without him, but Professor Simkins justly gives him credit for hastening their consummation. Yet Tillman must bear the blame of unnecessarily inflaming the smoldering hatred between the upper and lower classes and of inaugurating political methods that in a few years sank to such depths that he openly expressed doubt that he had acted well in advocating the county-to-county campaign, with opponents abusing each other from the same platform, and the primary election, which afforded every advantage to passion, glibness, and ignorance—a passing phase of delayed and frustrated democracy, let us hope. Nor can the old ruling class be acquitted of contributing by their refusal of reforms to the violence of the changes forced upon them.

Professor Simkins explains the difficulty of Tillman's exercising his powers in a Senate controlled by the opposite party during his prime. Yet his persistent attacks on overcharges for armor plate and his engineering of the Railroad Act of 1906 through the Senate when his Republican fellow committeemen desired its failure are achievements of national significance.

Tillman was distinctly an intellectual, widely acquainted with good English literature, and it is fitting that two of his outstanding achievements were his great part in the establishment and liberal support of Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College for men and Winthrop College for women. In his masterful suppression of the mob in its riot at Darlington, which seriously threatened to spread farther, he won the applause of Northern and British journals irrespective of their opinions on his liquor dispensary, against which the uprising occurred. Of these virtues, and also of his faults and petty meannesses, Professor Simkins writes with equal frankness.

A reviewer regrets to point out defects in so valuable a work, but such procedure may be of use to a scholar from whom we may expect other contributions. Professor Simkins' treatment of Tillman's handling of the question of Negro suffrage shows no realization of the threat of a revival of Negro power in politics which existed in the 1890's. Dangers must be met under the circumstances existing when they arise, not in some imagined utopia. If the white men of South Carolina almost fell into civil war with each other in the 1890's, as Professor Simkins so vividly describes, what would have been the violence if to the existing grievances had been added the vote in the hands of a Negro majority? The white people of the state overwhelmingly stood behind Tillman in this matter, remembering that they had been ruled by blacks supported by Federal bayonets in the state house itself only eighteen years before. The handling of the suffrage question by Tillman, and the ablest Conservative leaders acting in complete accord perhaps saved South Carolina from conditions reminiscent of Reconstruction.

Furthermore, does not Professor Simkins' reiteration of Tillman's coarseness of manner and violence of speech detract rather too much from the man's largeness and importance? Is not the title of his book subject to the same criticism? A few errors occur, of which the worst is confusing Senator W. E. Chandler of New Hampshire, who entered Congress as a senator in 1887, with Zach Chandler of Reconstruction days (p. 18). The Salley Rifles (p. 254) were from Salley, South Carolina, not from Newberry. The mistake in his earlier *Tillman Movement* of giving the numbers of each faction in the Constitutional Convention of 1894 so that the total is two more than the entire membership is repeated (p. 289). The correct numbers (as Professor Simkins agreed December 1, 1941, when I called it to his attention) were Conservatives 40, Tillmanites 114, Republicans 6. Cole L. Blease lost, not won (p. 487), the prize in oratory (a gold medal, as I personally witnessed) at Newberry College. The watch was presented in protest by friends. February 8 (p. 201) should be February 18.

Professor Simkins has again put us under obligation by a full, frank, and authoritative account of an important personality and a critical period in Southern history.

Wofford College

D. D. WALLACE

THE BOOM OF THE EIGHTIES IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By Glenn S. Dumke. (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1944. Pp. xi, 313. \$3.75.)

FOR many years, while American historians concerned themselves with the transit of civilization over many frontiers, one such frontier, the urban frontier, remained largely neglected. Even now, when the significance of urbanization in American history has come to be generally recognized, little effort has been made to describe the reproductive process through which the American city built

other cities in its own image in all parts of the country including the far western frontiers on the Pacific Coast.

Dr. Dumke's book is a highly significant, though in some respects disappointing, contribution to this aspect of our national development. That his research has been careful and thorough, within the limits he set for himself, no one can doubt. He has canvassed an extensive body of printed literature, including the more important newspaper files and all available secondary accounts. Favorably situated to exploit the resources of the Huntington Library, he has utilized the invaluable accumulation of manuscript collections bearing upon the history of the region which have been assembled there. These materials he has supplemented by an inspection of census data and unpublished county and municipal records.

The product of his investigation is a substantial summary account of the promotional aspects of the land boom of the later eighties. Eight chapters provide a modest background, point out the general factors which affected the boom as a whole—economic resources, railroad competition, advertising, irrigation, and educational improvements—and describe the methods of a number of the chief promoters. The remaining ten chapters are devoted to an examination of the developments in particular localities. If the narrative becomes at times a somewhat repetitious account of auctions and speculative realty transactions, it substantiates the author's warning against easy generalizations and permits many specific comparisons to be made.

In spite of its rehearsal of business deals, the author's portrayal of the boom, considered as a local phenomenon, is graphic and colorful. The promotional stereotypes stand out clearly, and the quotations selected from contemporary sources are well chosen and highly readable. The detail is rich and the statistical data include valuable information on land values and prices, and the volume of business. Enough local history is brought in to show the significance of the boom in the development of individual communities. A chapter on ghost towns describes those ventures which for one reason or another failed to "jell." Generally speaking, with all its waste and extravagance, the excitement of the period served to hasten a development which otherwise must have come much more slowly.

But the book does not throw light, except incidentally, on the interregional aspects of urbanization. Here and there are suggestions of this side of the picture: in the stress put upon the transcontinental railroads, the mention of the syndicates in the East which put up the money for development and advertising, and the professional promoters who came to California as experts, schooled in boom psychology through their experience in the Middle West. They are only suggestions, however, and it may well be that new techniques of interregional collaboration in research will have to be perfected before such lines of inquiry can be followed out systematically. Until urbanization is treated from the national, rather than the local point of view, we shall not fully understand it.

PRAIRIE CITY: THE STORY OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY. By *Angie Debo*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xiv, 245, viii. \$3.50.)

THIS is the story of a small western community from the time of its formation in 1889 to 1942. It is not the history of any particular town for the author has combined her knowledge of many such communities into a composite picture. Except for the fact that Oklahoma, which was chosen for the setting of this particular community, has some peculiar features incident to its settlement and growth, the community might be any town in the prairie West.

In preparing the volume with the aid of an Alfred A. Knopf fellowship grant, the author studied numerous town records and local newspapers and interviewed many early settlers whose memories proved a storehouse of information with respect to life in earlier days. The result is an excellent portrayal of the pattern of American life as it has been lived in the small towns on our western prairies for the past half century. Here are revealed the hopes, dreams, and ambitions of those pioneers who planted a village on the plains and strove to make it grow. Here also is depicted the formation and development of the civic, economic, and social consciousness of a typically American community during a generation marked by greater and more rapid changes than can be found in any other similar period of years in the history of the world. In this little volume, the reader is permitted to look into the hearts of these pioneers and to see their reactions to a new environment and to events and movements of national and even world-wide importance. A vivid portrayal is given of the hardships of pioneer life, the lean years of drought, the comfort derived from a deep spiritual faith, the enthusiasm over the coming of a railroad, and the consequent advance in real estate.

In addition are depicted the tragic effects of the first World War, the feverish activity of the Ku Klux Klan, the joy over the discovery of oil, and the gloom which followed the passing of the oil boom. Finally, here is revealed the effects of the depression, the reaction to the New Deal, and the reception of the news of Pearl Harbor.

This is not the story of a single town. It is the story of virtually every western prairie town whose inhabitants may here read most of the story of their own lives and their own communities during the past fifty years. It has been written with sympathy, understanding, and truth in the broadest sense of the term, and is a significant contribution to the literature dealing with American life.

University of Oklahoma

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

FRANCES WILLARD: FROM PRAYERS TO POLITICS. By *Mary Earhart*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. x, 418. \$3.75.)

In this biography we have a very readable and informing book about a woman who, for reasons developed extensively in the book, has never been correctly estimated or understood by the American public. Though the reader may not agree

in all respects with the author's estimate, he cannot fail to be impressed with the truthful effect of her conscientious and exhaustive recording.

Frances Willard possessed a complicated personality which was interwoven to an unusual extent with her public life and work. Not that her personality is hard to understand. Her father was a Puritan of the Puritans, an unstable man, and a tyrannical parent. Her brother must be a minister whether he wished it or not; Frances must attend a school of her father's sect regardless of her preference; only her younger sister, who had no wish of her own, was a child after his own heart. Under such a regime a child is slow to grow up; and this, as the author points out, was true of Frances Willard.

After experimenting for a number of years as a teacher, she found what was to prove her life's work. At thirty-nine she was swept as if by accident into the rising tide of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Henceforth her life became that of the Union. Her talents as an organizer, as an orator, as an inspirational leader found expression in the creation and guidance of a stupendous temperance organization. Miss Earhart thinks that Frances Willard looked far ahead of the reality. She "was quick to perceive that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the gate-way to her long-held vision for women." She threw her whole life into a movement which rapidly assumed phenomenal proportions in numbers and real social significance for women.

As a tactical politician Frances Willard displayed great ability. Her success in organizing the women of the South at a time when Northern leaders were taboo in that region was a keen political stroke. Similarly though with much more difficulty she swung the rank and file of her temperance organization into the movement for woman suffrage. Not until near the end of her life, and but slightly then, had she any need to employ her gift in maintaining her own position in the Union. Her hold on the thousandfold membership was an emotional hold, not easily broken in her lifetime or afterwards.

The number of social causes to which the beloved temperance leader made a contribution is incredibly large. The slogan which she invented, "For God and Home and Native Land," permitted the utmost branching out of interests and activities. But such was the energy of Frances Willard's leadership that the influence she divided in so many directions still proved strong. Of them all, the author of this biography thinks, she leaned most toward woman suffrage, labor unionism, and socialism.

Miss Earhart believes that Frances Willard's contribution to woman suffrage was not only powerful: it was paramount. Her conviction of the importance of this influence, to which other histories have also paid some tribute, betrays her into several misleading and belittling comments on the woman suffrage movement sponsored by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. This is an unfortunate error, suggesting a sectional bias in a book which generally aims and otherwise does so much to fill up a hitherto wide gap in American social history.

EDWARD BELLAMY. By *Arthur E. Morgan*. [Columbia Studies in American Culture, Number 15.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. xvii, 468. \$5.00.)

AFTER Bellamy's death, Mason Green, who had been associated with him in the Nationalist Club and was managing editor of the *New Nation*, undertook to write his biography. The work was never finished, and Mr. Morgan's volume is the first biography of Bellamy to be published. Many Bellamy papers were destroyed when Mason Green's home was burned in 1906, but Mr. Morgan has had at his disposal fragments of Green's work as well as notebooks and other unpublished material by Bellamy himself. The book, therefore, whatever its shortcomings, has considerable value for both the literary and the social historian.

One cannot help wishing, however, that the first biography of Bellamy could have been less pretentious and more perceptive. To begin with, the plan of the book is heavy-handed and clumsy. "Each of the several lives which Edward Bellamy lived," Mr. Morgan tells us, "had a unity of its own which would be lost to the reader if a record of that interest should be broken up and scattered through a rigid chronological framework." But the effect of his topical arrangement—Bellamy as rebel, as writer, as philosopher, as political economist, and so forth—is to make impossible any clear realization of Bellamy as a living human being. How mechanical this procedure can be is demonstrated by the chapter called "The Rebel," which discusses the rebel in love, the rebel in religion, the rebel against fame, and so on through ten subdivisions. After Mr. Morgan has finished taking Bellamy apart, it would be useless to call in the king's horses and the king's men.

Mr. Morgan makes startling claims for Bellamy, representing him as the equal or superior of Freud, Marx, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Henry George. Yet, enthusiastic as is the praise he heaps upon *Looking Backward*, his own analysis of the book is prevailingly destructive. He admits, for instance, that Bellamy's expectation of a quick and easy transition to the Nationalist state was the result of a faulty understanding of psychology, sociology, and history. As might be expected from the author of *The Small Community*, he is dubious about the degree of centralization Bellamy recommended. He finds flaws in Bellamy's scheme of economic equality and criticizes his program of public ostentation. One of his most interesting revelations concerns Bellamy's youthful interest in the military life, an interest that clearly determined the kind of regimentation advocated in *Looking Backward*. Mr. Morgan wavers at this point, halfheartedly defending regimentation and lamely insisting that Bellamy wanted freedom, but in effect he comes to the conclusion that Bellamy was wrong. What, then, is left? If Bellamy was a false prophet, on what do his claims to greatness rest?

A less extravagant evaluation of Bellamy as thinker might have led Mr. Morgan to give us a clearer account of Bellamy as a person and would almost certainly have led him to look more closely at American life in the eighties and nineties for an explanation of Bellamy's influence. In attempting to prove Bellamy's originality

—and he calls him more original than Marx—Mr. Morgan repeatedly comes back to his minimizing of the class struggle. This can scarcely be called an original idea, and to give Bellamy sole credit for holding back Marxist influences in America is to be much too generous. Furthermore, though Marxism is certainly open to criticism, one cannot dispose of it, as Mr. Morgan tries to do, simply by calling it a European ideology. If Bellamy affected the thinking of a generation, it was not because he was a Marx or a Freud or an Emerson, but because he said more clearly, convincingly, and charmingly than anyone else what many persons were thinking and not a few were saying. The truth is, one fears, that Mr. Morgan does not fully understand socialism or American history or even Edward Bellamy.

Grafton, New York

GRANVILLE HICKS

THE WILSON ERA: YEARS OF PEACE, 1910-1917. by *Josephus Daniels*, Secretary of the Navy, 1913-1921. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. xvi, 615. \$4.00.)

No man now living is better fitted to write of the years between 1910 and 1917 than Josephus Daniels, for here is no bystander or mere chronicler but one who was at the heart of things. Editor of his own paper in North Carolina and an ardent champion of true democracy, he played an important part in the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson. Secretary of the Navy for eight years, he at no time confined his activities to this designated field. His relations with the White House were intimate, and not only did the President advise with him on policies but he confided in him. His fellow Cabinet members liked and admired him and took frequent advantage of his political acumen and sound judgment, so that he came to know their problems as well as his own.

Above all, he was a zestful man, in love with life and living, who brought to every contact a warmly human interest. That is why his book has in it none of self-centeredness that marks the usual adventure in autobiography and why it is refreshingly free from the smugness of those diaries in which public figures are so busy painting favorable pictures of themselves that they have no time for other portraiture. Full of lusty anecdote and vivid incident, a panoramic treatment of a stirring era, Mr. Daniels' book is brilliantly alive.

It may be argued that the work is not history in the strict sense, but it is certain that historians will find it a treasure store of "inside information" about a great and critical period in American affairs. Woodrow Wilson, taking office with a political philosophy fully formed, lost no time in leading the revolt of an awakened idealism against intrenched materialism, and Josephus Daniels, politically wise and staunchly progressive, stood at his side throughout the struggle.

Tariff revision, rural credits, the Federal Reserve system, the Adamson eight-hour law, the Federal Trade Commission, the Clayton Antitrust Act, Workmen's Compensation, child labor laws, the Seamen's Act, and minimum wage legislation were among the victories that Wilson won in his fight to take loaded dice away

from special privilege and return government to the people. Not the least tragedy of the World War was that it forced Woodrow Wilson to quit his domestic program, for with his clear vision and inflexible purpose he planned further fundamental reforms that would have built our social and economic structure on solid rock. Mr. Daniels is at his best in dealing with these battles, packing his chapters with unprinted facts and shrewd comment on men and motives.

He is no less authoritative in handling the trying period of neutrality, making clear the conflicting passions that tore at American unity, and the President's own patient efforts to chart a purely American course. One by one he follows Mr. Wilson's notes, so derided at the time, showing how they unmasked Germany's sinister intent, even as they led both America and the Allies to high, firm ground. No more revealing account of those unhappy years, so filled with hates and confusions, has ever been written, for Josephus Daniels saw all, heard all, and was himself in the thick of it. It is to be trusted that his new book, covering the war years, will follow the same intimate, lively pattern.

With characteristic modesty, and an utter absence of self-pity, Mr. Daniels minimizes his own part in the Wilsonian struggles, yet he was one of the most powerful and effective figures and not even the President was more the object of malignity and derision. Honesty, efficiency, and a flaming faith in democracy were his offenses, and unceasing attack was the price he paid for saving millions of the people's money from rascals in high place, for breaking up the "arm chair clique" that made the Navy a private club, for making merit the test of promotion, and for opening the door of advancement to enlisted men:

The manner in which the Navy performed during two years of war gave devastating answer to his critics, and no less a man than Admiral Dewey acclaimed him as a great, if not *the* greatest Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Daniels might also have pointed out that not one of the reforms instituted by him—all denounced as dangerous and destructive—has ever been abandoned.

Just as his enemies assailed his appointment by Mr. Wilson, asking what a country editor could possibly know about the Navy, so were they equally vociferous when President Roosevelt appointed him our ambassador to Mexico. Yet here again he made good, for his honesty, sincerity, simplicity, and forthright democracy resulted in the establishment of relations between the two countries that were better than ever before in history. The qualities that made him a successful secretary and a beloved ambassador shine out in every line of his book, giving it unique and lasting value.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE CREEL

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL, 1933-1938. By *Basil Rauch*. (New York: Creative Age Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 368. \$2.50.)

MR. RAUCH has made a noble attempt in a hazardous field. He has produced as good a description of the New Deal as we have, without making votes for any

candidate. His struggle has been with the multiplicity of happenings in the United States between 1933 and 1938, a multiplicity any one of whose units would justify a treatise. The sum total has been obscured to the contemporary eye by world affairs and partisan politics, by the denunciation of opponents and the over-praise of friends. Until a better book has been put together, this *History of the New Deal* may well live at the elbow of any student of the Roosevelt period. To write a better one, the author will have to fight complexity to the very death.

It was, after all, a successful political impudence to claim the word "new" for the chapter in American development beginning, in 1933. Nearly every one of the problems crowding into Mr. Rauch's chapters had its roots in the half century after the Granger cases. What happened to the roots was the forcing process of panic, which brought about a congested period of blossom, and some unexpected cross-fertilizations. But the blossoming was not inharmonious with prepanic forecasts. In normal times our needed readjustments follow their causes with considerable lag; but in the New Deal period, with leadership and showmanship to pull and panic to drive, a generation of experiment and test was crowded into half a dozen years. Mr. Rauch traces the course of the New Deal measures from the recesses of the brain trust to the Supreme Court and the stump, properly noting the small fraction to which a majority of the Court has taken exception. He has perhaps relied too greatly on the President's *Public Papers and Addresses*, for the second Roosevelt, like the first, has made his own gloss upon his career temptingly available. The New Deal has been put into an intelligible, though difficult, synthesis.

There is excellent authority for splitting the New Deal into two phases, one aimed at lifting from the top, the other at uplifting from the bottom; but the author might to advantage have given more stress to the character of measures in the earlier group as fundamentally for "recovery." The New Deal took hold in the midst of driving panic, when time was of the essence. The early measures follow similar efforts of the Hoover period closely enough to be regarded as the final phases of that period, though laid on with a freer hand and in an atmosphere dominated by prayer for action rather than by obstruction on principle. Of necessity they partook of some of the objectives of the later New Deal but they lacked much of the character of a deliberate reconstruction of Federal policies.

It is too much to hope that each of the innumerable interests pressing in these years for priority on the statute books will like its treatment. But for the general, and patient, reader, and for the historian, who has to be patient, the volume is sensible, accurate, and useful.

University of California

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN AMERICAN LIFE: ESSAYS AND CRITICAL
BIBLIOGRAPHIES. Edited for the Princeton Program of Study in American

Civilization by David F. Bowers. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 254. \$3.00.)

THE climactic experience of Princeton undergraduates in the recently inaugurated major in American civilization is the senior conference. During their final year the majors meet regularly to discuss some topic sufficiently general to permit interdisciplinary consideration. The director and colleagues from the social sciences and the humanities introduce various phases of the subject and supply bibliographies. These talks and the students' reading form the bases of the discussions. The book under review contains in essay form the material used in 1942-1943.

Mr. Bowers by way of general introduction explains the peculiar appropriateness of the topic of "foreign influence" because within its range it permits analysis of any level of American culture and comparison with similar levels in the cultures from which impact comes. He also explains the limits which the complexities of the problem prescribe. A time span, 1800-1941, was set and the study confined to "selected ethnic and national groups" and their influence upon "selected phases of American life" (p. 7), such as Americanization, assimilation, economic ethics, politics, art, literature, religion, and philosophy. In each phase the impact is considered under the rubrics of process, effect, and evaluation. The emphasis throughout is on process, a complex process evolving in time.

Mr. Persons in discussing Americanization argues for a fusion of the historical and the sociological approaches and proceeds to illustrate how it can be done. More experiments of this type would advance progress toward a general social science. Mr. Leyburn in analyzing the difficulties of assimilation uses the comparative method, taking the contrasting situations presented by European, Oriental, and Negro. He believes that in the long run racial amalgamation will be the solution. Mr. Graham uses the historical method in tracing the development of European economic ethics and the way in which these concepts have been modified by American conditions. The result is chaotic he believes, for it is his view that we have achieved no sure economic ethic because the "building of an American civilization is yet in a stage of chaos and immaturity" (p. 83).

In discussing the immigrant in politics, Mr. Handlin makes the point, among others, that the immigrant has generally been a conservative rather than a radical force. Most significant is his suggestion that the foreign elements have periodically supplied a scapegoat to be used in times of stress and uncertainty when communities are unwilling or unable to face the facts of their distress.

In the realm of art Mr. Egbert passes the various foreign influences in chronological review. The force of the impact, he concludes, varies with the correspondence of these impulses to native tendencies. As yet, American art has developed no dominant tradition of its own. Mr. Blackmur illustrates the literary impact by discussing expatriates. He believes that men like Henry James are "neither eccentric nor escapist, but orthodox and direct in their seizure of a theme" (p. 145),

i.e., cultural unhappiness and insufficiency in a new country, thrust upon them by the fact of the great migration.

Mr. Bowers concludes the symposium with a discussion of the growth of the American religious and philosophical tradition under foreign influence, particularly that of Germany and Great Britain illustrated by Hegel and Darwin. The interaction of European thought and American behavior has produced the instrumentalism of Dewey. This later philosophy uses "the Darwinian and Hegelian conception of history as a new ground for asserting moral and political relativism." The author believes that this is a "revolutionary break with the past" which in no slight degree "promises to transform the character and structure of American life" (p. 167).

The essays are written primarily to educate and to stimulate the most intelligent of the undergraduates, but they have a quality which invites a wide reading. Each presents a carefully thought out and neatly written summary of the state of knowledge in the respective fields. These are spiced by the individuality of most of the writers, whose views will in several cases probably be challenged by their intra-disciplinary colleagues. The book is likewise convenient because of its series of comprehensive bibliographies supplied with appropriate introductions, classifications, and annotations. Finally these essays deserve careful consideration as studies in methodology. Here the historian will find some interesting demonstrations of his indispensability to the humanities and the social sciences, for he finds his work and his method the basis of the argument of all save one of the writers. These essays illustrate the importance of the historical method in the instrumentalism which dominates the symposium.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE RISE OF FERNANDO CORTES. By *Henry R. Wagner*. [Documents and Narratives concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, New Series, Number Three.] (Berkeley: Cortes Society. 1944. Pp. xxxvi, 564.)

I must confess that Henry R. Wagner's book is rather puzzling to me. I cannot understand why anyone should devote years of minute study to tracing the career of a man whom one does not hold in particular esteem. Wagner states in the introduction of his book, "My main object has been to put Cortés himself in proper perspective, to give him his due." In my opinion his book fails to accomplish this. The author believes that the best means to gain the proper view is to resort to contemporary documents in order to unearth some "additional facts."

The frequently recurring words "additional" and "add," the very blame which Wagner attaches to all the historians since Prescott for not having "added" anything to our knowledge of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, are symptomatic. He is a typical positivist and believes that in order to see the wood one has to count all the trees, branches, and leaves.

Yet it is Taine himself, an author supposedly not out of favor with the positivists, who maintains that a great number of documents can only serve, in the writing of history, as a means of getting at the man that exists behind them. It is exactly this which Wagner fails to perceive; he lacks the awareness of man, as man exists in history, within the frame of a concretely determined situation, under the influence of specific moral and physical factors. It is this situation and these factors which the historian has to grasp in order to understand his "man."

Wagner is a business man, and his earliest interest in history was in its economic aspects, to be more precise, in mining, as he states in his autobiography entitled *Bullion to Books: Fifty Years of Business and Pleasure*. Whatever falls within the material world, whatever he can measure, number, weigh, arouses his enthusiasm, and therein he feels perfectly at home. In the book under review, the ascertainment of the quantitative scaffolding of the facts—establishment and verification of dates, distances of itineraries, monetary evaluation of the booty of the Spaniards, etc.—is of unmatched exactitude.

This impressive and extremely solid scaffolding remains nevertheless hollow, because Wagner is unable to see and feel either Hernan Cortés or the latter's historical world. "To analyze his character is a fascinating if baffling task," he says. Such is undoubtedly the case. But the focusing of the problem should be exactly the opposite to that selected by Wagner, otherwise the task will remain too baffling. The historian must approach his man from within, recreating him from within-outwards, outlining, in addition, all the environmental factors. It is by this approach only that understanding may be secured. If understanding fails, the easiest attitude is scoffing, in which Wagner indulges only too often. The conduct of Cortés in destroying the idols is "almost insane"; his interview with Olintecle, highly symbolical of the clash between the Spanish world and that of the natives, is "very amusing," Montezuma is a coward, Fray Toribio de Motolinía not above the "superstitions" of his time, etc.

The book is out of focus because of this lack of historical sense and human understanding, in spite of its formidable accumulation of "facts." Not that Wagner condemns the achievement of Cortés and the Spaniards, as many Mexican historians have done, in the belief that the Spanish conquest was an evil for their country, for he has just as little insight into the natives' world. He goes so far as to say that Cortés could not be the founder of the Mexican nation for the very simple reason that the Mexican nation has no existence.

In Rickert's terms, Wagner possesses a perception for the "natural," but is blind to the "cultural"; this is the main feature of his book, which will be hard to supersede in so far as its wealth of information on the most external aspects of the conquest of New Spain is concerned, but which will have to be utilized, as Wagner says of Bernal Díaz's *True History of the Conquest*, "with the utmost caution."

TIMELESS MEXICO. By *Hudson Strode*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1944. Pp. xvii, 436. \$3.50.)

THIS is a popular book which it would be unfair to judge by the canons of specialized research scholarship. Mr. Strode, already the author of works on such diverse countries as Finland and Bermuda, can hardly be expected to have developed more than a sporadic acquaintance with the primary sources of Mexican history. But he has done a respectable job of synthesizing a substantial selection of monographic and other secondary material, with emphasis upon works in English. The result is an eminently readable account of some of the highlights of Mexican history which this reviewer, with the qualifications noted below, is glad to recommend to the general public.

The task of reducing the complexities of Mexico's past to a sufficiently simple form to engage and hold popular reader interest is admittedly difficult. Since the writing of any sort of history is necessarily a highly selective process, one need not quarrel with Mr. Strode for seeking to attain simplicity through drastic condensation and even omission of material. What is open to question is his uneven application of the selective technique in a volume that purports to give a balanced presentation of Mexican development. To compress the story of almost four hundred years, from the Spanish conquest to the fall of Porfirio Díaz, into approximately the same space allotted the thirty-five years since the latter event distorts historical perspective. It is particularly to be regretted that the author should have dismissed the nearly three centuries of viceregal rule in a mere seventeen pages of sometimes reckless generalization. Precisely because Mr. Strode has focused his book upon modern Mexico, it may be argued that he might well have analyzed with special care and considerably greater detail the long germinal period of the colony from which so many of the institutions of the present day have grown.

One reason for the author's neglect of Mexican colonial beginnings is doubtless his failure to find any "name of prime renown" from Cortés to the curate Hidalgo. One might venture the opinion that such figures as Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and Father Eusebio Kino are at least as deserving of renown in the whole story of Mexico as Pancho Villa, but the author is doubtless right in suggesting that the impersonal dominion of Spain from beyond the seas makes it hard to personify Mexico in these colonial leaders. On the other hand, the *caudillos* of the conquest and national periods lend themselves ideally to such treatment; and the author has ably used the opportunity to simplify his story by building it round strong, colorful figures who have dominated their respective periods. Cortés is naturally the first in the series, and the oft-told story of the conquest of Tenochtitlán here loses none of its perennial interest. Next, after a gap of centuries, come the "patriot priests" Hidalgo and Morelos, who personify the earlier stages of the struggle for independence. Iturbide is vividly presented as the "upstart" emperor who gains a precarious throne by leading a coalition of liberal and conservative revolutionists against a temporarily radical Spain. The career of Santa Anna

bridges the complex gap between the fall of Iturbide's monarchy and the rise of Juárez, who similarly dominates the mid-century period of reform and French intervention. Díaz, in the book as in fact, reigns in the period from the seventies through the first decade of the present century. Mr. Strode has done an excellent job of making the lives of these men reflect the essential features of their respective times.

The frequent clash of strong men in "Revolutionary" Mexico, from 1910 to the present, makes it harder to tell the recent story in biographical form. The author singles out one man of this period for special attention—and commendation: Lázaro Cárdenas. Professional historians may hope that Mr. Strode is right in characterizing Cárdenas as the perfect knight of the Revolution, without fear and without reproach, but would probably tend to wait until all the facts are in before committing themselves to this enthusiastic appraisal. None can take issue, however, with the author's liberal sympathies with Mexico's strivings to attain economic, social, and political reform.

In general, this book reflects the author's conscientious attempt to get at the facts of Mexican history. The reviewer has found only on occasional factual error (such as crediting Moses, rather than Stephen F., Austin with negotiations for Texan lands with Iturbide); and mistakes in spelling of Spanish names ("Piño," rather than "Pino," Suárez) or accentuation ("Apódaca," for Apodaca") are few in number.

University of California

JAMES FERGUSON KING

A CENTURY OF LATIN-AMERICAN THOUGHT. By *William Rex Crawford*, Cultural Attaché, United States Embassy, Rio de Janeiro. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. 320. \$3.50.)

A book must be judged, if fairly, by the purpose for which it was written. Strictly speaking, this work is an anthology and, as such, it is subject to the inevitable failings of that kind of writing. Much must necessarily be left out, and the treatment of what is undertaken must be to a large extent superficial. By this I mean that, in the present case, the historic significance of the trends and main currents of Latin-American thought has not been taken in hand, which, after all, is the true problem for the scholar. The present book, therefore, must be regarded as an introduction and not as a contribution to the study of Latin-American thought. The author is aware of this since he intended his book for average educated North American readers, amongst whom, in this particular instance, one should like to include primarily the student bodies of the universities. Dr. Crawford is dead right in pointing out the gap in knowledge in the United States concerning the history and actual standing of Latin-American thought, and in this connection his book is praiseworthy and highly commendable.

As an anthology and considering what the book purports there is little if any

criticism to offer, except perhaps that it might have been advisable to include, as an appendix or otherwise, fairly lengthy transcriptions, bilingual if possible, from some of the more representative thinkers dealt with in the text. This would have added to the book a larger range of expediency for college use and, besides, a means of experience for the reader who would relish a direct contact with the Latin-American way of thinking. The suggestion is of special import if one agrees with Dr. Crawford, as one must, on the paramount significance that literary form has for Latin-American thinkers.

But one is tempted to be more critical about what the author has to say in his chapter of introduction, where he makes something of an attempt at a synthesis and at an interpretation of the general trends in Latin-American thought. The result is way under what was to be expected both from the wealth of the subject matter and the well-deserved reputation of the author. In the first place he painfully misconstrues the opinion of Dr. José Gaos, who never said what the author takes as being his thesis. But of more importance is the one serious instance of critical approach to the subject where Dr. Crawford states that in Latin America "there is little thought of the absent, distant, unknown, anonymous, impersonal reader, and consequently little acceptance of the kind of scientific responsibility that accompanies addressing him, and perhaps an excessive tendency toward the esthetic and amethodical." But precisely there is the rub. Has Dr. Crawford asked himself why this neglect, if it be true, of what he calls scientific responsibility? And has he given thought to the deep motives that may underlie that tendency toward the esthetic and amethodical which seems so excessive to him? May it not well be that such a rejection on the one hand and such an emphasis on the other hand, are eloquent symptoms of the essence of a peculiar and unique way of thinking which strives thus, through aesthetic channels, to express the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Latin-American world? Such a priori qualifications with which in good faith the author stigmatizes Latin-American thought, should be carefully revised by him, lest they turn out to be biased assumptions on his part, which, in the long run, will hinder him from an authentic and discerning understanding of the deeper significance of all those writers to whom he has given so much study and devotion.

University of Mexico

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN LATIN AMERICA? By *George P. Howard*. Foreword by John A. Mackay. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1944. Pp. xxii, 170. \$2.00.)

To review this book I have been granted the space taken up by four hundred printed words. They are really unnecessary; all that one needs are two capital letters, to wit: N.G.

It is indeed very seldom that one finds nowadays a book dealing with Hispanic America so biased, so utterly misleading, so superficial and on top of it all so

meekly arrogant. One does not have to take a part in the strictly religious issues between Catholicism and Protestantism to accept frankly that Catholicism is the backbone of Hispanic American culture, or better still, that it is the very essence of its being. The enormous historic significance of this obvious truth is either ignored or maliciously overlooked by the author. His book is fundamentally based on the assumption that Catholicism in Hispanic America is at the root of all its evils, a sort of chronic cancer which hinders progress and makes democracy impossible. But of course it is progress and democracy as he understands them.

Religious questions in Hispanic America require, in order that they be intelligently dealt with, a very deep knowledge and clear understanding of the peculiarities and outstanding uniqueness of the Hispanic mentality and therefore of its culture and history. Furthermore, for the Protestant North American writer, or even Catholic, an exceptionally open-minded approach is essential if he wishes to avoid the fallacies of century-old prejudices and the inanity of a smug complacency of a self-assumed superiority. The author of this book is unfortunately lacking in all these requisites.

The gist of the book is that Hispanic America has no choice except that of following in the wake of the United States, and that, of course, to become Protestant is the only way to achieve that heavenly status. But the trouble with the author's beliefs and assumptions is that they are based on gross ignorance and sectarian prejudice. The source material of his book consists solely in some goody-goody anecdotes and a number of interviews with people whom he never fails to call most distinguished and highly respectable. Not even an attempt at an interpretation of one single great event of our history is to be found, and not one of the greater works of or about Hispanic America is as much as mentioned. His blindness, whether natural or intentional, in regard to Hispanic American sentiments, artistic feelings, traditions, and ways of life in general is incredible, but even more so are his notions on history. One could quote an ocean of absurdities amongst which his contention that "the classic tradition made no contribution" (p. 103) to democracy is a veritable jewel. He further holds that Latin-American "intellectuals also need to be saved from dilettantism, from superficiality, from cynicism" (p. 100) and proposes, I assume, that a man like himself is fit for the job. It is this same person, however, who can make such a stupid and ignorant remark as that one first quoted, to which he sweepingly adds that "Democracy did not exist in the Greek republics" (p. 103). A few lessons in etymology would do him no harm.

University of Mexico

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1942. Edited by *Arthur P. Whitaker*. [An Annual Survey: No. 2.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 252. \$3.00.)

EVERY aspect of inter-American affairs in the year 1942 was colored by the fact that for the United States and eleven other nations this was the first year of

full participation in the greater World War. A half century of Pan Americanism and a decade of Good Neighborliness had brought Americans closer together, yet this cordiality was jeopardized and, in part, sacrificed, as the United States, by measures short of war, took the fateful steps toward complete involvement. Pearl Harbor stirred moral indignation throughout the hemisphere, yet, as 1942 opened, so dismal were the military prospects of the United Nations that prudent Latin Americans naturally hesitated to throw in their lot against the Axis. High points of the year included the meeting of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro; Germany's submarine campaign, which precipitated the entrance of Mexico and Brazil into the war but had the opposite effect on Argentina and Chile; improvements of hemisphere defenses, especially through bases made available to the United States; exposure of subversive activities and synarchism; vastly stimulated production of critical materials; and an easing of the tension with the landings in North Africa. Other of the year's events, though seemingly remote, were influenced by the war. These included the settlement of the boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru; the agreement on compensation for oil properties previously confiscated by Mexico; the resumption of diplomatic relations between Latin America and Russia; and the concordat reducing the Vatican's political influence in Colombia. The war was responsible for a decline in exchanges of students and scholars, but it stepped up other phases of the cultural relations program, and it made the year momentous in hemisphere relations.

For the most part this volume follows the pattern set the preceding year. Katherine F. Lenroot, Eugene D. Owen, George C. Dunham, and Kenneth Holland are substituted for William L. Schurz and Amos E. Taylor of the 1941 contributors, and John P. Humphrey and Constant Southworth are recruited to cover Canada. In spots these writers were hampered by restricted sources. The contributions likewise are uneven in quality. The first section on politics and diplomacy is a masterpiece; the Canadian section of the same is querulous over delayed realization that Canada is an independent nation; and the report on social welfare is largely a summary of resolutions put on paper. Although the historically minded may prefer the 1941 volume, partly because it reviewed inter-American relations through the preceding half century as well as in the chosen year, this second volume, more strictly a yearbook, has compensating superiorities, not least of which is the inclusion of Canada.

University of California at Los Angeles

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORICAL THOUGHT. An Inaugural Lecture delivered at Cambridge on 16 May 1944 by *G. N. Clark*, Regius Professor of Modern History. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 24, 50 cents.)

FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. By *Otto Neurath*. [International Encyclopedia of Unified Sciences, Volume II, No. 1.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 54, \$1.00.)

ADAPTING INSTRUCTION IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES. Edited by *Edward Krug* and *G. Lester Anderson*. [Fifteenth Yearbook.] (Washington, National Council for the Social Studies, 1945, pp. 160, cloth \$2.30, paper \$2.00.)

THE SOCIAL STUDIES LOOK BEYOND THE WAR. (Washington, National Council for the Social Studies, 1945, pp. 40, 10 cents.) "A statement of postwar policy prepared by an advisory commission of 155 leading educators in the social studies field."

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, 1943-1944. Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries and edited by *Edward A. Henry*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1944, pp. xiii, 88, \$2.50.)

CORNELL UNIVERSITY ABSTRACTS OF THESES, 1943. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944, pp. 463, \$2.00.)

YORKSHIRE CLOTH TRADERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1770-1840. By *Herbert Heaton*. [Publications of the Thoresby Society, Miscellany, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, No. 88.] (Leeds, Thoresby Society, 1944, pp. 225-312, v.) From miscellaneous bits of information collected from many sources the author has pieced together an article which is a valuable contribution to American economic, social, and business history. It traces over two generations the transfer of men, goods, and business experience from Yorkshire to the United States; it illustrates an important aspect of the transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism; and it throws light on the development of American manufacturing and business. Written to be read before a local group interested especially in Yorkshire history, the article does not give enough of the British background nor, indeed, of the American business background to indicate the full meaning of the story told. Readers can, however, fill that in from Professor Heaton's own book on the Yorkshire woolen and worsted industry and from Professor Albion's and Dr. Harrington's work on the history of business in New York City. The important thing is that the author presents new information on aspects of our history which American historians have largely overlooked. The article is concerned with a considerable number of young Yorkshiremen who between 1770 and 1840 came to America, chiefly to New York City, to sell the products of the Yorkshire woolen and worsted manufacturers. The author tells who they were, whom they represented in Yorkshire, how they lived, what the nature of their business was, how wars, tariffs, depressions, and changing business conditions in the United States affected them, how successful they were, and what finally happened to them. HENRIETTA M. LARSON

A SHORTER HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By *Sir William Cecil Dampier* (formerly *Whetham*), Fellow and Sometime Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge; Fellow of Winchester College. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. x, 189, \$2.00.) This book is a truly remarkable feat of condensation. Within 173 pages of well-spaced and legible text, the author presents a comprehensive survey of science from prehistoric times to the present. Yet this compactness is achieved neither by vague generalizations nor by the shortcuts of technical language. The style is scientifically precise, yet lively and readable. Perhaps such a book could have been written only by a man who previously had covered this same field in a longer work, which he was free to compress, rewrite, and adapt to suit his purpose. For this book, as Sir William says in his preface, is a shorter version of his *History of Science and Its Relations with Philosophy and Religion*, from which most of the philosophic and religious material has been omitted. Yet the cement that bound together his original synthesis is still visible in the coherence of the present work. The steps in the growth of science are set forth in terms that relate them not only to one another but also to other lines of thought. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that this book will not serve as a beginner's introduction to the subject. It presupposes a general knowledge of the elements of the various sciences and some degree of familiarity with fundamental scientific concepts, particularly those of recent origin. Its greatest service perhaps will be rendered to scientists and nonscientists alike whose knowledge remains specialized or fragmentary and who want a unified perspective of an aspect of history that is usually presented only piecemeal or as auxiliary to other characteristics of our civilization. The removal of the detailed discussion of philosophies and religions that appeared in the author's earlier work has reduced controversial matter to a minimum. With the revival of many distinctly Aristotelian concepts in atomic theory—currently plagued as this theory is by the "principle of uncertainty"—Sir William's impatience with those concepts is perhaps somewhat reactionary. On occasion, also, he seems to put the work of some English scientists nearer the center of the stage than would a Continental or American historian. Details of this kind, however, are extrinsic to the book's main theme and purpose.

RONALD MILLAR

THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM AS AN IDEOLOGY, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO GERMAN POLITICO-LEGAL THOUGHT. By *John H. Hallowell*. [University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume I, Number 1.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1943, pp. xi, 145.) It is Hallowell's intention to prove two theses in his dissertation: that liberalism declined as an ideology and that this decline led to totalitarianism "peculiar not to Germany, but to Western civilization." His review of the history of the ideas of liberalism consisting of quotations of outstanding contemporary thinkers is most helpful. He shows how, "as a way of life, liberalism reflected the aspirations and ideals of the rising commercial classes." Unfortunately this thought did not accompany the author through the second part of his book. He might have come to different conclusions if he had tried to observe more intimately the "relationship between capitalism and liberalism" without accepting "liberalism only as a convenient rationale for capitalism." He explains correctly that "individuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were restrained politically and economically by authorities." "The rising commercial class rebelled against these restraints," but only as far as the protection of their interests demanded. Fearing that the revolt would go further, they finally turned against their own rebellion. This way, Carl Schmitt "grew" into the position of the "Crown Jurist" of Nazism. The author quotes particularly German thinkers. He takes the opportunity to correct the almost generally accepted description of Fichte as an ideological fore-

runner of the National Socialists. He analyzes the followers of Neo-Kantianism and of Neo-Hegelianism as the gravediggers of liberalism. But it does not seem as if the passages quoted by the author always support his conclusions. Hallowell makes some quite risky comparisons in identifying the spiritual background of the decline of liberalism with expressionism and cubism in the field of painting, Schönberg and Stravinsky in the field of music, and Karl Barth in the field of religion, but his thesis stimulates thinking and challenges criticism.

MAX WOLFF

PIONEERING IN PENOLOGY: THE AMSTERDAM HOUSES OF CORRECTION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By *Thorsten Sellin*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944, pp. viii, 125, \$2.50.)

THE CIVILIZATION OF SPAIN. By *J. B. Trend*, Professor of Spanish in the University of Cambridge, Member of the Hispanic Society of America. [The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, CXCIIL.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 223. \$1.25.) Professor Trend has woven a lively, clear, and very readable account of Spain's civilization, the scant outline of political events being interlaced with the words and ideas of its actual participants, thus a welcome supplementary reading book for both history and Spanish classes, as well as appealing to the general reader. This civilization is essentially a product of great racial admixture and geography. Poor soil, extremes of climate, a mountainous country, and sparse rainfall have produced a perennial crop of agrarian problems, aggravated by Castilian ill-advised economic policies. "The most deeply rooted Spanish tradition is political separatism," and the broad outlines of Catalan aspirations are fairly discussed. However, Professor Trend, like most Castilians and teachers of Spanish (*i.e.*, Castilian), belittles Catalan literary accomplishments by stating only that "they had had a good medieval literature." One should not thus lightly dismiss the work of Ramon Llull, the thirteenth century Catalan missionary-mystic whose writings crystallized the Catalan language in his attempts to erect a whole philosophical system designed to convert Moslems by reason rather than by sword, a notable example in the history of propaganda. Schools devoted to his teachings existed for almost two hundred years. Though Moslems, too, had become Spaniards, the church saw only their religion, not their nationality, and forced their expulsion, as well as that of the Jews: Ideologically, unification was religious, not political. Spaniards are not politically immature, as is commonly believed. Traditions of law, of a ruler subject to law (and God), of legislative and representative assemblies antedate any others of Europe. Municipal tradition has persisted since Iberian times. Brief critical bibliographies, mainly of English works, and an index are appended, an improvement over other volumes in this series, but the omission of George Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science* is regrettable since his studies, more than any others, have rehabilitated the Spanish (including Moslem) Middle Ages in the field of science. There is no evidence that a future pope (Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II), studied among the Moslems (p. 53). Trend might have cited as evidence of Spanish civilization the copiously illustrated *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Espasa), whose discussions of almost any topic are superior to those in other encyclopedias. Some account of military history belongs to the description of a country's civilization, but is missing here. A map as end paper would be especially serviceable.

HARRIET P. LATTIN

THE LAND OF PRESTER JOHN: A CHRONICLE OF PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION. By *Elaine Sanceau*, Corresponding Member of the Instituto de Coimbra. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. xi, 243, \$2.75.) This book is a story of the "strange fruitless adventure of Portugal in search of Prester John," the mythical Christian

ruler of medieval lore. The Portuguese felt his aid would be invaluable in fighting the infidel and in discovering a route to India. Instead they found the Christian ruler of Abyssinia, with whom, after several fruitless attempts, they finally established friendly relations between 1514 and 1521. The few Portuguese who reached his land endured untold hardships and witnessed strange customs and mysteries, which are vividly described. That the emperor proved unable to co-operate in their design for a great empire in the East failed to diminish their respect and affection for his country. A small band of Portuguese soldiers voluntarily sacrificed themselves in fighting against great odds to help preserve Abyssinian independence from Moslem conquest. These cordial relations were broken in 1634 as a result of a religious controversy. Jesuit missionaries sent out by Portugal aroused antagonism when they tried to induce the Abyssinian Christians to conform to Roman Catholic doctrines. Unfortunately the main title of the book is misleading because the Portuguese failed to unravel one of the puzzles of history, the true identity of Prester John. In describing their search for him the author has not only written an interesting, well-authenticated tale of adventure but has emphasized the crusading and religious aspect of Portuguese imperialism. Further light is shed upon the inherent weakness of Portugal as an imperialist power in the description of the great Albuquerque's ambitious plan for co-operation between his country and Abyssinia in establishing Christian supremacy over large areas touching the Red Sea. Nothing came of this scheme because Portugal apparently had insufficient strength to meet all her commitments in the East, and Abyssinia was but a primitive and backward country. There is no attempt to present a well-balanced treatment of Portuguese expansion. As the subtitle implies, the book develops mainly into an account of exploration in Abyssinia and of its consequences. As for any permanent effects upon the two countries, the quest for Prester John is "one of the blind alleys of history, for it does not seem to have led anywhere."

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

COLONIAL POLICIES IN AFRICA. By *H. A. Wieschhoff*. [African Handbooks: 5.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, University Museum, 1944, pp. 138, \$1.50.) The series of "African Handbooks" edited by Dr. H. A. Wieschhoff gives one reliable information on Africa in handy, readable, and thoroughly scholarly form. In this particular pamphlet the editor has turned author. The work is outstanding. Three tables give the reader essential data on all parts of Africa: year of acquisition, area and population statistics, invested capital, and the present relationship with the mother country. The possessions of all European countries come in for consideration, the British dependencies getting the larger share of the treatment and the recent Italian colonies getting so little as to be virtually neglected. The author's point of view is critical but constructive, and anything but doctrinaire. While he makes it clear that land, labor, and educational policies fall short of official statements of principles and goals, he does not commit the all-too-common error of concluding that officials are hypocritical and that the colonies should be given their freedom. He does suggest, however, that necessary reforms are being made too slowly. The most serious problems, he finds, are in those areas—the Union of South Africa, Kenya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunis—where European minorities are seeking to make their interests dominant over the native. Britain, by granting dominion status, colonial autonomy, or even indirect rule, has deprived herself of the right to intervene in behalf of the native, whether oppressed by the white man or by his own chief. Hence the paradox that the worst problems exist in the dependencies of a country that has at home the most enlightened interest in native welfare.

HARRY R. RUDIN

THE GREAT GLORY AND GLAMOR OF THE DODECANESE. By *David Moore Robinson*, the Johns Hopkins University. (New York, published by the Dodecanesian National Council, 1944, pp. 30.) An excellent description of the past and present of the Dodecanese with attractive illustrations. The plea for the return of the islands to Greece in no way colors the soundness of the historical pages.

LATVIA UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1941-1943. With a Preface by *Dr. Alfred Bilmanis*, Minister of Latvia to the United States. (Washington, published by the Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation, 1943, pp. xii, 114.)

THE BALTIC STATES IN POST-WAR EUROPE. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (Washington, published by the Latvian Legation, 1944, pp. 45.)

LATVIAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS: DOCUMENTS. Compiled by *Dr. Alfred Bilmanis*. (Washington, published by the Latvian Legation, 1944, pp. 255.)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK. Volume 46, 5705, SEPTEMBER 18, 1944, TO SEPTEMBER 7, 1945. Edited by *Harry Schneiderman* for the American Jewish Committee. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1944, pp. xxx, 620, \$3.00.) This volume follows the pattern of previous volumes. Their general character was indicated in the notice of Volume 43 in the *American Historical Review*, XLVII (July, 1942), 922.

WAR, PEACE, AND NONRESISTANCE. By *Guy Franklin Hershberger*, Professor of History and Sociology, Goshen College. (Scottsdale, Pa., Herald Press, 1944, pp. xv, 415, \$2.50.) A very thorough and uncompromising presentation of the nonresistant and pacifist principles and polity of the Mennonites in both domestic (labor) and international conflict. There is an introductory historical survey of the Mennonites here and in various European countries.

AN INTELLIGENT AMERICAN'S GUIDE TO THE PEACE. Edited by *Sumner Welles*. (New York, Dryden Press, 1945, pp. 376, \$3.75.) "Over eighty nations, all of which will have a part in the coming peace, are described under the secondary headings of 'The Land and Its People,' 'The Nation's Economy,' 'History,' and 'Stakes in the Peace.' Maps, prepared from those which have appeared in *PM*, illustrate most of the countries described." The volume is essentially a work of reference and not, as the title indicates, a discussion of policy.

THE AMERICAN STORY: TEN BROADCASTS. By *Archibald MacLeish*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. 243, \$2.00.) "Ten dramatic episodes of the early history of the Americas, first presented on the radio program, 'University of the Air.'"

AMERICA AND THE AMERICAS: AN APPRAISAL AND A FORECAST. By *Hu-bert Herring*. Foreword by E. Wilson Lyon. (Claremont, Claremont Colleges, 1944, pp. vii, 84, \$2.00.)

INTERNATIONAL LAW DOCUMENTS, 1942. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. iv, 155.)

LOCAL HISTORY: HOW TO GATHER IT, WRITE IT, AND PUBLISH IT. By *Donald Dean Parker*, Head of the Department of History and Political Science, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Revised and edited by *Bertha E. Josephson* for the Committee on Guide for Study of Local History of the Social Science Research Council. (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1944, pp. xiv,

186, \$1.00.) This guide is designed for historians by avocation to enlist their talents in writing effective local history as a contribution to the social sciences. It should also be valuable to professional scholars as a check upon the adequacy of sources and to students as a historiographical text. Its excellence is due to additions and constructive criticism of Mr. Parker's original manuscript by the sponsoring committee and to the editorship of Miss Josephson. The section on gathering history discusses printed sources available in the average community, the technique of interviews, and the use of private manuscripts, newspapers, periodicals, and public, business, and religious records. Included in the section on writing are suggestions for composition and a model outline for a local history, while the section on publishing evaluates printing and types of processed reproduction and co-operative writing. A suggestive outline for a war history of a community forms an appendix. Throughout, the intelligence of the reader is presupposed, but there is no hesitation in explaining pertinent details. The value of this guide is such that one hopes it will serve as the basis for further editions. Like sources might be compared, such as published directories, census records, cemetery inscriptions, and tax lists; and the use of business records for a history of the locality might be illustrated as well as for the business. Details also should be corrected. Complete service records of known Revolutionary soldiers in most communities cannot be compiled from DAR lineage books, and the published 1790 census is extraordinarily accurate, most mistakes being made by the original census taker in gathering his data rather than in printing. It should also be pointed out that later census records and newspapers tend to be inaccurate in details which should be confirmed wherever possible. Some additional tools and sources also might be included in another edition, such as the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress, depository catalogues, the American Imprints Inventory, Isadore Mudge's *Guide to Reference Books*, church missionary records and portions of the national governmental records.

DAVID C. DUNWAY

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By *Bertha L. Heilbron*, Assistant Editor, Minnesota Historical Society. [Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History, Volume I, Number 9.] (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1944, pp. 227-56.)

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: A HANDBOOK. Compiled and edited by *Christopher Crittenden*, Editor, and *Doris Godard*, Editorial Associate. (Washington, American Association for State and Local History, 1944, pp. xi, 261.) The editor has followed the vogue of the questionnaire. The result is a new list of names and addresses of societies with dates of organization, names of presidents and secretaries, sizes of staffs, membership, dues, annual incomes, days and hours open, brief statements on library, museum, and copying facilities, publications, and activities. In the foreword the editor treats his list as a census, and so we may regard it. He laments that the forms which were returned contained "a disappointingly small amount of information . . . regarding important archival and manuscript holdings, chief museum collections, and the like." For many societies which did not respond he made two-line entries (e.g., "Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.") in supplementary lists. Yet he wasted much effort and space in text and index (forty-three pages) by repeating questionnaire headings, names of officials (see "John Jump"), "Association," "Historical Society," etc., and omitted "Diaries," "Documents," "Manuscripts," "Negro." One finds no bibliography of such union lists as those of the Karl Brown series edited by Winifred Gregory or mention of the "List of Periodicals and Society Publications," in Griffin's *Writings on American History*, or of the works of the Historical

Records Survey, and no information about the catalogues, descriptions, lists, and indexes published and unpublished of society holdings. Apparently the American Association for State and Local History has missed an opportunity to make progress towards a long-desired, much needed union list of manuscript collections.

THOMAS P. MARTIN

ARTICLES

- JACQUES BARZUN. History as a Liberal Art. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.
 RUSHTON COULTON. The Meaning of History. *Ethics*, Oct.
 N. D. HARPER. Some Historical Aspects of Race and Culture Contact. *Hist. Stud. Australia and New Zealand*, Oct.
 N. E. LEE. History and Educational Reform. *Ibid.*
 EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. The Concepts "Classic" and "Romantic." *Germanic Rev.*, Oct.
 SISTER EUGENE MARIE. The Quebec Act Leads to Catholic Emancipation in English-speaking Countries. *Recs. Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Sept.
 G. N. CLARK. The Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, 1944.
 RUTH BOURNE. The Exchange of Prisoners in the West Indies in Queen Anne's War. *Proc. South Carolina Hist. Assoc.*, 1944.
 PHILIP P. WIENER. Chauncey Wright's Defense of Darwin and the Neutrality of Science. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.
 CLARENCE A. HERBST. Belgian Elections of 1884. *Hist. Bull.*, Jan.
 LUELLE J. HALL. A Partnership in Peacemaking: Theodore Roosevelt and Wilhelm II. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Dec.
 N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN. Some Phases of United States-Norwegian Relations in World War I: A Study in Diplomacy. *Historian*, Autumn.
 JOSEPH T. DURKIN. American Diplomatic Opinion on Italian Unification. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.
 CORNELIUS KRAHN. The Historiography of the Mennonites in the Netherlands. *Church Hist.*, Sept., *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Oct.
 ALBERT HYMA. Recent Literature on the Netherlands. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.
 ANDRÉ GÉRARD [PERTINAX]. Diplomacy Old and New. *For. Affairs*, Jan.
 HAROLD S. QUIGLEY. Sovereign Man or Sovereign State? *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Winter.

Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

THE MILITARY INSTITUTIONS OF THE ROMANS. By *Flavius Vegetius Renatus*. Translated from the Latin by *Lieutenant John Clark*. Edited by *Brigadier General Thomas R. Phillips*. [Military Classics.] (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1944, pp. 114, \$1.00.) "A newly edited version of the translation which was first published in England in 1767."

LIFE AND TIMES AS REVEALED IN THE WRITINGS OF ST. JEROME EXCLUSIVE OF HIS LETTERS. A dissertation by *Sister M. Jamesetta Kelly*, Sisters of St. Dominic, St. Catharine, Kentucky. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. LXX.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xv, 173.) The preface remarks that though the *Letters* have been fully examined already for evidence upon Jerome's times the remaining works contain much valuable but scattered material. In the conclusion, however, the author admits that "we cannot say, except in two or three instances, that there are phases of life in the fourth and

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

fifth centuries about which we would [*sic*] be totally ignorant if Jerome had not mentioned them." This exclusion of the *Letters* seems unfortunate, since they often parallel most interestingly matters here discussed; e.g., compare the methods of teaching children (p. 50, n. 84) with *Ep.* 107, 4, 2, and its source in Quintil. 1, 1, 26. Again, no use is made of Jerome's homilies (published by Dom Morin in vol. 3 of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*), from which many pertinent illustrations might have been drawn. The four chapters deal with economic and professional life—to which Jerome contributes little information—social life, public life, and religious life; and all statements in the text are supported by the Latin text in footnotes. Translations are not, however, at all points accurate; e.g., *aperire signacula* (p. 51) is hardly "interpret the signs," but rather "open the seals." The English style, monotonous with its oft repeated "St. Jerome says," is at times infelicitous (e.g., p. 12: "fourth century A.D."; p. 32: "the Roman world has been beset upon"; p. 88: "which when the news had been spread . . . more than ten thousand . . . were gathered together to retain him), and scarcity of data makes some sections very heterogeneous in character (e.g., pp. 153-54). Wrong or inexact references (e.g., p. 57, n. 117; p. 58, n. 118), misprints (e.g., pp. 40, 52, 53, 142, 144), a verse quotation so changed in word order as to be unmetrical (p. 82), and constant allusion to St. Hilarion as "St. Hilary" indicate lack of due verification and revision. The expression "Mother of God" (p. 57) seems to ascribe to Jerome a phrase not used by him in the passage in question, if, indeed, anywhere. Though the bibliography is reasonably full one misses the essential though exasperatingly incomplete work of E. Luebeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit* (1872), which would have greatly enriched pages 60-61, on Jerome's knowledge of pagan authors; on his allusions to Christian writers (pp. 65-68) I look in vain for any reference to his *De Viris illustribus*. On stenography (pp. 24-26) reference may now be made to K. K. Hulley in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 54 (1943), 89-91; and on forms of books *ibid.*, 83-88. The summary (pp. 155-63) repeats illustrations but draws no significant generalizations. This reviewer feels, then, that collection of materials from a wider range, more careful appraisal of those collected, more felicitous expression, and more accurate revision are needed to secure an adequate picture of what Jerome has to tell of the life of his time.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

GENERAL ARTICLES

- JOHN A. WILSON. Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 WILLIAM and GEORGINA BUCKLER. The Bearing of Inscriptions on Classical Literature. *Class. Jour.*, Dec.
 A. W. GOMME. Athenian Notes. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.
 J. JACOBY. ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ. A Forgotten Festival of the Dead. *Class. Quar.*, July.
 J. G. MILNE. An Exchange-Currency of Magna Graecia. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.
 CATHERINE SAUNDERS. The Nature of Rome's Early Appraisal of Greek Culture. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.
 J. G. MILNE. *Bigati*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.
 A. H. McDONALD. Rome and the Italian Confederation (200-186 B.C.). *Ibid.*
 H. J. ROSE. The Pre-Caesarian Calendar. *Class. Jour.*, Nov.
 R. SYME. On Gelzer, *Caesar der Politiker und Staatsman*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.
 A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE. Geographical Factors in Roman Algeria. *Ibid.*
 A. MOMIGLIANO. On *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X. *Ibid.*
 HUGH LAST. The Fiscus. A Note. *Ibid.*
 JOSEPH WARD SWAIN. Gamaliel's Speech and Caligula's Statue. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct.
 F. W. BEARE. Note on Paul's First Two Visits to Jerusalem. *Jour. Biblical Lit.*, Dec.
 I. A. RICHMOND. Gnaeus Julius Agricola. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.
 HERBERT BLOCH. *Consules Suffecti* on Roman Brick Stamps. *Class. Philol.*, Oct.

- DAVID DAUBE. On Duff, *Personality in Roman Private Law*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.
 F. PRINGSHEIM. The Unique Character of Roman Classical Law. *Ibid.*
 DORO LEVI. Aion. *Hesperia*, Oct.
 NORMAN H. BAYNES. On Setton, *The Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century*. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.
 O. DAVIES. The Date of the Golden Gate at Istanbul. *Ibid.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- TSOMING N. SHIAH. The Date of Certain Egyptian Stratified Eye-Beads of Glass. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.
 The Archaeological Adviser, the War Office. The War and Classical Remains in Italy. *Antiquity*, Dec.
 J. M. T. CHARLTON. New Black-Figure Vases. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.
 DOROTHY KENT HILL. Hera, the Sphinx. *Hesperia*, Oct.
 GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Two Greek Statues. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, July.
 STERLING DOW. A Fragment of a Colossal Acrolithic Statue in the Conservatori. *Ibid.*
 DOROTHY KENT HILL. Some Late Antique Portraits. *Ibid.*
 ROBERT SCRANTON. Two Temples of Commodus at Corinth. *Hesperia*, Oct.
 Roman Britain in 1943. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.

LITERARY, INSCRIPTIONAL, PAPYROLOGICAL, AND NUMISMATIC SOURCES

- W. F. ALBRIGHT. The End of "Calneh in Shinar." *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 A. S. YAHUDA. The Story of a Forgery and the Mēša Inscription. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct.
 ANGELO SEGRÉ. The Status of the Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: New Light from the Papyri. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Oct.
 ROLAND G. KENT. Old Persian Texts. V. Darius' Behistan Inscription. Column V: A Correction. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 H. T. WADE-GERY. The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch, *Lycurgus* VI. C. What is the *Rhetra*? *Class. Quar.*, July.
 A. E. RAUBITSCHKE. Note on I. G., I², 945. *Hesperia*, Oct.
 F. M. HEICHELHEIM. On Athenaeus XIV, 639e-640a. *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Oct.
Id. Numismatic Comments. *Hesperia*, Oct.
 F. W. WALBANK. Alcæus of Messene, Philip V, and Rome: A Footnote. *Class. Quar.*, July.
 R. E. SMITH. The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Titus Flamininus. *Ibid.*
 CAMPBELL BONNER. The Philinna Papyrus and the Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini. *Hesperia*, Oct.
 RAYMOND A. BOWMAN. An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.
 JOCELYN M. C. TOYNBEE. Greek Imperial Medallions. *Jour. Roman Stud.*, XXXIV.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, 1640-1800. By Ernest Jones. [University of California Publications in English, Volume V, No. 3.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944, pp. 357-442, \$1.00.) This study of the reputation between 1640 and 1800 of one of the most engaging of the chroniclers contains useful material for the student of historiography. The quotations from seventeenth and eighteenth century historians provide an abundance of illustrations of habits of the guild: acceptance of traditional judgments, desire to prove a thesis, conformity with prevailing patterns of thought. Dr. Jones opens his detailed investigation with the judgments of Sir Henry Spelman, Archbishop Ussher, and William Somner, all of whom thought that much of the chronicle was fabulous, but that it contained a core of truth. Other seventeenth

century writers, in view of the dearth of material for early British history, followed this opinion, registering different degrees of credence and skepticism. Writers engaged in the ecclesiastical controversies of the century, or in the efforts to find ancient origins for English law, were swayed one way or another according to the importance for their arguments of Geoffrey's testimony. The tendency of the eighteenth century was toward greater skepticism, a natural result of the growth of rationalism and anti-clericalism. As the century progressed, the school that valued history according to the lessons it had to teach lost interest in Geoffrey altogether. In the whole period it is interesting to note how few were the serious attempts to appraise his sources. Whether he wrote or translated the mysterious document from which he claimed to have drawn his facts was a question frequently raised, but its existence was usually assumed. The work closes with an account of the way that the decline of Geoffrey's reputation as a historian was accompanied by his corresponding rise as a source of literary material. This is a careful and well-documented piece of work. As is often the case with a doctoral dissertation, some of the most interesting material is in the notes. One feels that a bibliography of more than three hundred items would have greater usefulness if classified in some way. Among the items appears, surprisingly, that once popular character, Anon.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN

CHURCH HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF THE SAINTS. By *Joseph A. Dunne*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. vi, 465, \$2.75.) Father Dunne has written effectively for the lay mind, hardly for that which looks for some depth of thought and accuracy of treatment. Since there is no preface to the book, fault may not be found with the author's selection of saints, apparently one in some way typical of the life of the church in each of the centuries. Historically more important figures often are noted in connection with the subject of their period. There is no Slavic saint like Vicerlin or Stanislaus and, if the various phases of church history are considered, none to represent the arts. Ansgar and Bernard of Menthon are welcome along with Rose of Lima and the Jesuit Jogues. Legend and fact crowd one another to make up the bulk of the very well written chapters. Unfortunately the facts often are not accurately stated or evaluated. Granted that the Romans pursued the early Christians most cruelly, could not the thinking of the persecutors have been presented? May Anthony be called the "founder" even of Christian monasticism, or Bernard of Clairvaux the "father of western mysticism"? Was Columbanus the most impressive scholar of Merovingian times? Did Emperor Otto I help the pope because he lusted for power? The Normans and particularly the tribes of the migration period are generally confused. Did the Saracens lay siege to Hippo in 430 and Attila reach the gates of Rome in 451? Is Islamism "nothing but Judaism adapted to Arabia"? Bede has been canonized. Belgium as a state was nonexistent in the time of Louis XIV. Frederick the Great took Silesia, not Silicia. Some misprints may be noted: Suplicius (p. 78), St. Gaul (p. 121), Ulrecht (p. 142), Agapitus (p. 201), Helvitius (p. 367), Robinson, *Readings*, 21 vols. (p. 453). Several worth-while items do not appear in the reference lists at the end of the volume, e.g., Grabmann's *Thomas Aquinas*, translated by V. Michel.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN

A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND, FROM 1086 TO 1513. By *Edmund Curtis*. [Enlarged edition.] (Forest Hills, N. Y., Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 468, \$5.00.)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. By *Hans Meyer*. Translated by *Frederic Eckhoff*. (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1944, pp. 589, \$5.00.)

THE CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE CABALA IN THE RENAISSANCE. By *Joseph Leon Blau*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. viii,

167, \$2.25.) The lure of mystery is perennial, for man's life on our tiny planet, floating in a boundless universe, is environed with mystery. Allegory, to this day a backlog for preachers, is a relatively simple and still largely unsystematic device for piercing the veil of words and revealing hidden "truths." The cabala, reduced in large part to writing in the thirteenth century—the century which also saw the development of Christian mysticism—was an elaborate and complicated series of rules for finding the "truths" concealed behind the literal words of the Old Testament. God had written this holy book; but He had also, in His inscrutable wisdom, communicated to Adam—and he in turn by oral transmission to his chosen heirs, and they to theirs, throughout the ages—a key, or rather a bunch of keys, for unlocking the secret "truths" which lay behind the sacred text. The cabala was more than a series of rules; more properly it was the esoteric "truths" discovered by the rules. These confirmed the Jewish faith. The Christian cabalists undertook to show that they really confirmed Christianity. Mr. Blau's slender volume explains the manipulation of the rules and their use by the Christian apologists, notably by Pico and Reuchlin, and sketches the reception of their views in the learned centers of western Europe. The bibliography he appends is formidable. The belief in the cabala has evaporated. Other theosophies still attempt to run the gauntlet of modern science. The investigation of the origins and development of the cabala remains as an intriguing and, let us hope, profitable field in cultural pathology. Mr. Blau's book is a succinct and competent study in this field.

G. C. SELLERY

LEONARDO DA VINCI: HIS LIFE AND HIS PICTURES. By *R. Langton Douglas*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. xiii, 127, plates, \$4.00.) This new book on the "Hamlet of art history" is the fine distillation of a lifetime of connoisseurship in the field of Italian Renaissance painting. It is primarily a work of art criticism, not a biography, although the first three chapters constitute an admirable brief summary of Leonardo's life. Perhaps the greatest interest of the book for the historian is its revelation of the changing tides of interpretation and taste. It runs completely counter to the romantic tradition of Leonardo which we have inherited from the nineteenth century, at the same time avoiding the imaginative fantasies of some recent psychological biographers of that artist. This book belongs to the technical and realistic current in modern art criticism. To Mr. Douglas, Mona Lisa is neither the mysterious being described by Walter Pater and his disciples nor a beautiful woman viewed by a homosexual artist who finds her beauty vaguely repulsive. She is simply a woman of the High Renaissance, sophisticated, disillusioned, and rather cynical. The smile which the artist coaxed to her lips was a stock property in Verrocchio's studio, where Leonardo served his apprenticeship; under Leonardo's hand it was treated with infinite subtlety. In this analysis the painting loses none of its stature as a masterpiece; it merely ceases to be a symbol of the mysteries of the universe or a key to the secret depths of the artist's personality. While dismantling the altars of several popular idols such as "The Last Supper," Mr. Douglas does full justice to some of Leonardo's less known works and makes a number of new attributions. Of considerable historical as well as technical interest is his discussion of the portrait of Beatrice d'Este. In the author's final estimate, Leonardo emerges as a superman but not as one of the world's greatest painters. He produced few pictures of the highest caliber; of his important paintings, only one, "The Virgin of the Rocks," was ever finished. He was one of the world's master draftsmen, but Mr. Douglas will not on that account rank him as an artist with Michelangelo and Rembrandt, Titian and Tintoretto. This estimate is in accord with the present-day revaluation of Leonardo's genius. As Leonardo the thinker, inventor, and scientist has

come to the fore, Leonardo the artist has receded. Leonardo was great in the universality of his genius, in the restless intellect that probed incessantly into the arcana of the natural world. Therefore any book on the painting of Leonardo necessarily leaves his true greatness unexplained.

CATHERINE E. BOYD

ERASME, PRINCE DES HUMANISTES. By *Berthe Delepinne*. [Collection "Epopées, récits et légendes de Belgique."] (Wemmel-Brussels, Les Editions Draps, 1944, pp. 131.) This little book, for junior college readers, packs much into its small compass. Written in inspirational style, it is marked by a series of word pictures that reveal the author's imagination, appreciation of the great subject, and obvious prejudice for the glories of the ancient low countries. The author finds the key to Erasmus' life in the circumstances of his birth and in the frailty of his body, which led him to shun the busy world and to take shelter in the cloistered security of a monastery. The monastic life, during which "Erasmus, buried in study, worked patiently to develop himself, just as the chrysalis buried in its silken cocoon works during the winter in anticipation of the brilliant metamorphosis of the springtime," supplied the two additional controls: priestly education and study culminating in writing. All the high points of a great and complex career are fairly set forth. The trips to England and France, the growing reputation, the princely favor, the visit to Italy, the writing of the works which served to mark the way—*Handbook of a Christian Soldier*, *Adages*, *Praise of Folly*, *New Testament*, *Colloquies*, *Free Will*—the insistence upon personal freedom, the final weariness of a sick body and a tired heart are all there. One chapter is devoted to the six-month sojourn at Anderlecht, a disproportionate treatment both understandable and charming. The chapter devoted to the controversy with Luther is handled well in broad outline. The pettiness of Erasmus' petulance is suggested but not commented upon. The refusal of Erasmus to become embroiled in public issues, his apparent failure to appreciate the art and expanding greatness of the world about him and to appreciate the beauties of nature are all mentioned, but never in sharp criticism. Erasmus was so interested in the past, so devoted to humanizing religion, so engrossed in writing that he had no time to see, hear, or write about anything else. There is much to be said for that point of view. One feels the strength and singleness of purpose of Erasmus. Good use is made of the portraits by Quentin Metsys, Dürer, and Holbein. These last obviously inspired the cover portrait and the illustrations. A list of twelve suggested readings, all recent and all—except for Huizinga's *Erasmus*—in French, concludes the volume.

LESTER K. BORN

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

- CARL STEPHENSON. Commendation and Related Problems in Domesday. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
 ARTHUR K. LOOMIS. Every Schoolboy Knows the History of Magna Charta. *Social Educ.*, Dec.
 KATHLEEN EDWARDS. The Political Importance of the English Bishops during the Reign of Edward II. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
 NEIL R. KER. William of Malmesbury's Handwriting. *Ibid.*
 J. C. RUSSELL. Buzones, an English-Latin Hybrid? *Stud. in Philol.*, Jan.
 R. A. S. MACALISTER. The Sources of the Preface to the "Tigernach" Annals. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar., 1944.
 FREDERIC C. LANE. Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov.
 FRANCIS J. ASPENLEITER. Decline of the Guilds. *Hist. Bull.*, Jan.
 ROBERT E. DICKINSON. The Morphology of the Medieval German Town. *Geog. Rev.*, Jan.
 WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD. The Baltic Sea in History. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, Oct.

LEGAL

- W. W. BUCKLAND. The *Interpretationes* to *Pauli Sententiae* and the *Codex Theodosianus*. *Law Quar. Rev.*, Oct.

W. ULLMANN. The Influence of John of Salisbury on Mediaeval Italian Jurists. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

H. G. RICHARDSON. Tancred, Raymond, and Bracton. *Ibid.*

MAX RADIN. Fortescue's *De Laudibus* [*Legum Angliae*]: A Review. *Michigan Law Rev.*, Aug.

TERENCE T. KANE. Juridical Order Established by God [apropos of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the codification of the canon law]. *Univ. of Detroit Law Jour.*, Jan., 1944.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

L. WHITBREAD. A Study of Bede's *Versus de die iudicii*. *Philol. Quar.*, July.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER. The Christian Philosophy of John Scotus Erigena. *Jour. of Religion*, Oct.

Z. N. BROOKE and C. N. L. BROOKE. Hereford Cathedral Dignitaries in the Twelfth Century. *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, 1944, 1-21.

E. J. KURTH. The Monastic Corrody. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.

VICTOR MILLS. St. Bernardine of Siena, Pillar of the Observance. *Franciscan Stud.*, June.

LOUIS A. RONGIONE. Two Swords [Boniface VIII and "Unam Sanctam"]. *Hist. Bull.*, Jan.

JOHN TODD. Holy Rome. *Mod. Churchman*, Dec.

MUSLIM AND ORIENTAL

GUSTAVE E. VON GRUNEBaum. The Concept of Plagiarism in Arabic Theory. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Oct.

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT. The Saracens in Italian Epic Poetry. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Dec.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LEARNING

PHILOTHEUS BOEHNER. The Medieval Crisis of Logic and the Author of the *Centiloquium* Attributed to Ockham. *Franciscan Stud.*, June.

PAULINE AIKEN. Vincent of Beauvais and Chaucer's Knowledge of Alchemy. *Stud. in Philol.*, July.

MARSHALL W. STEARNS. The Planet Portraits of Robert Henryson. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Dec.

OLIVE B. WHITE. Richard Taverner's Interpretation of Erasmus in *Proverbs or Adagies*. *Ibid.*

JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER. Dante's Own Comedy. *Am. Scholar*, Winter.

R. H. ARMITAGE. Is *Gargantua* a Reworking of *Pantagruel*? *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Dec.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A. H. HATTO. The Name of God in Gothic. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July.

C. S. NORTHUP and J. J. PARRY. The Arthurian Legends: Modern Retellings of the Old Stories. An Annotated Bibliography. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Apr.

LEO SPITZER. The Name of the Holy Grail. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.

WILLIAM A. NITZE. Count Philip's Book and the *Graal*. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Dec.

EDWARD B. HAM. Branch II of the French Alexander. *Mod. Philol.*, Nov.

OSCAR SHERWIN. Art's Spring-Birth: The Ballad of *Iacob and Iosep*. *Stud. in Philol.*, Jan.

GRACE FRANK. Jaufré Rudel, Casella and Spitzer [what is the proper approach to an understanding of medieval literature?]. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Dec.

B. J. WHITING. Diccon's French Cousin. *Stud. in Philol.*, Jan.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. Some Literary Aspects of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*. *Ibid.*

ART, ARCHITECTURE, AND ILLUMINATION

ADOLF KATZENELLENBOGEN. The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relation to the First Crusade. *Art Bull.*, Sept.

NORMA SLEIGHT. Arches through the Ages. *School Sci. and Math.*, Jan.

KURT WEITZMANN. Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Apr., 1944.

KAROL ESTREICHER. Polish Renaissance Architecture. *Burlington Mag.*, Jan.

TRUDE KRAUTHEIMER-HESS. The Original Porta dei Mesi at Ferrara and the Art of Niccolo. *Art Bull.*, Sept.

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR. The Problem of the Brancacci Chapel Historically Considered. *Ibid.*

Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

THE ENGLISHMAN AND HIS HISTORY. By *H. Butterfield*. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. vii, 142, \$1.25.) *The Englishman and His History* is one of a series of volumes on "Current Problems," edited by Sir Ernest Barker. It begins with a study in historiography and ends with a defense of English conservatism. In Part I Professor Butterfield shows how Englishmen misinterpreted medieval history in their search for precedents to use against the Stuart monarchy; and he concludes that the "whig interpretation of history" which resulted was a great contribution, not to historiography, but to the growth of the "English tradition" with its emphasis on the continuity of the nation's history. In Part II, on "The Political Tradition," Professor Butterfield explains why Englishmen have been such superb political craftsmen; how it is that they have been able to win for England all the blessings of modern liberty with none of its curses: with no violent revolution, no bitter warfare between classes, no struggle between religious and anticlerical extremists which marked the history of other nations such as France. He concludes that this happy issue was due to the innate moderation of the English governing class, which by eschewing die-hard conservatism on the one hand and doctrinaire liberalism on the other, ended by doing what was best for England. *The Englishman and His History* is really a sequel to Professor Butterfield's essay on *The Whig Interpretation of History*, written a dozen years ago. In the earlier work Professor Butterfield has nothing but criticism for that "whig interpretation" which he celebrates as part of the "English tradition" in the later book; yet there is a real continuity between the two essays. In *The Whig Interpretation* he argued that religious freedom did not result, as the Whig historians claimed, from the successful efforts of the great Protestant reformers—who, contrary to "whig" history, were opposed to any such concept—but was rather the contribution of the next generation, which felt that social peace was more important than unity of church and state. In *The Englishman and His History* he seems to be suggesting, in similar fashion, that English liberty has been due, not to those who have fought for the reforms since incorporated in the Constitution and in English life, but to a governing class, which having won its liberties in an earlier day, acted in the belief that social stability at the price of a modicum of reform was preferable to open conflict with other segments of society. With his interpretation of the development of religious toleration many historians will agree; but the thesis implicit in his later book involves some curious revisions: Wellington, rather than the tailor Place, becomes the hero of the First Reform Bill; and the ultra-respectable and timid "Junta" becomes the hero of the British labor movement—to the astonishment of this reviewer. Professor Butterfield is entitled to his thesis, but one is entitled, also, to question whether this interpretation of the "English tradition" is one which would be gladly accepted by the majority of Englishmen now fighting to uphold it.

ROBERT WALCOTT, JR.

ST. ANDREWS FORMULARE, 1514-1546. Edited by *Gordon Donaldson*, with Prefatory Note by David Baird Smith. Volume II. [The Stair Society.] (Edinburgh, printed for the Stair Society by J. Skinner, 1944, pp. xix, 411.) The second half of the *St. Andrews Formulare* presented in this volume is an important addition to the printed sources of the social and legal history of pre-Reformation Scotland. It is of

particular interest because most of this volume's documents deal with the activities of Cardinal David Beaton, murdered in 1546. John Lauder, the author of the *Formulare* was one of the cardinal's right hand men and has preserved some three hundred notarial documents for the period during which Beaton dominated the Scottish scene. The prime interest of the work is, of course, legal, as it reveals much concerning the law of Scotland as well as the work of Lauder himself. At the same time, however, we find a very considerable amount of material dealing with other subjects of even greater general interest. Probably the most valuable part of the *Formulare* is the light which it throws upon the condition of the Scottish church before "the deluge" of 1560. Considerable information is forthcoming regarding the sad condition of ecclesiastical discipline, revealing the low ebb to which ecclesiastical morals had come. Along with that there are a number of documents dealing with the economic position of the church and the conflicts it was having with various predatory nobles. Last but not least, the documents also show the prevalence of heresy and the church's vain efforts to stamp it out. From the Lowlands to the northern part of Rosshire the new doctrine was working, while the church, especially Lauder, fought it with all the weapons at its disposal. While the "Person and Place" index is no doubt valuable, it is too bad that a subject index was not also included.

W. STANFORD REID

MINUTES OF THE SYNOD OF ARGYLL, 1652-1661. Edited by *Duncan C. MacTavish*, with an Introduction by *James D. Ogilvie*. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XXXVIII.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1944, pp. xxxii, 278, 8, 18, 12.) The present volume is the second part of the minutes of the synod of Argyll and brings them to a close. While much of the material is like that of Volume I (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX [April, 1944], 529), there are also new problems continually appearing before the synod. For one thing, the important question of translating the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism into Gaelic receives much attention in the present volume. More important to the secular historian, however, are matters relating to the political, social, and economic affairs of this West Highland synod. We find numerous references to the ill-fated marquis of Argyll as well as to the abortive rebellion of Montrose. The synod reveals itself as extremely anti-Stewart in political affairs. It also showed itself very much inclined to expect the civil authorities to lend their weight to the application of ecclesiastical discipline at times, perhaps in return for political support. Other matters, such as the moral condition of the country and the economic problems of both clergy and lairds, also receive considerable attention. The minutes thus form a useful collection of documents relating to the West Highlands during the Commonwealth period.

W. STANFORD REID

TRACTS AND PAMPHLETS BY RICHARD STEELE. Edited with Notes and Commentary by *Rae Blanchard*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, pp. xvii, 663, \$5.50.) Richard Steele was so actively engaged in public affairs that a complete account of his interests and activities would go far towards constituting a history of the period. In a sense he was a literary figure only by accident, as indeed most of the Queen Anne prosemen were. A practical purpose informs everything he wrote; his comedies and essays are set apart only by virtue of a superior literary merit. Unfortunately, students who have wished to get a complete picture of the man and his work have found it very difficult to obtain the necessary material. Miss Blanchard began to supply this need by editing *The Christian Hero* in 1932, and has since added *The Correspondence*, in 1941. The present volume contains the thirty-one pamphlets known to have been written by Steele, including for the sake of completeness *The Christian Hero*. Of the many others attributed to him, those which have some claim to con-

sideration are listed in an appendix. Not many of these pieces do credit to Steele's literary powers. Between his best and his worst there is a much wider gap than exists in the prose of Addison, Defoe, or Swift. In their writing there is always a characteristic touch, even in compositions thrown off in a hurry, as many of Swift's were and most of Defoe's had to be. Apparently Steele wrote well only under compulsion. When off guard he was capable of unconscionable dullness and tedious repetition. But there is compensation in the number and variety of his topics, which range in interest from his "fish-pond" through politics to ethics and theology. A Whig of the Whigs, a passionate defender of parliamentary rights, and the Established Church, Steele was led into more than one costly indiscretion, notably his controversy with Swift; but this at least can be said for him, that he usually acted upon sincere conviction and was more consistent and more honest in his political conduct than most of his contemporaries.

C. A. MOORE

THE HOUSE OF DE LA POMERAI: THE ANNALS OF THE FAMILY, WHICH WAS, FROM THE CONQUEST TO 1548, SEATED AT BERI (BERRY POMEROY), IN DEVONSHIRE, AND, FROM *c.* 1620 TO 1719, RESIDENT AT SANDRIDGE IN STOKE GABRIEL, IN THAT COUNTY: THE STATUS OF THE LORDS OF BERI: THEIR CASTLE HOME, TOGETHER WITH MANY NOTICES OF SCIONS OF THE HOUSE AND OF OTHER BEARERS OF THE DE LA POMERAI (POMEROY) NAME. WITH APPENDIX: 1720 ONWARDS. By *Edward B. Powley*, Master in Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby. (Liverpool, University Press of Liverpool; London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1944, pp. xxiii, 134.)

A DESCRIPTION OF BLACKPOOL IN LANCASHIRE, FREQUENTED FOR SEABATHING, 1788. By *William Hutton*. Edited by *R. Sharpe France*. (Liverpool, published for the Fylde Historical Society by the University Press of Liverpool, 1944, pp. 32, 2s. 6d.)

THE WARNING DRUM: THE BRITISH HOME FRONT FACES NAPOLEON: BROADSIDES OF 1803. Edited by *Frank J. Klingberg* and *Sigurd B. Hustvedt*. [Publications of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944, pp. vii, 287, \$4.00.) The original documents in this collection, with their imaginable yellow patches, may lure some antiquarians to the library of the University of California at Los Angeles. Reprinted in the present volume, they may also claim the interest of students of history, both as examples of the use of the broadside and as a mirror of the British mood during the fateful year 1803, when Britain was expecting invasion from Napoleon. Perhaps, indeed, one should say, "moods," for some of these pieces, stressing the gravity of the crisis, exhort the nation to the utmost effort, while others—in fact, the majority—bespeak a confidence in the outcome in no uncertain terms. Recalling Britain's peril in 1940, one hardly needs to point out that such a publication is timely, and some conclusions may be reached by comparing the more mature and restrained expressions of British opinion in 1940 with these somewhat juvenile outpourings of 1803. In the matter of comparative "monsters" Hitler hardly seems to measure up to Napoleon, though without a more thorough canvass of present-day Londoners one cannot, of course, be sure! These broadsides make up a book that one may glance through with amusement and thereby also gain a profitable impression, but to read it all verbatim is to inflict on oneself some very dreary hours. The volume is attractive in format and capably edited, with an introduction and elaborate and interesting notes.

T. W. RIKER

LETTERS OF THOMAS J. WISE TO JOHN HENRY WRENN: A FURTHER INQUIRY INTO THE GUILT OF CERTAIN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FORGERS. Edited by *Fannie E. Ratchford*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. 621, \$7.50.) "Thomas James Wise was an eminent nineteenth century bibliographer and book collector who was implicated as a forger of rare first editions by the publication in 1934 of *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*. He is further proved guilty, along with two other English men of letters, by the publication of his correspondence with John Henry Wrenn of America, whom he helped in building a rare first edition collection now at the University of Texas, a collection interlarded with proved Wise forgeries."

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION. By *J. F. S. Ross*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1944, pp. vi, 245, \$3.00.) This book is the result of a meticulous ten-year effort to discover if England is a democracy, whether Parliament was really a mirror of the nation during the interwar period. On the basis of an elaborate statistical analysis, Mr. Ross proves that the House of Commons was not a microcosm of the British community in respect either of the age, education, occupation, or party affiliation of its members. It was largely recruited, he concludes, from the privileged classes whose economic and social advantages enable them to dominate the political life of the country. He finds a close correlation between politics and education, occupation, parentage, and financial means. Mr. Ross holds the influence of wealth, leisure, and the single-member majority system of voting primarily responsible for the unrepresentative character of Parliament. In order to make the Commons more representative of the country, the author recommends several financial and electoral reforms. He proposes to lighten the burden of election expenses by a grant-in-aid; to increase the salary and expense allowance paid to a member of Parliament; and to continue the salary of ex-members for a limited time. He would abolish the present single-member majority system of election and replace it by the method of the single transferable vote known as proportional representation. Mr. Ross argues persuasively that, under this reform, elections would be less clumsy and capricious, give more scope to and make better use of the common sense of the electorate, reflect more accurately the state of political feeling in the country, give a better balanced House of Commons, and promote a higher general standard of integrity, ability, and zeal among candidates and members. As subsidiary reforms, he suggests that every candidate be required to present verified credentials to the electorate, take a series of psychological intelligence and aptitude tests, have had previous legislative experience in local government, and have reached the age of thirty when nominated. There is much in this book of comparative interest to American political scientists and statisticians. It should stimulate a similar study of the composition of Congress, which might yield similar conclusions as to its representative character.

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

A CONVERSATION WITH BRYCE. By *Gilbert Murray*. [The James Bryce Memorial Lecture, Somerville College, Oxford, Friday, 12 November 1943.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 45, 50 cents.)

FOUR GENERATIONS OF OUR ROYAL FAMILY. By *Angus Holden Holden*, 3d Baron. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 260, \$3.00.) "Sketches of the lives of members of the British royal families and their relatives from Queen Victoria to Edward VIII."

QUEBEC, HISTORIC SEAPORT. By *Mazo de la Roche*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran, 1944, pp. xii, 212, \$3.50.) Miss de la Roche has produced a flamboyant and highly colored book but a poor history. She has all the tricks of the historical novel-

ist: the imaginative background, vividness at the expense of accuracy, a constant emphasis upon the spectacular and the romantic; but apparently she is lacking in the most valuable attribute of the historian, a critical judgment. She repeats the old stories whether they are true or not, and she adds some new errors that are all her own: the first mass in New France was said on June 24, 1615, by Father Denis Jamet on the island of Montreal and not, as she states, at Quebec (p. 39; see H. P. Biggar, *Works of Champlain*, III, 33-34); Ventadour was not in holy orders when he was viceroy of New France (p. 50); the Caëns were uncle and nephew not brothers, and it is very doubtful if they could fairly be called unscrupulous (p. 54); it cannot be assumed that France was "a land of small families" in the seventeenth century because it is so in the twentieth century (p. 76); Frontenac was not a "Compte" (p. 82), and he came to New France for the second time in 1689, not in 1672 (p. 99); Amherst was Sir Jeffery and not Sir Geoffrey (p. 123); Quebec in 1759 was not bombarded from the English camp on the Island of Orleans or from that at the Montmorency, over six miles away (p. 125); Etekemin should be Etchemin (p. 126); Wolfe's army did not have to pull themselves up steep cliffs to the Heights of Abraham (pp. 130-31); the church shown in the photograph opposite page 141 is the Basilica, not Notre Dame des Victoires; the Abbé Plessir should be Abbé Plessis, later bishop of Quebec (p. 151); Stanley was not England's prime minister in 1842-43 but secretary for war and colonies (p. 181); Montmagny did not succeed Frontenac as governor (p. 197). These may be small points, but they show the carelessness with which the book has been compiled. And Miss de la Roche is no more successful in conveying accurately the broader sweep of history: her book is laden with irrelevant excursions that have nothing to do with the city of Quebec; ignoring the incompetency of Vaudreuil and the essential importance of the English fleet at Quebec, she gives a lengthy and largely worthless account of the siege of 1759; and above all she takes no account of the growing importance of Montreal as a rival to Quebec and does not even mention the dredging of the ship channel up the St. Lawrence, which brought about Quebec's commercial ruin. For French Quebec Parkman did a much better job seventy years ago; for the 170 years of English rule Miss de la Roche's meager forty-four pages hardly merit comment.

E. R. ADAIR

MACKENZIE KING: A PORTRAIT SKETCH. By *Emil Ludwig*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 62, \$1.75.)

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FRANCE

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A CATHEDRAL: THE LIVING STORY OF MAN'S MOST BEAUTIFUL CREATION, WITH GLIMPSES, THROUGH THE CENTURIES, OF THE PAGEANT THAT LED TO NOTRE DAME. By *Robert Gordon Anderson*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1944, pp. xii, 496, \$4.00.) To any one familiar with Henry Adams' classic *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, or Sartell Prentice's *The*

Heritage of the Cathedral, this book will prove disappointing. It attempts to do for Notre Dame of Paris what Prentice does more broadly for "the cathedral," but lacks Prentice's understanding of the Middle Ages, his effective eclecticism, clarity, and charm. Mr. Anderson's account is more concerned with ancestry than biography. It is only in the sixteenth of thirty-one chapters that we are introduced to old Notre Dame, and in the twenty-sixth that the cornerstone of the present structure is laid. Evidently intended for the "general reader," the "pageant" portrays striking scenes enacted on or near the site of the cathedral (52 B.C.-1235 A.D.), and combines with these the evolution of doctrine, liturgy, vestments, music, and architecture—all that was ultimately symbolized in the great church of "Our Lady." Actually more pages are devoted to biographical sketches, effective but not always pertinent, of saints and bishops, emperors and popes, kings of France from Clovis to St. Louis, with imaginative reconstructions in the vein of the historical novel. Perhaps it is as such that the book should be read to be enjoyed. Although in one instance the author includes a point for "all who love accuracy with their history" (p. 163), ordinarily he does not distinguish between history and legend. He has spent considerable time in Paris and is at his best in his account of the city, the cathedral, and its builders, although entirely without benefit of maps or illustrations. Outside these fields an exaggerated Francophilism and lack of historical perspective lead to a number of slips, for instance, attributing to "France" twenty-eight hundred years of "race consciousness" (p. 8), pointedly distinguishing the Franks from the "Germans" (pp. 196, 205), and referring to a "citizenry of Paris" in Caesar's day (pp. 21, 23), to the edict of Milan "which like that of Nantes by Louis the Fourteenth, provided toleration" (p. 146), to Gregory the Great's being chosen by a conclave of cardinal electors (pp. 250-51), to the crusades as part of a "grudge fight" ("The Moslems had not forgiven Charles Martel or forgotten his hammer," p. 339), to Abelard "fresh from his father's farm" (p. 358), and to Philip Augustus recovering for a "consolidated France Eleanor's dowry, rich Aquitaine" (p. 424).

FAITH THOMPSON

LAMARTINE: L'HOMME ET SON OEUVRE. By *Louis Bertrand*, de l'Académie Française. (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard [1940]; reprinted by Éditions Variétés de Montréal, 1944, pp. 284.) The author's avowed purpose in adding another to the many earlier studies of Lamartine is "to illuminate all that was human in that young god." The "human" story as M. Bertrand tells it, is an astonishing one, with many magnificent moments, but in sum rather ignoble and sad. The total impression does not differ greatly from that conveyed by such biographers as Doumic and Whitehouse. But this effectively presented analysis is more searching and more ruthless. Although profuse in tribute to Lamartine's native endowments, the unpremeditated art of his best lyric poems, his unstudied parliamentary eloquence, his political intuition, there is more contempt and pity than admiration in the book. Sharply underlined is the resemblance to Lucien de Rubempré in young Lamartine's pursuit of a lucrative place and an advantageous marriage; mercilessly exposed are his debasement of his poetic gift, his ineffable egoism, his callousness in personal relationships, his fantastic financial speculations, and above all, his lifelong passion for living *à la grand seigneur*, although his patrimony was not lordly, and his earning power never equal to his prodigality. There is compassion, but contempt also, in the description of the unremitting toil of his later years, the flood of hack work that poured from his facile pen, the proceeds therefrom disappearing in the insatiable maw of debt. Of his political ambitions, his role of "républicain improvisé" after 1843, his conviction that a "tempest" would bring him the opportunity to fulfill his divine mission, and of the part he played when the storm came, the treatment is a bit equivocal—as Lamartine's pur-

poses seem to have been. Certain of M. Bertrand's obiter dicta on foreign policy (apropos of what he considers Lamartine's intuitive sagacity in that field) seem intelligible only by reference to the date of the final chapter, November 15, 1939. It is unlikely that these passages will add to the reader's pleasure unless he be Anglophobe or *Pétainiste*.

ELIZABETH P. BRUSH

THE MÉLINE TARIFF: FRENCH AGRICULTURE AND NATIONALIST ECONOMIC POLICY. By *Eugene Owen Golob*, Instructor in History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 506.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 266, \$3.25.) "This study tells the story of the agrarian campaign for protection prior to 1892 (the year of the Méline Tariff) against the background of French agricultural history in the nineteenth century, the depression of the 1880's, nationalist economic policy, the constitutional crisis of the early years of the Third Republic, co-operation in agriculture, and the Social Catholic movement. It concludes with an attempt to assess the effectiveness of agricultural protection in terms of prices of agricultural products and costs to the consumer."

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

- TWILIGHT OF THE GLADIATORS: ITALY AND THE ITALIANS, 1939-1943.
 By Frank Heller. Translated from the Swedish by Llewellyn Jones. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944, pp. 146, \$2.00.) Frank Heller, who is described by the publishers as a distinguished Swedish novelist, has written an extremely gossipy, impressionistic,

and superficial account of a dramatic period of Italian history. Like so many travelers who fall "inordinately in love with Italy at first sight, bewitched by her spiritual as well as by her sensual enchantments," he gives little evidence that he possesses the proper equipment for a work that would be worth reading by historians. Despite his opportunities to observe Italy and the Italians during the critical years 1939-1943, he gives us virtually no important information that could not be gathered together by a careful reading of the English and American press.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avraham Yarmolinsky

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN RUSSIA, 1772-1844. By Isaac Levitats. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 505.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 300, \$3.50.) This is a timely publication. Jews and Jewish communities in Poland and the western borderlands of Russia are practically wiped out by German onslaught and by Nazi racial hatred and bestiality. What will survive will be broken existences and dim recollections of the formerly busy life of millions of eastern European Jews, poor in economic returns but rich in cultural pursuits. Jewish archives and historical records, never too well preserved, have also disappeared. Even the author has used manuscripts for his investigation already "destroyed together with the communities which harbored them." The hero of the book is the Kahal—a legal autonomous communal governing board which, thanks to the "government-delegated powers of taxation and recruiting, but chiefly through the force of immemorial traditions," had a firm grip on the members of the Jewish communities in tsarist Russia. The author's interest is more absorbed by the community as a juridical unit. As he admits himself, he is only to a lesser extent interested in the role and

position of the individual within the community. Dr. Levitats presents very ably the results of his protracted studies of the subject. He has done painstaking research. He has explored special literature and source materials in a great number of languages—Russian, Polish, Hebrew, Yiddish, English, German, and French. He has uncovered a mass of historical evidence which has enabled him to give a full, lively, and illuminating picture of the functioning and the gradual deterioration of the Kahal in the period between the date of Poland's first partition and the incorporation of numerous Jewish communities into the Russian state and 1844, the year of the final abolition of the Kahal. In 1772, the manifesto of Catherine the Great promised Jewish communities that they would "be left in the enjoyment of all the liberties with regard to their religion and property which they at present possess." But about seventy years later, Sir Moses Montefiore pointed out to Emperor Nicholas I "the injustice done to the Jews by turning over the communal functions and prerogatives of the Kahal to municipal institutions in which they were without proportionate representation." The historic Jewish autonomy and self-rule ceased to exist, and the religious and social discrimination against the Jews became even more conspicuous in the years to come. But simultaneously the Jewish opposition to the autocratic regime in Russia became also more accentuated. "The will of the Tsar," declared Rabbi Isaac of Volozhin, "is as holy, according to Jewish law, as the will of God, only if it applies equally to all inhabitants."

SERGIVS YAKOBSON

PICTORIAL HISTORY OF RUSSIA FROM RURIK TO STALIN: ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY IN PICTURES. By *Alexander Howard and Ernest Newman*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1945, pp. 207, \$5.75.) "The history of Russia from 862 A.D. to 1944 is shown by more than five hundred pictures with explanatory captions. A chronology of Russian history with a 'Who's who in Russia today' appears at the end."

KIEVSKAYA RUS' [Kievan Russia]. By *B. D. Grekov*. [4th Edition.] (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1944, pp. 348, 25 r.). The present work is an outgrowth of a study published by the author in 1935 under the title *Feodalnye otnosheniya v kievskom gosudarstve* [feudal relationships in the Kiev state]. The book is a comprehensive, if not wholly integrated, history of the first Russian state. Sponsored by the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences, it is one of the few substantial historical monographs printed during the war in the Soviet Union.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

THE BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE. Edited by *Jaques Cattell*. (7th ed.; Lancaster, Pa., Science Press, 1944, pp. 2033, \$14.00.)

GEORGE WASHINGTON: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS. Edited, with an Introduction, by *Philip S. Foner*, Instructor, Jefferson School of Social Science. (New York, International Publishers, 1944, pp. 95, 85 cents.)

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE SCIENTIFIC TRENDS OF HIS TIME. By *Charles A. Browne*, Bureau of Agricultural and Industrial Chemistry, U. S. Department of Agriculture. [Chronica Botanica, Volume VIII, Number 3.] (Waltham, Chronica Botanica; New York, G. E. Stechert, 1944, pp. 363-423, \$1.25.)

BASIC WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Philip S. Foner*. (New York, Willey Book, 1944, pp. 834, \$3.00.)

MENTOR GRAHAM: THE MAN WHO TAUGHT LINCOLN. By *Kunigunde Duncan* and *D. F. Nickols*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. xxix, 274, \$3.75.) It is probable that few Americans recognize the name of Mentor Graham, friend and teacher of Lincoln. The latter's biographers dismiss him briefly, the destruction by fire of Graham's papers further consigned him to oblivion, and for some reason Lincoln himself failed to pay tribute to his New Salem teacher. In this labor of love the authors have sought to restore to his rightful place in history this inspired and exacting teacher of the Kentucky and Illinois frontier, not merely because of his Lincoln association but because of his own stature. Basing their account largely upon oral tradition, church records, and official documents, they capture the spirit of the Green and Sangamon river frontiers, and write with zest and understanding of Graham's six decades of back-country pedagogy. The old schoolmaster's creed (summarized p. 240) may be pondered with profit by modern members of the profession. Unfortunately, in certain respects this book will disappoint scholars. There is neither specific documentation nor bibliography, and the notes, while containing some references, are largely explanatory. Perhaps because the authors have not mastered their historical background, the book suffers from blurred chronology and a number of errors. A few examples only may be noted. Lincoln's attitude towards slavery is made to be more abolitionist (p. 168) than that cautious politician voiced in the antebellum period. Inasmuch as Lincoln never received a party's nomination for vice-president, he could not have lost the election for that office (p. 195). It is incorrect to speak of "Copperheads" in the Illinois of the fifties (pp. 196, 198-99) or of "secessionists" there during the Lincoln-Douglas debates (p. 197). Fort "Sumpter" [*sic*] did not fall in July (p. 203) but in April, as Mentor Graham's pupils doubtless knew.

Neither Dr. Sturtevant nor Beecher was ever made "ambassador" [*sic*] to England (p. 210). And it is a certainty that Jefferson Davis never was "his [Graham's] sister Nancy's second husband" (p. 210; but see chap. XXI, p. 263, n. 3). It is regrettable that these errors limit the usefulness of an interesting and sincere biography.

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

LINCOLN: STATESMAN AND LOGICIAN. By *James W. Bollinger*. (Davenport, Iowa, privately printed, 1944, pp. 68.)

THE SCHOOL CONTROVERSY (1891-1893). By *Daniel F. Reilly*, of the Order of Preachers. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press; distributors, Providence College Bookstore, Providence, R. I., 1943, pp. x, 302, \$3.00.) This doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America undertakes to give an account of a controversy within the Catholic church in the early 1890's over whether the state should exercise control over Catholic schools and whether the state has the right to educate. The first part of the study presents the background and beginnings of the controversy, followed by the plan of Archbishop Ireland, who proposed a solution by what was known as "The Poughkeepsie Plan," an agreement between a parochial school and the city board of education that would enable the parochial school children to participate in the benefits of the public school system. The religious controversy in education in this country is an old and perplexing one and even now occasionally appears to be unsettled. It has not been confined to any one religious group. The present study, however, deals mainly with the dispute within the Catholic church in this country over "the school question." This controversy turned not only on the question of state control over Catholic schools in return for some public aid to those schools but even touched on the right of the state to educate. The issue here examined in great detail is the first "extended study" of the controversy, although a brief notice of it had previously appeared in Frederick Zwierlein's *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (3 vols., Rochester, 1925-27). The author of the present volume says, "Now that the acrimony of the controversy has disappeared with the demise of the participants, perhaps a new generation can begin to understand dispassionately, judge the questions at issue, and profit by them" (p. ix). An address in July, 1890, by Archbishop John Ireland on "State Schools and Parish Schools" seems to have given a new turn to the old question. "Without a doubt no other speech like it on Catholic and State Schools had ever before been uttered in the United States by an archbishop" (p. 47). His statements were vigorous. He granted to the state the right to maintain schools and to compel attendance upon them, praised "the liberality of the state in offering its wards gratuitous instruction," and represented himself not only friendly to but "an advocate of the state school." He said, "It is our pride and glory. The Republic of the United States has solemnly affirmed its resolvé that within its borders no clouds of ignorance shall settle upon the minds of the children of its people. In furnishing the means to accomplish this result its generosity knows no limit. The Free School of America! Withered be the hand raised in sign of its destruction! Can I be suspected of enmity to the state school because I would fain widen the expanse of its wings until all the children of the people find shelter beneath their cover; because I tell of defects which for love of the State School I seek to remedy?" But he found the parish school necessary because the public school tended "to eliminate religion from the minds and hearts of the youth of the country." Catholics had to have parish schools because Christians demanded religion. He saw two solutions for the problem: (1) to permeate the state school with the religion of the majority of the children; (2) "The Poughkeepsie Plan." This address started the controversy. Archbishop Ireland was reported to but not rebuked by the pope, although he had

some difficulty in defending himself in the midst of considerable writing and discussion of the subject of his address. Pope Leo XIII's "Tolerari Potest" seems to have made for the conclusion of the whole matter. On January 31, 1893, Cardinal Gibbons wrote to Pope Leo suggesting an encyclical letter on the school question and "was gratified to hear from Monsignor O'Connell at Rome that Cardinal Rampolla had remarked that 'the school question in America was decided.'" The encyclical, dated May 31, 1893, stated that, "although the public schools are not to be entirely condemned (since cases may occur, as the Council itself had foreseen, in which it is lawful to attend them), still every endeavor should be made to multiply Catholic schools and to bring them to perfect equipment" (p. 229). EDGAR W. KNIGHT

THE COTTON MILL WORKER. By *Herbert J. Lahne*. [Labor in Twentieth Century America.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, pp. xiii, 303, \$3.00.) Dr. Lahne's book is a well-balanced and comprehensive study of the cotton goods industry and its labor force in the twentieth century. The locational shift of the industry, its rapid growth in the South, the recruitment of the labor force, and the struggle to establish unionism are described with understanding. Central to the problems of the cotton mill worker is the relationship of the industry's Northern and Southern sectors. A less competent scholar might have relied upon the covers of the volume to provide formal unity for essentially separate histories of these two sectors. But Dr. Lahne's treatment of the economics of the entire industry, its productive capacity, wage differentials, and the impediments to the establishment of unionism, provides an integrated analysis marked by great clarity. Careful evaluation of many significant factors leads the author to attribute the South's competitive advantage to lower labor costs based upon lower wage rates. He predicts serious postwar difficulties unless means are found to "maintain the purchasing power of the people at a level equal to the wartime demand." His analysis and conclusions therefore raise crucial questions of national policy with respect to wage levels, wage regulation, and collective bargaining. In this connection the chapters on interregional competition, earnings, mill villages, and wage differentials merit special attention. VERA SHLAKMAN

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM: REPORT OF A PARTICIPANT. By *James P. Cannon*. (New York, Pioneer Publishers, 1944, pp. xiv, 268, paper \$2.00, cloth \$2.75.)

LOOKING AT LIFE THROUGH AMERICAN LITERATURE. By *Nellie Mae Lombard*. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1944, pp. 101, \$1.50.) Bibliographies.

OUR JUNGLE DIPLOMACY. By *William Franklin Sands*. In collaboration with *Joseph M. Lalley*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp. v, 250, \$2.50.) Mr. Sands, with the collaboration of Mr. Lalley, has, out of his varied diplomatic experience a quarter of a century ago, written a delightful book of reminiscences. They have to do chiefly with the author's services in and around Panama from the time the dirt began to fly for the Canal. There is also some interesting commentary on our policy in Mexico, where Mr. Sands also served. Furthermore, while Mr. Sands's experience in Japan and Korea are not directly touched on, he has used them to draw some interesting comparisons between American policy in the Caribbean area in that period and the Japanese policy which, beginning in Korea, eventuated in the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." At that point he might have gone a little further and compared the Japanese policy also with that of the French in Indo-China, and with the British in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo. As it stands, he draws his conclusion, a critical one, from far fewer facts than are available. One of

the most amusing side lights on the practice of American diplomacy in Central America at that time is in the form of an anecdote about Alva A. Adee, who, with William Hunter before him, was as near as the American government has ever come to having a permanent foreign office official of major rank. Mr. Adee's advice to Mr. Sands as he set out for the new post was not to become too intimate with the Central Americans or they would "diddle" him. That was one reason why the Monroe Doctrine had such tough going among the very people whom it served to protect. Mr. Sands appears to have ignored the advice, but many did not, with the result that while they may not have been "diddled," also they were not liked. There are in the book other stories, delightfully written, also throwing light on why the American government, so often failing in diplomacy, resorted not alone to dollars but also to gunboats and marines. But Mr. Sands's little book sets out to be more than a collection of reminiscences. It has a serious purpose, and a critical one, as is reflected in the title, with a word borrowed from Kipling and by the latter used in two ways so that one has to read the author's explanation of why he borrowed the word. The title is not intended to imply that the American foreign policy has been brutal, responding to the law of the jungle, but merely that it has wandered around so much that it has been no policy at all. This conclusion, in the reviewer's judgment, requires a lot more proving than Mr. Sands has given it in the less than a hundred pages devoted to that part of the subject he has selected. And it also requires more precision in the statement of facts. *Our Jungle Diplomacy* would serve very usefully as the subject of a detailed review and criticism by an undergraduate about to take his degree with a major in American diplomatic history. The review would reveal quite well how much the student knew about the subject and how well he could handle his factual knowledge. Meanwhile, his instructor would have had an evening of much enjoyment and some instruction from reading the book.

TYLER DENNETT

WEST POINT: THE STORY OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY WHICH RISING FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES HAS TAUGHT AMERICAN SOLDIERS THE ART OF VICTORY. By E. D. J. Waugh. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xii, 246, \$2.50.) This posthumous book by Mrs. Waugh falls into three divisions: (1) a history of West Point from its foundation to the twentieth century (150 pp.); (2) a commentary on certain notable living graduates of the military academy (20 pp.); and (3) a lively description of the institution as it is today (60 pp.). The first section is by all odds the most important portion of the volume. West Point's history began immediately after 1775. The Revolutionary War relations thereto of Washington and Arnold are succinctly told. The story of its survival in the lean years after 1789 is well set forth. There are admirable sketches of such notable figures in West Point history as Alden Partridge, Sylvanus Thayer, Gouvener Kemble, George Washington Whistler, Dennis Hart Mahan, Peter Smith Michie, and Samuel E. Tillman. The important role that West Point graduates played in nineteenth century American engineering—roads, lighthouses, coast surveys, canals, and railways—is emphasized. West Point's role in the Civil War is made clear in conclusions which are identical with those of Freeman in *Lee's Lieutenants* (III, xviii). There are a few errors of fact. Lee surrendered at Appomattox in 1865, not 1864 (p. 127). Sitting Bull was not a chief but a medicine man (p. 137). After the Serajevo assassination in 1914 it is incorrect to say that "before the week was out Germany was marching into war" (p. 146). It is doubtful whether the Japanese General Homma committed suicide in 1942 (p. 155). General Wedemeyer's name is misspelled (p. 162). The book has some interesting appendixes and a short bibliography but unfortunately possesses no index. It is well bound with attractive endpapers. Cer-

tainly it is worth perusal, for it should help all its readers to a better understanding of the most famous of all American military colleges. J. DUANE SQUIRES

MORALE EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN ARMY: WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, WAR OF 1812, CIVIL WAR. By *Philip S. Foner*. (New York, International Publishers, 1944, pp. 64, 20 cents.)

DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE U. S. A. By *J. F. C. Fuller*, Major-General in the British Army (Retired). (New York, Harper, 1942, pp. xi, 416, \$4.00.) The announced purpose of this book is to present a brief history of the past wars of the United States from the study of which Americans might be better prepared to defend their liberties and to establish a more perfect peace. Unfortunately, despite General Fuller's reputation as a soldier and military historian, his view of warfare is too narrow, or perhaps too professional, and his grasp of economic and political questions too uncertain for the undertaking he set himself. The volume consists of eleven chapters on selected battles and campaigns from Trenton and Princeton to the Meuse-Argonne and follows the pattern established in his *Decisive Battles: Their Influence upon History and Civilisation*, which appeared in this country two years earlier. Each chapter is introduced by a brief statement of events intended to give the work continuity and to place the engagements in their proper setting, and most of the chapters contain summaries in which military lessons and political results are discussed. Some of General Fuller's conclusions, particularly on tactics and strategy, are extremely shrewd, but they are all too brief and seldom perceptibly related to the preceding narrative. For instance, after outlining the action of two battles of the Spanish-American War, it is announced without explanation that the land fighting in this war proved, which his account of it does not, the "supremely important lesson" that "military resources should never be confounded with military strength." His descriptions of military operations are better on the older, and consequently smaller, engagements than on the larger, more complicated campaigns. The account of the Civil War, on which he is considered by some to be an authority and to which four chapters are devoted, will be almost meaningless to most readers because of the manner in which divisions and corps are moved about like pieces on a chessboard. Even more significant, there is only an occasional suggestion that there were events beyond the control of the soldiers on the field which decided the course of battle quite as much as the strategy of the generals concerned. The Meuse-Argonne, "America's greatest battle," is treated so sketchily that little more than the order of battle is given; it is covered in nine pages which also include an explanation of the strategic plan of the entire final Allied attack on Germany and an account of the negotiations leading to the armistice. It is not from this kind of history that one will learn of war and its part in world affairs.

JESSE S. DOUGLAS

91ST DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 52, \$1.00.) This completes the series of twenty-eight volumes covering the operations of the divisions of the American Expeditionary Forces which had frontline combat service. A list of these divisions and the price of each volume may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

BATTLE REPORT: PEARL HARBOR TO CORAL SEA. By *Commander Walter Karig* [*Keats Patrick*, pseud.] and *Lieutenant Welbourn Kelley*. [Council on Books in Wartime.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, pp. 506, \$3.50.) "The story of the naval battles which were fought during the six months following Pearl Harbor.

A list of awards and citations as well as a list of casualties, during this period, is included."

PREJUDICE: JAPANESE-AMERICANS: SYMBOL OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE.

By *Carey McWilliams*. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1944, pp. 337, \$3.00.) The story of the Japanese immigrants and their children in the United States constitutes a case history of intergroup tensions which should be known in reasonable detail and pondered over by all students of American democracy. There is perhaps no better single source from which a comprehensive review of the story may be obtained than Carey McWilliams' *Prejudice*. Historians and social scientists, however, are likely to be critical of Mr. McWilliams' work if they judge it in terms of what would be expected in the professional writings of a colleague. This would be an unfair basis for judgment, and the reader should bear in mind the following quotation from the publisher's blurb on the jacket: "The author of *Prejudice* has long been a champion of minorities. But if he is a crusader, he is also a lawyer and his testimony is the more vigorous because it is written in the calm manner of a legal brief and documented as carefully." Mr. McWilliams has written a powerful brief, but a brief, it must be remembered, is by definition a somewhat one-sided document. Sharing in general the personal views of the author of *Prejudice*, the present reviewer nevertheless believes it necessary to say that there are reasonable grounds for differing with Mr. McWilliams on important points in his argument. Two examples of conclusions which do not seem to be established by Mr. McWilliams' evidence may be given. The conclusion that race prejudice in California, particularly against the Japanese, is largely a product manufactured by individuals and organizations seems grossly to underestimate the importance of basic social factors which have made it possible for a comparatively few individuals to stir up race conflict (pp. 235 ff.). Similarly, the strong plea that Federal action is the main and practically only hope for improving the lot of racial minorities in the United States is one-sidedly unrealistic in terms of the known socio-psychological factors in group tensions and conflict (pp. 290 ff.).

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE EMPIRE STATE YESTERDAY AND TODAY: A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW YORK STATE. Compiled by the reading guidance classes of the State Teachers College at Geneseo, New York. (Geneseo, State Teachers College, 1944, pp. 54.)

PEEKSKILL IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Emma L. Patterson. With an Introduction by Hon. George McAneny. (Peekskill, Friendly Town Association, 1944, pp. 184.)

ROCHESTER IN THE CIVIL WAR. *Blake McKelvey*, Editor. Edited under the supervision of Dexter Perkins, City Historian under the authority of the Board of Trustees of the Rochester Public Library, and Chairman of the Publication Committee under authority of the Board of Managers of the Rochester Historical Society. [The Rochester Historical Society Publications, XXII.] (Rochester, published by the Society, 1944, pp. 266.)

FROM THE HILLS TO THE HUDSON: A HISTORY OF THE PATERSON AND HUDSON RIVER RAIL ROAD, THE PATERSON AND RAMAPO AND THE UNION RAILROADS NOW PART OF THE ERIE. By *Walter Arndt Lucas*. (New York, Pierce Business Book, 1944, pp. 327, \$4.00.)

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Volume LX, PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNTY COURT OF CHARLES COUNTY, 1666-1674. [Court Series 9.] *J. Hall Pleasants*, Editor; *Louis Dow Scisco*, Associate Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore, the Society, 1943, pp. li, 635, \$3.00.) Through sixty years the *Archives of Maryland* have been coming around with the regularity of the earth's revolutions about the sun. Sixty bulky volumes of documentation, much of it yet to be masticated and digested—enough for a full meal for sixty average historians! And what deserves to be taken special note of at this nearly halfway station of the twentieth century is that more than a third of these records are of the seventeenth century, while none of them pertains to a period

subsequent to the American Revolution. Indeed the whole of the "Court Series," with one exception, pertains to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. What, in fact, the committee on publications has purposed in the "Court Series" has been to offer a cross section of the proceedings, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, of the several courts of the province, namely, the provincial court, the court of chancery, the county courts of Kent, Talbot, Somerset, and Charles (the only counties whose court records for the period are extant), and the fragmentary record of the manor court of St. Clements Manor, 1659-1672. The present volume is the second pertaining to Charles County, the first (for the period 1658-1666) having appeared in 1936 as Volume LIII of the *Archives*. In that volume will be found a needful history of the county court system of early Maryland—origin, development, jurisdiction, procedure—as also of the relation of the county courts to the superior courts of the province. Any characterization of the contents of this volume would seem to be quite unnecessary for such as have an acquaintance with its predecessors in the series. One gets a view of the county machinery at work, glimpses briefly many sorts and conditions of men and women as they pass in and out the court—attorneys, clergymen, physicians, apothecaries, indentured servants, innkeepers, tillers of the soil, raisers of livestock, even an occasional hog thief. Naturally it is the sins and contentions of men rather than their virtues that find record in court proceedings. Nevertheless one obtains from such records a broad and a fairly distinct picture of the life of the time, a sort of bird's-eye view, as once upon a time it was called (usually doing a grave injustice to the bird). Neither is it needful that any remarks be made upon the manner in which the editorial task has been performed, beyond mentioning that the editor of the present volume is Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who has so ably edited the last fifteen volumes of the *Archives*, furnishing in each instance an admirable analysis of the contents of the volume. One lament registered by the committee on publications in their letter of transmittal may appropriately be passed on to such as read reviews of books but not the books reviewed. The lament respects three of the four recording clerks, who were recent arrivals from England: "Missing in this period are the picturesque and oft-times coarse and sordid descriptive details of criminal and civil cases as recorded by earlier clerks, neighborhood men, who were less versed in technical legal phrase but more familiar with personalities and local backgrounds of neighborhood squabbles and feuds . . . a record which contains for us much less of human interest."

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE WEST. [Lawrence College Faculty Lecture Series.] (Appleton, Wis.; Lawrence College, 1944, pp. vii, 72.) If some foreign observer were asked to designate the "heartland" of the United States, it is likely that he would point out what in common parlance most Americans call the Middle West, and what the census takers call the North Central states. Here lies a block of twelve states, heavily populated—except in their western and northern fringes—by the most typical of Americans, far removed from salt water, capable of almost unlimited industrial as well as agricultural development. Furthermore, the territory that these states occupy possesses a sectional unity so marked as to be evident to all except the most jaundiced eyes. Not far from the geographic center of this section, and even closer to its population center, lies Lawrence College, one of the Middle West's numerous and excellent "fresh-water" educational institutions. These five delightful essays, each by a different member of the Lawrence faculty, reveal much of interest about the culture of the Middle West. In the first, the section's physical basis for greatness is outlined too conclusively to admit of argument. In the second, the peopling of the land, mainly by native Americans from farther east, is set forth in business-like fashion. In the third, the political ideas of the Middle West are gathered up around the phrases "devotion to individualism," "belief in the essential equality of man," "the idea of progress," "the love of peace," and "belief in a great destiny for America." In the fourth, Mark Twain steps out as an example of the "ambivalent" personality of the Middle West, confessing and parading his own and his section's shortcomings, but pretty damned proud of the breed just the same. Finally, an essay on "Chicago as a Focus of the Arts," points to architecture and city planning as fields in which the great metropolis of the Middle West is fast coming of age. Through all these essays runs a vague uneasiness over the

bumptious conceit of the East in its low estimate of the Middle West and over the unfortunate and unjustified tendency of the Middle West to abase itself before Eastern critics. What the people of both sections often fail to realize is that the rawness of the early Middle Western frontier has long since passed away, that the limitless potentialities of the section are being increasingly developed, that time works inexorably to make of the Middle West a full and equal partner with the East, and with other sections, in the cultural life of the nation. Differences do exist and will continue to exist. But the notion that one section is predestined and foreordained to be forever superior while another remains forever inferior is fast becoming the mere delusion of little minds.

JOHN D. HICKS

MUSIC MASTER OF THE MIDDLE WEST: THE STORY OF F. MELIUS CHRISTIANSEN AND THE ST. OLAF CHOIR. By *Leola Nelson Bergmann*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, pp. v, 230, \$2.50.) In the opinion of the present reviewer, the vitality which music has or will have in this country must arise not out of the calculated search for musical Americanism by the folklorist nor from the glib sensationalism of the concert hall and radio, but from the "grass roots" need for music of the people who live in America. Much of our musical activity is energized by that kind of need, and it is important that such sources of musical vitality become a part of the record. That record, which will be the history of music in America, gradually is being written. Mrs. Bergmann's story of Mr. Christiansen and his St. Olaf Choir is an important and inspiring part of it. It has been done better, perhaps, because the author's conscious intent was to fit her story into a picture much larger than the history of music in America: the whole flow of American civilization as it moves across the Middle West. Mrs. Bergmann begins her book with the story of the Christiansen family in Norway. The migration to America and the eventual settlement in Minnesota are told clearly and sympathetically. As the story moves forward, Mr. Christiansen, after preparation in Minneapolis and Leipzig, becomes a part of St. Olaf College. The stage is set for his contribution to American musical life. That contribution is outlined with no loss of motion as it attains a national significance. The author is to be congratulated on the objectivity she maintains despite the fact that she has been a member of the St. Olaf Choir. The book is the result of a doctor's thesis done at the State University of Iowa. It might well be required reading not only for everyone interested in music in America but for all those whose interest in American culture leads them to the study of the epic history of those "immigrants who came to America to realize the dream they felt could not be quickened in the land of their birth."

THEODORE M. FINNEY

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE INDIANA OOLITIC LIMESTONE INDUSTRY. By *Joseph A. Batchelor*, Department of Economics, Indiana University. [Indiana Business Studies, No. 27.] (Bloomington, Indiana University School of Business, 1944, pp. xii, 382, \$3.50.) This study of the Indiana building limestone industry is an excellent example of the modern approach to economic history by the case study method. The material for the study like the industry itself is concentrated in the two Indiana counties around Bloomington. As the heyday of the industry was since the turn of the century it was possible for the author to supplement documents with interviews. The study is broadly conceived but admirably focused. Due attention to technology, labor, price policy, mergers, and like topics is subordinated to the announced purpose of the study.

THE TEXAS DEMOCRATS: EARLY DEMOCRATIC HISTORY IN TEXAS. By *Marion Humphreys Farrow*. (San Antonio, Naylor, 1944, pp. ix, 99, \$2.00.)

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

- AESCULAPIUS IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Aristides A. Moll*, Secretary-Editor of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, Washington, D. C. (Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders, 1944, pp. xii, 639, \$7.00.) This volume, well-illustrated with pictures of early Latin-American men of medicine, is the product of much painstaking research among rare books in many libraries. All students of medicine in Latin America and all physicians interested in the history of their profession will find it delightful reading and well worth while.
- LA TRASCENDENCIA DE LA ACTIVIDAD DE LOS ESCRITORES ESPAÑOLES E HISPANO-AMERICANOS EN LONDRES, DE 1810 A 1830. By *Pedro Grases*. (Caracas, Editorial Elite, 1943, pp. 79.)
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NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- EL CORREO EN SANTO DOMINGO: HISTORIA DOCUMENTADA. By Oscar E. Ravelo A., Auxiliar Especial de la Dirección General de Comunicaciones. Tomo I. [Republica Dominicana, Dirección General de Comunicaciones.] (Ciudad Trujillo, Distrito de Santo Domingo, R. D., 1944, pp. 239.) This documentary account of the postal service in Española begins with the epoch before Columbus and brings the story down to the year 1864 (omitting, of course, Haiti both under French control and after its independence). It includes pertinent excerpts from the *Laws of the Indies*, notes regarding personnel, descriptions of routes, and data on rates and costs of service. An appendix contains eighteen documents well distributed through the period covered, many of them taken from the Archivo de la Nación; and both the illustrations and a brief bibliography increase the value of the volume, which suggests the need for further investigation of the postal system of colonial and national Hispanic America.

J. FRED RIPPY

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

GACETA DE CARACAS. Reproducción mandada a hacer por la Academia Nacional de la Historia . . . bajo los auspicios del Gobierno Nacional de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela. Five volumes. (Paris, H. Dupuy, 1939, unpaginated or irregularly paginated.) CORREO DEL ORINOCO, 1818-1821. Reproducción facsimilar ordenada por el presidente de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela . . . en conmemoración del cincuentenario de la Academia Nacional de la Historia. (Paris, Desclée, de Brouwer, 1939, unpaginated.) With the publication of these elaborate facsimile editions, the hitherto rare *Gaceta de Caracas* and *Correo del Orinoco* become easily available to scholars. The reproductions are based upon the most complete files of these publications known, those preserved in the Venezuelan Academy of History, supplemented when possible by other numbers in the possession of public and private owners in various American and European nations. The *Gaceta*, first published on October 24, 1808, became the patriot organ when the revolution began in 1810 and continued to serve that cause until 1812. In the latter year it passed into the hands of Monteverde's royalists, who used it as the medium of their propaganda until Caracas was once more occupied by Bolívar in 1813. With the fall of the second Venezuelan republic the following year, the royalists once more seized the paper; and the able pamphleteer José Domingo Díaz effectively used its columns to discredit the patriot cause until the latter's victory at Carabobo in 1821. Meanwhile, with the establishment of Bolívar's forces on the lower Orinoco, the patriots founded the *Correo del Orinoco* in 1818 to defend their own cause and to attack that of the *Gaceta*. Partly because of the numerous vicissitudes through which it passed, the *Gaceta* was published in various formats and types, which have been exactly duplicated in the present edition. The *Correo*, which was shorter lived, did not vary its form. Both papers possess a value far transcending that of the numerous official documents which they contain. They reflect the clashing ideologies of the revolution in Venezuela in dramatic detail, are full of information and misinformation concerning personalities, and are a prime source for revolutionary social history. The Academia Nacional de la Historia is to be congratulated for its enterprise.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The Year's Business

THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE Stevens Hotel, Chicago, was headquarters for the fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Association, held December 28-29, 1944. Again, as in the last few years, wartime conditions dictated a reduction of the length of the convention to two days and restricted attendance considerably. Four hundred and twenty-two members registered their attendance, and a hundred or so additional persons were present without formal registration. The program included twenty-five sessions, including the business meeting, and embraced a total of forty formal papers. No central theme dominated the papers, although the nature of the times brought about an almost inevitable relation of the subject at hand to current issues of war and peace.

Three sessions were held Thursday morning, December 28. One was devoted to ancient history, the second was a joint meeting with the Agricultural History Society, and the third was a joint session with the Economic History Association. The ancient history group, presided over by J. A. O. Larsen, heard three papers about problems of the Hellenistic and Roman empires. A. Arthur Schiller's "Bureaucracy and Law in the Roman Principate" dealt with the effect of the development of Roman bureaucracy, particularly the equestrian offices, on law and the legal profession. The author found that the jurists tended to follow tradition in the interpretation of law and compared the Roman development with modern encroachments of administrative bureaus. Esther V. Hansen presented a closely knit paper, "The Relation between the Attalids and the Greek City-States," wherein she pointed to the actual dependence of the cities upon directions from the rulers and insisted that the cities, to whatever class they belonged, were not actually free. In the final paper of the session, "The Common Soldier in the Roman Army: Notes on Military Papyri," Robert O. Fink showed how recently discovered papyri shed light on a variety of subjects, such as the multiplicity of tasks imposed upon the Roman soldier, the deductions from his nominal pay, the nationality of the soldiers, length of service, rate of advancement to the ranks of noncommissioned officers, and the like.

Meeting concurrently, the Agricultural History Society, with Russell H. Anderson as chairman, was concerned with "The Land in Critical Periods." The session opened with Frank L. Owsley's "Pattern of Migration and Settlement in the Old South." Mr. Owsley found that westward-moving settlers usually sought new lands similar to their former holdings, that they followed the same type of farming practiced in the East, and that, in the uplands, it was settled agriculture, not slavery, that pushed settlers into rugged, less fertile lands. In the second paper,

Rudolph Freund discussed the Revolutionary soldier and early bounty lands under the title, "The Ex-Soldier and the Land Question: Some Historical Remarks." Mr. Freund outlined the use of bounty lands as an incentive to enlistment, the economic and political consequences of speculation in land scrip, and the contribution of bounty land practices to the development of free land policies. The session concluded with a paper jointly prepared by Donald C. Horton and E. Fenton Shepard and entitled "Federal Aid to Agriculture since World War I." The authors reviewed the changing philosophy underlying Federal aids, pointed out the steps taken in behalf of agriculture, and ventured the prophecy that future aid will be given within established frameworks and will be motivated by broad social objectives.

The third session scheduled for Thursday morning, that of the Economic History Association, dealt with the general theme, "National Variations in the Effects of Specific Economic Innovations." Chester W. Wright served as chairman. Arthur H. Cole read the first paper, "Ancillary Business Institutions in Europe and America," wherein he analyzed the manner in which legal, social, economic, and other factors reacted upon the introduction of mercantile agencies, auditing methods, and "scientific" management in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany to effect markedly different results. Similarly stressing the way in which different backgrounds may lead to varying results, Arthur L. Dunham, in the second paper, compared "Laissez Faire in Relation to Transportation, the Tariff, and Labor in England and France, 1814-1846." The session ended with Edmund A. Nightingale's "Trends in National Taxation in the United Kingdom and the United States in the Twentieth Century." Although the paper was not read in full, it presented a detailed statistical analysis of total tax collections in the two countries together with a calculation of their relation to the respective national incomes. Throughout the period since 1900 British taxes have consumed a larger percentage of the national income than American, although the latter have been gradually increasing until, in 1943-44, they rose to 31 per cent (as against the British 38.8 per cent) of the total estimated national income.

Two luncheon conferences were scheduled for Thursday noon, but one of them, the joint conference of the Association and the Society of American Archivists, under the chairmanship of Theodore C. Pease, was unhappily canceled by the hotel management. The program, planned as a round-table discussion by C. C. Crittenden, Stanley Erikson, and Hermann F. Robinson, will be presented, in part at least, in the society's journal, *The American Archivist*. The second luncheon conference, that of the modern history group, found David H. Willson substituting for Eugene N. Anderson as chairman. After a report on the *Journal of Modern History* by Louis Gottschalk, and other business matters, Oscar Jászi analyzed the problems of "Central Europe and Russia." To the question "Will Russia not sovietize the Danubian countries and the Balkans?" Mr. Jászi averred that the chief motive of Russian foreign policy after the present war will be to make peace secure, that for a generation, at least, Russia's energies will be con-

sumed in internal rehabilitation and restoration, that during this time Russia will abstain from any action which would disturb her co-operation with the democracies, and that a third World War might well become inevitable if, during this generation of Russian reconstruction, democratic statecraft fails to create a genuinely workable peace structure.

The program for Thursday afternoon included, besides the business meeting of the Association, five sessions meeting concurrently. These embraced "The Middle Ages and the Renaissance," "English History," "Latin-American History," "American Patriotism," a joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies, and "Relations between Civil and Military Authorities during the Civil War," a joint session with the Southern Historical Association. A brief account of each of these sessions follows.

A. C. Krey presided at the meeting on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Three papers were read and three discussion leaders took part. Charles W. Jones presented "New Light on Bede the Historian," setting forth in admirable fashion the limitations under which Bede and the chroniclers in the centuries immediately preceding him had labored. Charles C. Mierow's "Otto of Freising and His Histories" recapitulated, with many additions, the materials recently published in the introduction to his translation of Otto of Freising's *Two Cities*. Berthold L. Ullman read the final paper of the session, "Leonardo Bruni and Humanistic Historiography," which, as it will presently be published in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, will not be oversimplified here. Discussion of the papers was ably conducted by William C. Bark, Bernard J. Holm, and Theodor E. Mommsen. Unfortunately, the meeting place assigned to this session—as has been too often the case with meetings devoted to such a long era—was far too small for the number of persons seeking to attend. [*Vide*: future committees on local arrangements.]

The English history session, under the chairmanship of Robert K. Richardson, confined its attention to one paper, A. L. Burt's "Historical Bases of Britain's Social Security Program." Mr. Burt maintained that the recent Beveridge Report is a natural outcome of an evolution in English public opinion and legislation dating from Tudor times and quickened in tempo by the industrial revolution and nineteenth century humanitarianism. In this manner, said the author, the Beveridge Report, which appears revolutionary to American "Tories," seems to English Tories merely as "a proposal to 'tidy up,' to fill out, and to systematize existing services." To reach this conclusion, Mr. Burt sketched the more or less familiar story of English remedial legislation and the gradual extension of social services. Frederick C. Dietz and Frances E. Gillespie, acting as discussion leaders, each contributed further materials to the topic under scrutiny. Mr. Dietz pointed to the influence of the conscience of the governing classes, the sincerity of which alone gives meaning to the mass of parliamentary speeches about the poor, and to the late nineteenth century Exchequer discovery of new tax powers (estate taxes, income taxes, and the like) which made possible huge new expenditures for social

services. Miss Gillespie held that Mr. Burt had overemphasized the continuity of English social security legislation in that current legislation rests upon a collectivistic base whereas nineteenth century social legislation "was empiricism grafted upon a fundamental individualism."

Economic developments predominated in the Latin-American session, over which J. Fred Rippey presided. William H. Gray presented an account of "Steamboat Transportation on the Orinoco," George Wythe discussed "The Rise of the Factory in Latin America," and Constantine E. McGuire traced "Monetary Theory and Policy in Ibero-America Prior to the Twentieth Century."

Andrew W. Cordier served as chairman of the joint session of the Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. The single paper presented, "The Role of Patriotism in American Life," by Merle Curti, provoked a lively discussion led by Jacob C. Meyer, Burr W. Phillips, and Harrison J. Thornton—a discussion which tended to become confused between historical and "hortatory" motivations.

The remaining meeting held during Thursday afternoon—a joint session with the Southern Historical Association—treated in timely fashion of "Relations between Civil and Military Authorities during the Civil War." Howark K. Beale presided. "Civil and Military Relationships under Lincoln" was the topic of the paper by James G. Randall. Mr. Randall pointed out that, although there were under Lincoln clashes of military and civil authorities, thousands of arbitrary arrests, suspension of habeas corpus, instances of unwarranted power assumed by generals, and other irregularities, Lincoln was no dictator. He reached out for wide powers but he treated government as a human instrument, considered practical situations of greater importance than naked legality, and applied personal techniques to relieve deadlocks. Thus, the Constitution was stretched and some of its parts were subordinated to emergencies, but it was not subverted. Frank Freidel, in "General Order No. 100 and Military Government," found that General Order No. 100, drafted by Francis Lieber for the War Department and promulgated by President Lincoln as commander-in-chief, was of little effect in regulating the rules of land warfare during the remainder of the Civil War. Subsequently, however, it became the basis of such codes, culminating in the Hague Rules which are still in effect. W. B. Hesseltine presented the final paper of this session, entitled "Northern Governors and the Lincoln Government." Mr. Hesseltine held that the Civil War destroyed state rights not only by defeat of the Confederacy but also by suppression of the states in the North. Lincoln steadily sought to increase the power of the national government at the expense of the states and found his chief antagonists in the state governors. In four areas—the remolding of the Republican party into a Union party based on Federal patronage, the direction of the armies, the raising of troops, and the formulation of national policies—Lincoln successfully asserted national powers against the pretensions of state governments and state governors.

Discussions were cut short at all the Thursday afternoon sessions to enable members to attend the business meeting of the Association at 3:45. This unusually

long and lively affair, which is reported elsewhere by the executive secretary, was barely finished in time for members to attend the annual dinner. At the latter, George C. Sellery acted as toastmaster. As in the past, the members present heard with interest the announcement of the award of prizes by the president. The committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, Professor C. W. de Kiewiet, chairman, conferred the award upon R. H. Fisher for his study, *The Russian Fur Trade, 1550-1700* (University of California Press, 1943). The committee on the John H. Dunning Prize, Professor Charles H. Barker, chairman, gave the prize to Lieutenant Elting E. Morison, U.S.N.R., for his volume, *Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy* (Houghton Mifflin, 1942). The committee also gave honorable mention to the following authors for excellence in the fields named: Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (University of California Press, 1943), early American history; Lieutenant Jeter A. Iseley, U.S.N.R., *Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune* (now in manuscript), national political history; and Richard A. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), history of thought. After the announcement of prizes Mr. Sellery gave a lively review of the speaker's career at Wisconsin in the Turner era of the university and then presented President William Linn Westermann, who read his presidential address, "Between Slavery and Freedom," already published in the preceding number of this *Review* (L [Jan., 1945], 213-27).

Four sessions met Friday morning, three of them joint meetings of the Association with affiliated organizations. The fourth, a session devoted to modern European history, was presided over by Louis Gottschalk. John B. Sirich presented the first paper, "Prudhomme's *Les Révolutions de Paris*." Mr. Sirich analyzed the French journalist's early French Revolutionary publication and found that the compiler, though he began with brave Leftist principles in 1789, saw fit to modify his stand by 1794, possibly because of a genuine alteration of political faith or, more likely, because of ill health and the disciplinary value of the guillotine. The second paper, written by Geoffrey Bruun and read by Frederick Artz, gave a thought-provoking comparison of "Eighteenth-Century Despots and Twentieth-Century Dictators." Mr. Bruun suggested that the most striking points of similarity were in the weakening of the rule of law in both eras (occasioned, in each instance, by the encroachments of bureaucracy), in the economic nationalism of both eras, and in the somewhat parallel roles played by intellectuals in each. A lengthy discussion, led by John B. Wolf, centered about the role of ideas and the intellectual in revolutionary events.

The American Military Institute, meeting jointly with the Association under the chairmanship of Theodore C. Blegen, conducted a stimulating session highlighted by Troyer S. Anderson's paper, "The Influence of Military Production and Supply on History." Perhaps the core of Mr. Anderson's argument is best summarized in the sentence, "God has transferred His allegiance from the big battalions to the big factories." This transfer has altered the nature of warfare, has created new elements of surprise, has changed both the tactics and the objectives

of war. Because industrial mobilization must now precede strictly "military" mobilization, the "old, sharp distinction between war and peace has been very much blurred." Defense is no longer superior to offense. Regional dominance no longer insures a state against the intervention of extraregional enemies, and present-day military production and logistics tend to preclude the "localization" of war. Mr. Anderson's paper provoked a long discussion led by W. B. Hesseltine, who turned attention to the impact of military production and supply upon the internal history of a nation, and Brigadier General Donald Armstrong, who dealt principally with the role of the Army Industrial College in war.

The Reverend Clarence J. Ryan presided over the joint meeting of the Association and the American Catholic Historical Association. The two papers presented treated of "Christian Missions in China." The first, "American Contributions to the Catholic Missionary Effort in China in the Twentieth Century," by the Reverend Joseph Paul Ryan, pointed out that only during the past twenty-five years has the Catholic church in the United States taken organized steps in foreign mission fields and that, by 1943, fifty-three different orders and congregations were supporting 635 priests and nuns in the Far East. Kenneth Scott Latourette gave the second paper, "The Protestant Attitude toward American Christian Missionary Effort in China in the Twentieth Century." Mr. Latourette described the recent extensions of American Protestant missionary activity, the attempts to redirect the life of China as a whole, the effort to train Chinese Christian leaders, and the trends toward unity in Protestant missionary activities. The discussion, led by the Reverend George H. Dunne and Harley F. MacNair, emphasized the American Catholic need of greater stress upon the cultural approach to missionary enterprise and the Protestant need of a larger group of trained, native clergy.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, in a joint session with the Association and with Wendell H. Stephenson in the chair, heard George Fort Milton read a paper, "History—Key to the Magic Door." Mr. Milton discussed three aspects of history, namely, (1) that despite mounting piles of historical records the *written* accounts of current decisions of *haute politique*—thanks to the telephone, the walkie-talkie, the direct personal exchange of leaders, and the possible lack of reliable diarists in the present day—are embarrassingly few; (2) that historical thinking is likely to be more important in the present age than the further accumulation of materials; and (3) that Lord Bolingbroke's dictum ("history is philosophy teaching by example") deserves reiteration, inasmuch as history should be the key to the magic door of a more abounding life. George F. Howe served as leader of the discussion, which centered principally upon ways and means of making historical knowledge count for more both in public and in private affairs.

Four luncheon sessions took place Friday noon. The Latin-American group, with Samuel F. Bemis as chairman, heard William S. Robertson describe "The Memorabilia of Augustín de Iturbide." The American Association for State and Local History, in a joint conference with members of the Association, LeRoy R. Hafen presiding, heard Stanley M. Pargellis read "The Historian and the Cor-

poration." Mr. Pargellis' paper, a sequel to an earlier address given before the Newcomen Society, urged the mutual establishment of better understanding and appreciation between corporation leaders and historians. Paul Kiniery presided at the Silver Jubilee Luncheon of the American Catholic Historical Association. Guy Stanton Ford presented greetings from the American Historical Association, and the Reverend John K. Cartwright spoke in behalf of one of the founders of the American Catholic Historical Association, the Right Reverend Monsignor Peter Guilday, who was absent because of illness. The meeting concluded with an address, "The Achievements of Twenty-five Years," by the Most Reverend Samuel A. Stritch, archbishop of Chicago.

The dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, scheduled in the printed program for the evening of December 29, was canceled and a luncheon was held in its stead on the same day. William C. Binkley served as chairman. The paper, entitled "The Library of Congress and the Historians," was written by Archibald MacLeish and read by Luther H. Evans. Primarily the paper was an appeal for greater co-operation between librarians and historians in order to enable the former better to collect, to preserve, and to make available all materials useful—or likely to be useful—to the latter. To this end, it was suggested that an effort on the part of historians to supply plans of proposed studies might serve as a useful guide to librarians both in evaluating the uses of library materials and in anticipating demands of scholars.

The Honorable Joseph M. Boyer presided at the Friday afternoon session dealing with "Canadian-American Relations." The first paper, "A United States of North America—Shadow or Substance, 1815-1915," was presented by Joe Patterson Smith. Mr. Smith concluded that the shadow loomed far larger than the substance inasmuch as annexationist sentiment on both sides of the border tended to spring from small, particularist groups, often activated by local discontent or a desire for private advantage and unable to generate enough pressure to obtain action. In the second paper, Donald G. Creighton analyzed "The Place of Canada in the English-speaking World." He found the keys to this position in Canada's geographical location, which renders close relations with the United States necessary, and in Canada's political choice of membership in the British Empire. Out of this duality Canada finds an opportunity, as a power of middle rank, to play an intermediary role between the United States and Britain and, through them, to influence world affairs. During the discussion L. Ethan Ellis pointed out that the two papers, in combination, appear to dispose once for all of the hope of direct political union between Canada and the United States; and Reginald G. Trotter emphasized the importance of maintaining the existing close relations among the English-speaking peoples.

"Area Studies, with Special Reference to the Far East" was the topic of another Friday afternoon session. The chairman, Harley F. MacNair, introduced three speakers. Allan B. Cole read Knight Biggerstaff's paper on "The Value of Area Studies for Civilian Undergraduates and Specialists"; George A. Kennedy pre-

sented "The Place of Languages in Area Studies"; and Philip Davidson discussed "Area Studies Confront Curricular Problems." Considered together, these papers constituted a valuable survey of a challenging new approach to the teaching of history, the social studies, and other cultural subjects. Assuming that area studies are more than a passing experiment, the problems of interdepartmental co-operation, of curricular readjustment, of financing a possibly larger staff requirement (Mr. Kennedy found that concentrated courses in Oriental languages required a teacher-student ratio of about 1:5 for satisfactory results), and of convincing civilian undergraduates of the desirability of such training—all these suggest sizable barriers to the large-scale conversion of area studies to peacetime education.

A third meeting held Friday afternoon focused attention upon "Liberals of the Midwest." With Dwight L. Dumond in the chair, two papers were presented. In the first, "William Allen White Looks at Normalcy," Walter Johnson showed that William Allen White, an old "Bull Mooser," was appalled at the lack of idealism in domestic matters and in American foreign policy. From White's correspondence—to which Mr. Johnson had free access—quotations were read which depicted White denouncing the second Klan, the Red scare, and labor baiting. "The ironic thing," concluded Mr. Johnson, "was that White supported the Republican Party which in many ways was responsible for the isolation and lack of idealism of the American people during the decade." The second paper was entitled "George W. Norris—Forty Years of Battle." Written by James E. Lawrence, who was close to Norris during most of the latter's career, the paper set forth many hitherto unrecorded personal incidents in the senator's life and emphasized three fronts upon which the Nebraskan simultaneously waged war in Congress: for the TVA, the Lame Duck Amendment, and the Anti-Injunction Act. With regard to the TVA issue, Mr. Lawrence held that "The real fight was not so much to procure the TVA legislation; the real fight was to check and stem the American tradition of licensing private enterprise to do a job that, it would seem, falls directly to the province of government." In the discussion, led by R. Carlyle Buley and Harvey Wish, the ideal of these Midwestern liberals was represented as "the competence of the majority to direct the destiny of the nation" while their efforts to implement the ideal were by removal of "political checks to the free working of the representative principle."

Percy V. Norwood presided at the joint session of the Association and the American Society of Church History. William Warren Sweet read the only paper presented, entitled "Natural Religion and Religious Liberty." The prime object of the paper was to demonstrate the influence of natural religion upon the rise of religious liberty in eighteenth century America. Mr. Sweet held that John Locke and Joseph Priestley "furnished the American Revolutionary fathers not only the political philosophy which underlay their attitude toward the mother-country but also the religious philosophy which determined their attitude toward the church and its relation to the state." From these sources eighteenth century American liberals acquired philosophical justification for separation of church and

state and for the establishment of religious liberty. Jacob C. Meyer and Ralph H. Gabriel led the discussion, dealing chiefly with some indigenous factors in the American development of anticlerical and antiecclesiastical sentiment in post-Revolutionary days.

The Lexington group, an informal association of persons interested in railroad history which originated in May, 1942, at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, met Friday afternoon with Paul W. Gates presiding. To place qualified research men in touch with source materials in railroad history and to encourage research in the field were the principal objects reviewed. A plan was set forth to prepare a central guide to all collections of railroad materials open to scholarly use. Colonel Robert S. Henry agreed to house such a guide in the Bureau of Railway Economics, Transportation Building, Washington, D. C., and members of the group agreed to co-operate in its preparation. Various other aspects of research in railroad history were considered, and Stanley M. Pargellis reported upon the extensive materials recently made available in the Newberry Library by the Illinois Central Railroad.

A tour of the Chicago Historical Society Building on Friday afternoon conducted by Herbert A. Kellar under the joint auspices of the Association and the American Association for State and Local History, concluded the activities scheduled for the fifty-ninth annual meeting.

University of Illinois

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE YEAR 1944

At the beginning of this annual accounting of the affairs of the American Historical Association I am happy to record a small but in these times significant gain in membership. Last year we made something of holding our own with a gain of two members. This year the gain is twenty times as great, which is a more impressive notation than to say we have forty-three more members than on the corresponding date last year. Seven new life members have enrolled and sixteen have died.

The membership statistics, as of December 15, are as follows:

Individuals

Life	1432
Annual	2,782

Institutions

25-year memberships	6
Annual	408

Total 3,628

¹ During the year sixteen life members have died and seven have been added. Of the seven added, two are new members and five annual members who changed over to life membership.

The Treasurer's report shows our finances are in a healthy condition. The considerable gain in receipts over last year is in part due to an effort to make all *Review* subscriptions begin with the October issue, and is thus somewhat deceptive.

We have kept, despite losses of able assistants, a competent and conscientious staff in the central office. Miss Catharine Seybold has replaced Miss Blegen as assistant editor and Miss Joan Margo carries the office responsibilities of Miss Bohning, resigned. These young women, with Miss Washington as senior to us all, carry their special responsibilities and serve as interchangeable parts when the load becomes heavy in any other sector of the office.

Your Executive Secretary was obliged to assume added responsibilities in connection with the Historical Service Board when Dean Theodore C. Blegen, the Director, returned to his university duties on September 1. A part of the salary of the Executive Secretary is charged to the Board's budget and paid directly into the Association's treasury.

As one of the current war activities of the Association, a brief report of the work of the Historical Service Board is perhaps the first matter to report. The Board has been engaged since September, 1943, in preparing pamphlets for volunteer discussion groups in the Army in this country and abroad. It has maintained a small staff in offices in the Annex to the Library of Congress and has many collaborators both in and out of Washington. The Board members have all been active in reading and criticizing manuscripts. The difficulties and exasperating delays in connection with getting out the pamphlets would make more than one chapter in the history of civilian military co-operation. For what it has done, the Board and its Director, Mr. Blegen, and the staff, Mr. Thomas K. Ford, Miss Sarah Davidson, and Mrs. Arthur J. Larsen, deserve an "E" production pennant, and each pamphlet that has been accepted and printed deserves whole rows of combat area ribbons. Mr. Blegen and I are both candidates for the Purple Heart. Speaking before complete returns are in, I should hope that by January first some eighteen pamphlets would be available to the soldiers but none to civilians, which is a matter of regret for they are of equal importance to any citizen whether in uniform or out. Almost as many more pamphlets are in various stages of preparation. In form and substance they are a tribute to the scholarship and adaptability of the authors and the editorial skill of the staff and the artists, many of them in the Army, who have designed their covers and illustrations.

Major Edward Evans has had charge in these matters of design in co-operation with the Board's staff. The pamphlets are part of the far-flung program of the Division of Information and Education of the Army, directed by Major General Frederick H. Osborn. The liaison officer between the Historical Service Board and the War Department is Major Donald W. Goodrich. No one could have been more helpful and understanding than Major Goodrich in forwarding the whole enterprise. The editions of the pamphlets, first set at thirty-five thousand copies, have been increased to printings of two hundred thousand copies. The project, whether or not it goes on after this year, will stand as an enterprise worthy

of the approbation of the Association and a credit to it in the years to come. May I record here, as the War Department has already done, a word of unstinted praise for the intelligence, tact, and energy with which its Director, Mr. Blegen, set it on its feet and saw it on its way to success.

I should like to devote the body of my report to the *Review* rather than to any broad consideration of the state of history in the nation. I can only say on the latter point that the appearance of excellent special studies and of articles, both of which are, I hope, revealed in the *Review*, is an encouraging sign for postwar historical scholarship.² We can be sure that the interests of that scholarship will be broader both as to areas, eras, and fields of interest than any we have known. For the present, the indicative signs are an outpouring by the half-trained of hasty and evanescent potboilers unworthy of more than a moment's attention except as fluttering leaves that indicate the way the wind of interest will blow in the coming decade. And the time ought soon to be here when a few bold spirits will undertake works of great sweep and inclusive synthesis. The present number of such major undertakings, either co-operative or singlehanded, is lamentably few. If you doubt it, try to name them.

There is a special reason for calling your attention to the *Review*. The present volume is the fiftieth and closes a half century in the life of what has become one of the leading historical periodicals of the world, under the present adverse conditions in the rest of the scholarly world, the leading periodical.

It had been my purpose to devote part of the last issue of the semicentennial volume to a formal recognition of the anniversary. It would have been appropriate to edit and bring down to date the admirable essay by Professor Jameson on the founding and first quarter century of the *Review*. That possibility became quite uncertain. The occasion should not go unnoticed. As a substitute for the original plan, I present here a brief summary of the main points of the story as told by the first editor. Those who have access to Volume XXVI of the *Review* will have no less pleasure in reading the account told in Professor Jameson's own inimitable style.

The idea of an American historical periodical that was not local or antiquarian had found expression by 1895 in several centers where men trained in Europe

² Volume XLIX of the *Review* (Oct., 1943-July, 1944) contains 853 pages, including an annual index of 27 pages, as compared with 946 pages in Vol. XLVIII. (The index was cut from 45 pages in Vol. XLVIII.) The total number of articles, notes and suggestions, and documents was 21, as compared with 16 in Vol. XLVIII. Vol. XLIX contains 219 reviews as against 306 in Vol. XLVIII and 189 notices as against 242, a total of reviews and notices of 408 as compared with 548 in Vol. XLVIII, a decrease of approximately 25 per cent. During the period from September 1, 1943, to September 1, 1944, 82 articles, notes and suggestions, and documents were submitted. Of these, 23 were accepted, 55 declined, and 4 are under consideration. Thirteen major articles were published, including the presidential address. (The report of the Executive Secretary on the progress of the Association during the past year appears in the section on "Historical News" rather than as a major article as in Vol. XLVIII.) Of these, five are in the field of American history, five in European history, one in medieval history, and one on public records in wartime. Of the notes and suggestions, one deals with United States historiography in the present war, another with the future of the National Archives, a third with the introductory college course in civilization; three are in the field of American history and one in European history. There is one documentary contribution, a letter on Major André in Germany.

were giving full time to the teaching of history. Of the one hundred (circa), half of them had come back from Europe, chiefly Germany, impressed with the service rendered by the *Historische Zeitschrift*, founded in 1859, and the *Revue Historique*, founded in 1876. The *English Historical Review* was ending its first decade. In 1894, plans for an American historical periodical were formed or forming in at least three centers—Harvard, Cornell, and the University of Pennsylvania. The plans at Cornell, under the impetus given by Professor H. Morse Stephens, had gone to the stage of approval and financial support by the trustees and a rearrangement of the duties of Professor Stephens so that he could give time to editorial duties. Professors Burr and Moses Coit Tyler, of the Cornell staff, were to be his associates. At the same time the very considerable historical staff at Harvard, headed by Professor Emerton, was making similar plans. Neither group knew of the work of the other until in sending out feelers for support and interest each opened correspondence with other scholars. Chief among these was Professor George Burton Adams of Yale University. Through his efforts and those of others who had been asked to a conference by the Harvard group and the active co-operation of Professor Stephens there was substituted a general conference in New York, April 6, 1895, called by six representative men, Tyler of Cornell, Adams of Yale, Emerton of Harvard, Judson of Chicago, McMaster of Pennsylvania, and Sloane of Princeton. Twenty-six men attended, all of whose names have a place in the history of American historiography and only one of whom is living today.³ Here all interests were pooled and a national periodical, not one attached to an institution, was founded. A board of six editors was chosen with power to choose a managing editor. A guarantee fund of \$2,000 a year for two years was set up, and the Macmillan Company of New York became, and has remained throughout, the efficient and co-operative publishers. As one reviews the history of the origin of the *American Historical Review*, one can only hope that if any division should arise in the future in the historical profession it will be met by the same generous waiving of institutional and personal interests that marked the beginnings of what is now our official organ.

When Professor Jameson became the first editor, he was not manager of something sponsored or initiated by this Association as such. The *Review* was the property of the editors, or perhaps the guarantors, and, to an undetermined degree, of the publishers. The editorial board was self-perpetuating and almost unchanging in membership for the first twenty years. It met frequently, and, as the earlier managing editors were also officers on the salary roll of the Carnegie Institution, the Board had funds to carry an ample staff, while paying the expenses of three or four meetings a year and rewarding contributors and reviewers rather generously.

The last step was taken in 1916 when the Board of Editors transferred to the American Historical Association whatever rights of ownership it possessed. This transfer had been preceded by a somewhat turbulent and acrimonious discussion of the Constitution of the Association. The spread of the controversy was due in

³ Frederic Bancroft—and he has died since this was written. See page 673, below.

part to a misunderstanding by the members of the Association of the status of the *Review* and its peculiar position in the matter of management and ownership. Some members are still living who recall those stormy days. The controversy is only faintly revealed in the minutes of the Council and the Association but quite vividly set forth in the columns of the *Nation* and in fugitive circulars. Professor Jameson was too much of a gentleman to recall in his article the unpleasantness of it all and too much of a statesman to open again a rift so recently closed twenty-five years ago. So far as the *Review* was concerned, the quiet cession by the Board of its rights was in the same spirit in which what might have been rival groups and rival periodicals were combined in one organ that had no other interest but that of all history and of all those interested either professionally or as citizens in history.

The story of the founding of the *Review*, the spirit of the founders, and the ideals and standards they set up are a heritage to be treasured. The successive managing editors and the Boards of Editors have sought to preserve these ideals and standards. It is appropriate to close this brief sketch by recalling the names of my predecessors, chief of whom always is J. Franklin Jameson. They are: J. Franklin Jameson, 1895-1901; Andrew C. McLaughlin, 1901-1905; J. Franklin Jameson, 1905-1928; Dana C. Munro, 1928-1929; Henry E. Bourne, 1929-1936; and Robert Livingston Schuyler, 1936-1941.

Aside from the editing of the *Review* and the business affairs of the Association, the major part of the work of the Association is carried on by its committees. The war has decreased the activities of some committees, but all, under the leadership of their chairmen, have done the duties assigned them. In the case of some of the committees, such work is no small addition to the burdens the members are carrying on their own campuses and in war activities. The Association is each year a debtor to the members who serve on these committees and this year not less than in the past.

It is a matter of regret that the funds of the Association do not at present permit allotments for meetings of some of the important committees. Conducting their business by correspondence lays an additional burden upon a committee, and especially upon the chairman.

I shall now briefly summarize the reports that have been submitted. The full text of these reports will be printed in the *Annual Report*.

The report of the Nominating Committee will be presented at the business meeting, and the reports of the committees on the Herbert Baxter Adams and John H. Dunning prizes will be given at the annual dinner. The Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize, Professor Troyer S. Anderson of the State University of Iowa, chairman, reports that there were no manuscripts submitted during the year for the committee's consideration and that there is therefore no award to be made. The Beveridge Memorial Prize is awarded in odd-numbered years and the committee in charge of this prize, Professor Earle D. Ross, chairman, reports

that the committee is giving special attention to methods of eliciting meritorious books and manuscripts, especially those by promising young scholars.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE *Annual Report*

The three following volumes, constituting the *Annual Report* for 1942, have appeared during the past year:

Volume I, containing the Association's proceedings for 1942 and a list of members as of April, 1943; Volume II, containing *Letters from the Berlin Embassy . . . 1871-1874 and 1880-1885*, edited by Paul Knaplund; Volume III, containing papers prepared for the 1942 Chicago meeting but not presented because of war-time cancellation of the meeting and not published elsewhere, edited by Stanley Pargellis.

No back volumes of any previous *Report* are outstanding; all *Reports* through 1942 have been published in their entirety. The status of the *Annual Report* for 1943 is as follows: Volume I, containing the proceedings of the New York meeting (1943) and the proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch for 1943, is ready for distribution; Volume II, *Writings on American History for 1939 and 1940*, edited by Grace Griffin and Dorothy Louraine, is in page proof and is being indexed.

A printing credit of \$10,620 has again become available for the current fiscal year beginning July 1, 1944. Through overobligations of \$1,252.94 on estimates on completed jobs not yet billed and on volumes still in manufacture, the current operating balance to the Association's credit at this time is \$9,367.06.

The *Annual Report* for 1944 will consist of three volumes as follows: Volume I, containing proceedings of the Association and of the Pacific Coast Branch for 1944 and an abstract, subject-classified bibliography of all major articles published in the *American Historical Review*, Volumes I through L, compiled by Franklin Scott; Volumes II and III, containing a calendar of American Fur Company Papers, 1831-1849, prepared under the direction of Grace Lee Nute, together with a preface and her article on these papers, published in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1927, reproduced by the offset method from existing typed copy, and in the usual binding.

Owing to Mrs. Louraine's resignation, little more than a start has been made on *Writings on American History for 1941 and 1942*. Presumably the manuscript will be ready by next fall, especially if Miss Griffin, who is burdened with numerous other duties, is provided assistance. Mr. Matteson, who is compiling the cumulative index to *Writings on American History*, and who had completed the letter "O" on all volumes through the 1930 volume before being requested to include the 1931 through 1938 ones, has done so and is now midway through "P" for the entire series. This gigantic project will, according to his estimate, be completed inside of another year, hence publication can apparently be undertaken in 1946. Since no commercial publisher for *Writings on American History* can be found in these days of paper shortage, it appears that the Association must con-

tinue publishing the same as part of the *Annual Report* for an indefinite period, which will, of course, rather seriously limit the committee's publishing program.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND

The Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee, through its capable and hard-working chairman, Professor Richard H. Shryock, reports that it has not accepted any new manuscripts for the monograph series. Despite a comprehensive effort at publicity there was a decided dearth of manuscripts submitted. This emphasizes the point made earlier by another chairman, that there is a decided inconsistency between the complaints about the difficulties of publishing monographs and the failure to submit such studies to the committee.

The committee, however, has been very active in the editing of monographs already accepted in the monograph series. Four manuscripts have been either published, edited, or publication arranged for. The monograph by Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915*, accepted in 1942, has been published this fall by the University of Pennsylvania Press, which has now taken over the printing of this series in the place of D. Appleton-Century. In this first volume it has done an excellent job in getting out an attractive volume. Bernstein's *Origins of Inter-American Relations, 1700-1812*, accepted in 1942, has just gone to press. Pomeroy's *The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890*, accepted in 1943, is edited and ready for the press. It will come out during 1945. A special arrangement for joint support makes possible the publication through the University of Chicago of the last of the documentary series, Easterby's *Rice Plantation Documents*.

The chairman makes a suggestion that this might be an opportune time to re-examine the work of the committee with a view to either developing a new type of program or some more adequate means of making the present program better known. His report contains some interesting suggestions as to new types of fields and studies.

All members of this committee have served longer than usual. This has been an act of self-sacrifice, at the request of the Association, because they were negotiating with new printers and had a tangled group of previous commitments to clear up. I permit myself here to quote at length from the chairman's review of the past four years of the committee's work under his leadership.

"(1) All old commitments for the original documentary series were cleared up; and one final work prepared for that series is now in press.

"(2) The monograph series, planned under Professor Nichols' chairmanship, was continued. Although, as noted, only four of these studies have been published or are soon to be published, about three times that number of manuscripts were examined. War conditions were at least in part responsible for the relatively small number of works submitted.

"(3) The policy of extending authors' grants-in-aid, for the completion of accepted manuscripts, was discontinued.

"(4) Upon the refusal of the Appleton-Century Company to continue to act as publisher, a satisfactory contract was secured with the University of Pennsylvania Press. In this connection, it was ascertained from the proper Federal office that paper credit for earlier publications belonged to the A.H.A., rather than to Century.

"(5) In an effort to secure better professional publicity for the committee's program, individual letters were sent in 1942 to the chairmen or well-known members of history departments in some fifty colleges and universities throughout the country.

"(6) Through the assistance of Dr. Ford, considerable stocks of earlier publications were sold in 1943 by the device of setting special reduced prices on various volumes.

"(7) A procedure was adopted for speeding up the preparation and publication of the *Writings on American History*, in an effort to bring the appearance of these more nearly up to date. This involved considerable attention, at a time when it was expected that the committee would finance publication as well as editorial costs. As responsibility for publication has since been accepted by the Council, this problem is now no longer in the committee's hands. In financing Miss Griffin's work as editor, however, it has encouraged her to proceed as rapidly as possible."

The Committee on Committees expresses for the Association its appreciation of the labors of the members of this committee and especially those of the retiring chairman.

The financial statement of the committee shows that it is in a sound position and that, although when the bills are paid for the present monographs in the press the balance will not be so large as the preceding year, there will be to its credit several salable volumes, the royalties of which go to maintain the fund.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND FOR PUBLICATIONS

The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund, Professor Sidney R. Packard of Smith College, chairman, reports that they have dealt this year with two manuscripts previously accepted for publication. One is awaiting final revision by the author, which revision will probably not be finished until after the war. The second ran to such length that the committee felt the need of additional funds. These have been supplied in part by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Committee on Research in Economic History so that it will appear in 1945 under the imprint of the Cornell University Press as a joint publication. The volume, by Louis Hunter, is entitled *An Economic and Technological History of Steamboating on the Western Waters in the Nineteenth Century*.

A few new manuscripts have been submitted to the committee during the year but in each case the committee has advised the author to resubmit the manuscript later, at the conclusion of the war, when the committee will be ready to resume operations and have the benefit of the widest possible choice. This committee has

faced the difficulty of finding publishers, a difficulty due partly to the character of the publications as primarily contributions to scholarship and partly to the reluctance of publishers not only to take risks but to pledge their diminishing paper supply.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND

Although the work of the committee has been greatly hampered by the war, some progress has nevertheless been made and one meeting of the committee was held.

Dr. Anne K. Gregorie has found new materials for our contemplated volume of equity cases from South Carolina, and has continued her work thereon. Dr. Susie M. Ames has likewise steadily continued work on the Virginia material. We are assured of extremely competent historical editorship for both these volumes. The last step in their preparation, which will soon confront us, will be the study of the materials by their legal editors.

Final editorial work on the Rhode Island equity materials has been begun under very promising arrangements. Dr. John T. Farrell of the College of New Rochelle, who acted most satisfactorily as historical editor of the fourth volume of our series, has agreed to perform the same duties on the Rhode Island volume, and he will be guided by Professor Zechariah Chafee, jr., of the Law School of Harvard University, who is certainly one of the two or three leading American authorities on equity in England and in this country.

Finally, an opportunity has recently unexpectedly arisen to publish a volume of early Maryland county court records, those, namely, of Prince Georges County from 1696 through 1699. An expert transcription of these was made for the Hall of Records Commission of Maryland, but inasmuch as they plan to continue for the present the publication of records of higher courts (of which some half a dozen volumes have already appeared in the Archives of Maryland), the transcript has not been utilized. Our present plan, on the contrary, is to publish county records. Under these circumstances, the Commission (Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, being acquainted with our program) offered us the Prince Georges transcript, with a subvention, for publication by us. This offer we have tentatively accepted. Proper acknowledgment of the Commission's editorial and financial aid will of course be made, and a small number of copies will be specially bound for distribution by the Commission in Maryland.

Since it has long been hoped that local historical societies might co-operate in the work of our committee, this precedent may prove to be one of great importance.

The balance on hand for the committee's work is \$8,645.12, as of August 31, 1944.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications, reports that plans under consideration for the enlarging of the scope of the

committee's endeavors were adjourned because of wartime conditions, especially the severe paper stringency. The committee, however, "invites members of the American Historical Association (1) to submit proposals on their particular needs in any field of government publications of special use to them, (2) to accompany their proposals with concrete suggestions as to means for implementing them effectively."

The committee has been active in supporting an effort to give the publication of the Territorial Papers a secure status. At present, it is, and has been for a number of years, an annual struggle to assure Congressional support. If the Department of State could be given the "go ahead" signal to finish the series, it would relieve both the staff and the friends of this historical work of annual appearances before Congressional committees. The committee suggests that the Association go on record in favor of authorization being given the Department of State to continue the series and to do this by resolution addressed to the appropriate committees of the House and the Senate and to the President.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RADIO

Your committee on a radio program giving historical background to current matters has been continued very successfully. NBC, which has contributed Mr. Saerchinger's services and carried the broadcast as a supporting program is anxious to sell the program and the time to a sponsor. A proposal to accept a commercial sponsor having no control over the material used in the broadcast was laid before the committee, which approved the plan overwhelmingly. It was then submitted to the Council of the Association which, by a majority mail or telegraph vote, approved. The Executive Secretary raised the question of compensation to the Association for giving the program. The contract has not been submitted for signature and the matter stands where it did when the Council voted approval.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE WPA BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Special Committee on the WPA Bibliography, appointed in 1942, reports, through its chairman, Mr. Everett E. Edwards, that it feels "that it is impracticable to complete the work on this bibliography and to print it in wartime" and urges, therefore, that the "committee be discontinued. The Association can provide for another to handle the project after the return of peace if it wishes to do so."

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Our senior delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies reports a number of the varied activities of this organization. Among those of particular interest to the historical group is the important work done by the Council's Committee for the Protection of the Cultural Treasures of Europe. This committee has collected information regarding looted, damaged, and destroyed objects, monuments, and collections; has correlated activities of museum, university, and professional experts, and has formulated general principles of conservation. Due no

doubt in part to the work of this committee and to Mr. Leland's imagination, there is now an American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe. On that Commission five members of the A.C.L.S. committee are serving.

The proposal of Mr. Shryock's committee that a history of science in America should be written in collaboration by a group of experts is now reaching the planning stage. The work is to consist of four volumes and of about twenty-five hundred pages, and pains are being taken to see that the work is more than a series of unrelated monographs, and that the work is done in a historical way. It is agreeable to hear that "trends will be stressed."

The problem of American studies, where the results of research in American history, American literature, American folklore, etc., may be correlated, has received a great deal of discussion, some of it concrete and helpful.

Our delegate has been much impressed with the activities of the American Council and finds encouragement in them for the future of humanistic studies in this country. He is convinced that the academic group should be more widely informed of the varied and effective activities of the Council and of its Director and Assistant Director, Messrs. Leland and Graves. To this your own Executive Secretary, who represents another organization on the Council, can heartily subscribe.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE AMERICAN DOCUMENTATION INSTITUTE

When Mr. T. R. Schellenberg was reappointed for one year, he was asked to make an appraisal of this Institute and advise the Council as to whether the Association should continue appointing a representative. Mr. Schellenberg reports on the latter point that he feels that our representation at the present serves no useful purpose inasmuch as the interest of the Institute is very slight in the social sciences and the humanities. The stress of the organization is upon microphotographic reproduction of materials in the field of science. The organizations representing the humanities are largely decorative. He asks to be relieved of future duties and recommends that no successor be appointed.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SUPERVISORY BOARD OF THE *American Year Book*

Last year the Council appointed Professor Thomas C. Cochran of New York University to replace the late Professor Albert Bushnell Hart. Professor Cochran was also charged with the task of making an appraisal of the *Year Book* and of the advisability of our maintaining a representative on the board. His report endorses the *Year Book* as a "useful compendium of information that may be of considerable value to historians" and recommends that the Association continue its representation on the supervisory board along with the forty-five other learned societies in various fields.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF
HISTORICAL SCIENCES

Our senior delegate, Mr. Leland, reports that correspondence and consultations with some other members of the committee have been possible this year as the result of the clearing of France and the presence in this country of Professor C. K. Webster, chairman of the British committee. The approach to postwar activity of the committee will necessarily be slow and in some sectors delicate and difficult. Mr. Leland hopes that the committee can at least go forward with the *International Bibliography*, which has been suspended since the death of Monsieur Marc Jaryc.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE NATIONAL PARKS ASSOCIATION BOARD

Our representative on the National Parks Association Board of Trustees has faithfully watched the points at which he has felt the Historical Association might be interested or helpful. He feels definitely that there would be mutual benefit if members of the profession had more intimate contact with historical sites and areas, which are prime source materials in themselves. National sites and areas, like the great natural areas, need clearly defined standards and our Association can be of help in setting and maintaining such standards.

He further recommends that at an early date there be held such a meeting or conference as was held in 1934 when the whole subject of historical sites was presented in a session presided over by Dr. V. E. Chatelain. Mr. Flickinger, our representative, thinks that the Association's interest in historical sites would justify the appointment of a special committee in this field. Such a committee, if appointed, would need to co-ordinate its work with the Special Committee on Preservation and Restoration of Historical Objects, a subcommittee of the Committee on Historical Source Materials.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES ON *Social Education*

The full report of the editor of *Social Education* will be printed in the *Annual Report*. It shows that every effort has been made to economize but that it is difficult to go farther in this direction, and unless advertising and other sources of income increase, the deficit charged against the reserve fund will increase. Your representatives on the executive board can speak only in the highest terms of the magazine and the admirable work of Dr. Erling Hunt in seeking to make it both useful and inspiring to social science teachers.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The report of Professor Roy F. Nichols, as our senior representative on the Social Science Research Council, is brief enough and important enough so that I quote it here in full:

"The activities of the Social Science Research Council during the past year have been of particular interest to historians.

"The work of the committee on the guide to local history has concluded its labors by publishing a manual, *Local History* by Donald D. Parker, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson. This book is designed to stimulate more work of value to social science in general in this basic field.

"The committee on appraisal has been exploring the use of the personal document in various disciplines and is publishing a series of reports. Louis Gottschalk was commissioned to prepare one on 'The Use of the Personal Document in History,' which is now in proof.

"The committee on the control of social data, working through Lester J. Cappon, has been active in arousing interest and co-operation among the various state governments, archives, and libraries in collecting and preserving an adequate record of state participation in the war.

"The committee on economic history has continued its activities under difficulties caused by war demands upon manpower. Its program is emphasizing work on the role of government in American economic development, studies of American politico-economic thought in the 1790's and of economic and business legislation in specific states prior to the Civil War.

"The committee on war studies has been successful in interesting a number of scholars from the various disciplines in pilot studies which are designed to start scholarly interest immediately in the problems of American behavior in time of war. The plans of the committee look forward to promoting a continuing interest which will provide the monographic studies necessary for the future historians of the war.

"The committee on historiography has been considering fundamental problems of historical methodology and means to raise the level of historical thinking and to improve the quality of historical research. It hopes to have its report ready early in the year." See also "Notes and Suggestions" in this issue.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch will be published later in the *Annual Report*.

May I at the close and in lieu of the traditional committee on resolutions express on behalf of the Council and the Association their very real appreciation of the services of the chairman of the Program Committee, Professor William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago, and of the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University. Their task has been shared by others who co-operated on their committees and recognition is given them. I need only call your attention to their names, as they are printed in the program of a very successful meeting under adverse conditions.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, PRIVATE DINING ROOM NO. 3,
STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
DECEMBER 27, 1944, 2:30 P.M.

Present: William L. Westermann, President; Arthur S. Aiton, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Ralph H. Gabriel, Roy F. Nichols, Councilors; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary.

President Westermann called the meeting to order.

Upon motion the minutes of the 1943 meeting of the Council and of the annual business meeting (which had been published) and the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting on June 24, 1944 (which had been circulated), were approved without being read.

Mr. Ford summarized his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor and commented at some length on the work of the Historical Service Board.

The following matters in the report of the Executive Secretary were made the subject of special discussion and action:

1. It was moved and seconded that a new committee on the WPA bibliography of United States history be appointed to continue an investigation of the feasibility of publishing this material when edited and to submit a budget estimate. Professor Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia, chairman, Mr. C. C. Crittenden of North Carolina, and a third to be named by the chairman, were constituted the new committee.

2. It was voted to discontinue the representation of the American Historical Association on the American Documentation Institute and to continue our representation on the Supervisory Board of the *American Year Book*. Professor Thomas C. Cochran of New York University was reappointed representative to the *Year Book*.

Professor Aiton then presented the report of the Committee on Committees. He explained that under present conditions the committee had thought it advisable not to make too many changes and in the cases of inactive committees to limit new appointments to vacancies caused by resignation. The following list of committees and delegates was thereupon approved by the Council:

Board of Trustees.—W. Randolph Burgess, 55 Wall Street, New York City, chairman; Stanton Griffis, Hemphill, Noyes and Company, 15 Broad Street, New York City; Thomas I. Parkinson, 393 Seventh Avenue, New York City; Leon Fraser, 2 Wall Street, New York City; A. W. Page, 195 Broadway, New York City.

Board of Editors of the American Historical Review.—Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Managing Editor; J. G. Randall, University of Illinois—term expires December, 1945; William E. Lunt, Haverford College—term expires December, 1946; A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota—term expires December, 1947; M. L. W. Laistner, Cornell University—term expires Decem-

- ber, 1947; Thad W. Riker, University of Texas—term expires December, 1948; Curtis P. Nettels, Cornell University—term expires December, 1949.
- Committee on Committees.*—Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Robert L. Schuyler, Columbia University.
- Committee on Honorary Members.*—Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, chairman; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Bernadotte Schmitt, University of Chicago.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—J. Duane Squires, Colby Junior College, chairman; V. J. Puryear, 647 D Street, Davis, California; Ross J. S. Hoffman, Fordham University.
- Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—M. B. Garrett, University of North Carolina, chairman; F. Lee Benns, Indiana University; one member to be appointed.
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize.*—Earle D. Ross, Iowa State College, chairman; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin; one member to be appointed.
- Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Reginald C. McGrane, University of Cincinnati, chairman; Dan E. Clark, University of Oregon; Lawrence Harper, University of California.
- Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.*—Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives (ex officio); Louis C. Hunter, American University; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Bernard J. Holm, 535 Kentucky Avenue, S.E., Washington, D. C.
- Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.*—Chairman to be appointed; A. P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania; Dorothy B. Goebel, Hunter College.
- Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, chairman; Samuel H. Brockunier, jr., Wesleyan University; Raymond P. Stearns, 202 Vermont Avenue, Urbana, Illinois; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Grace A. Cockroft, Skidmore College; Lawrence F. Hill, Ohio State University.
- Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard B. Morris, College of the City of New York; Mark D. Howe, University of Buffalo; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, 744 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary.
- Committee on Government Publications.*—Jeannette Nichols, 438 Riverview Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University; Bernard Mayo, University of Virginia.
- Committee on Historical Source Materials.*—Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick His-

torical Association, chairman. *Special Committee on Archives*: Emmett J. Leahy, Navy Department, chairman; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University; Solon J. Buck, The National Archives; Sargent B. Child, Office of Price Administration; Charles M. Gates, University of Washington; Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library; Randolph W. Church, Virginia State Library. *Special Committee on Manuscripts*: Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia, chairman; Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; John C. L. Andreassen, W.P.A., New Orleans, Louisiana; St. George L. Sioussat, Library of Congress; Roger Shugg, University of Indiana; Whitney R. Cross, Cornell University. *Special Committee on Newspapers*: Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, chairman; Allan Nevins, Columbia University; Edgar E. Robinson, Stanford University; E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University; Adeline Barry, The National Archives. *Special Committee on Business Records*: Ralph M. Hower, Harvard University, chairman; William D. Overman, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; Oliver W. Holmes, The National Archives; Lewis Atherton, University of Missouri; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College; Guy Lee, The National Archives. *Special Committee on Library Holdings*: Douglas C. McMurtrie, chairman (deceased); Luther H. Evans, Library of Congress; Gilbert H. Doane, University of Wisconsin; A. G. Kuhlman, Vanderbilt University; James A. Barnes, Temple University; George A. Schwegmann, jr., Library of Congress. *Special Committee on Preservation and Restoration of Historical Objects*: H. E. Kahler, National Park Service, Department of Interior, Chicago, chairman; Ronald Lee, 17th Serv. Sq., 1st Serv. Group, Fort Dix Air Base, Fort Dix, New Jersey; Russell H. Anderson, Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago; Hunter D. Farish (deceased); C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission; Lucille O'Connor Kellar, McCormick Historical Association. *Special Committee on British Sessional Papers*: Edgar L. Erickson, Chemical Warfare Division, Camp Aberdeen, Maryland, chairman; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University, Frank J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles. *Research Associate*: Everett E. Edwards, Department of Agriculture.

Delegates of the American Historical Association.—*American Academy of Classical and Medieval Studies in Rome*: Austin P. Evans, Columbia University—term expires December, 1947; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College—term expires December, 1947. *American Council of Learned Societies*: Wallace Notestein, Yale University—term expires December, 1946; Dixon Ryan Fox (deceased; successor to be appointed). *Representative on American Year Book Supervisory Board*: Thomas C. Cochran, Washington Square College, New York University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*: James T. Shotwell, Columbia University; Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies. *Representative on National Parks Association Board*: B.

Floyd Flickinger, Bear Garden Farm, Star Route, Hanover, Virginia—term expires December, 1946. *Representatives on Social Education*: Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McA. Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council*: Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December, 1945; Merle E. Curti, University of Wisconsin—term expires December, 1946; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1947.

The Executive Secretary then presented the following proposal of the Watumull Foundation:

The Watumull Foundation proposes to establish a Prize of \$500 to be awarded triennially by the American Historical Association for the best book originally published in the United States on any phase of the history of India, the first award to be announced at the Annual Meeting of the Association in December, 1945. The Foundation suggests that in making the first award the Committee in Charge of the Prize take into consideration books published during the five year period 1940 to 1944 inclusive. Each subsequent award, beginning with that of 1948, would be limited to books published during the period of three years preceding the year in which the award is made; that is, 1945 to 1947 inclusive for the award of 1948. No award would be made if, in the opinion of the Committee, no eligible book possessed sufficient merit to justify it. The Committee of three or five members, to be appointed by the Association would contain one member to be appointed by the Association from a list of three members of the Association which the Watumull Foundation will nominate.

On motion the proposal of the Watumull Foundation was accepted and the appointment of a committee of three referred to the Executive Committee.

The following ad interim appointments of delegates were made during 1944: Mrs. Helen Taft Manning of Bryn Mawr College and Professor Thomas E. Drake of Haverford College were the representatives at the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on April 14 and 15, 1944. Professor Harry G. Plum of the University of Iowa was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Russell David Cole as president of Cornell College on April 25, 1944. Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota was the delegate to the inauguration of Father Flynn as president of St. Thomas College on April 27, 1944. Dr. James A. James of Northwestern University was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Ernest A. Johnson as president of Lake Forest College on May 20, 1944. Dr. Merrill E. Gaddis of Central College was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Harry S. DeVore as president of Central College on May 25, 1944. Miss Shirley Farr of Brandon, Vermont, was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Homer L. Dodge as president of Norwich University on October 9, 1944. Professor Aileen Dunham of Wooster College was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Howard F. Lowry as president of Wooster College on October 21, 1944. Professor Arthur C. Bining of the University of Pennsylvania was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Edwin Ewart Aubrey as president of Crozer Theological Seminary on October 31, 1944. Professor Donald C. Babcock of the University of

New Hampshire was the delegate to the inauguration of Dr. Harold Walter Stoke as president of the University of New Hampshire on December 17, 1944.

Reporting for the Committee on Honorary Members, of which Dr. Waldo G. Leland is chairman and Professor Bernadotte Schmitt the other member, Mr. Ford presented a list of ten foreign scholars as candidates for election to honorary membership in the American Historical Association. The committee had canvassed the field thoroughly and in some cases the chairman had held conferences of groups familiar with the scholars of special areas.

On motion the following list of honorary members was elected and the Executive Secretary instructed to inform them and in due time to send them some suitable certificate:

Rafael Altamira y Crevea. Historian and jurist; born 1866; has been professor of history of Spanish law in University of Oviedo, professor in the Diplomatic and Consular Institute at Madrid, president of the Ibero-American Institute of Comparative Law, judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague; regarded as one of the most distinguished historians of Spain; was special guest of American Historical Association at twenty-fifth anniversary meeting, 1909; author or editor of *History of Law*, *Compilation of American Constitutions*, *History of Spanish Colonial Institutions*, and *History of Spanish Civilization*.

Domingo Amunátegui y Solar. Professor, historian, publicist; corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid; born 1860; has been professor and dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Chile, rector of the University, and Minister of Justice and Public Instruction and of the Interior; author and editor of many historical works, including *Las encomiendas de indígenas en Chile*, *Historia social de Chile*, *Historia de Chile*, and *El progreso intelectual y política de Chile*.

Pierre Caron. Archiviste paléographe; emeritus director general of the Archives of France; born 1875; has been member of the Comité des Travaux Historiques, secretary of the Commission de l'Histoire Economique de la Revolution; an international leader in historical bibliography; editor of *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies*, and *Repertoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France*.

Aage Friis, Ph.D. Emeritus professor of history, University of Copenhagen; born 1870; has been rector of the University of Copenhagen, president of the Danish Historical Society, counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; one of the most distinguished of Scandinavian historians, author and editor of numerous works on Danish history, including *The Question of North Schleswig, 1864-1879* and *Europe, Denmark, and North Schleswig*.

Hu Shih, B.A. (Cornell), Ph.D., LL.D. Historian and philosopher; visiting lecturer, Harvard University; member of Academia Sinica; born 1891; has been professor of philosophy and dean of department of English literature, dean

of College of Arts and Letters, in Peking National University; president of China Institute, Woosung; ambassador to United States; works include *Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, *Outline of Chinese Philosophy*, *Ancient History of China*, and *History of Chinese Thought* (in progress).

Johan Huizinga, D.Litt. Professor of history, University of Leiden; president of the Section of Letters, Royal Academy of Sciences; born 1872; member of the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations; leading Dutch historian; works include *Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924), *Erasmus* (1924), *America As It Lives and Thinks* (1927), *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (1930), *In the Shadow of Tomorrow* (1936), and *Homo Ludens* (1938).

Albert Frederick Pollard, M.A., Litt.D. Emeritus director of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London; born 1869; has been professor of constitutional history, University of London; fellow of All Souls, Oxford; founder and president of the Historical Association; founder of the Institute of Historical Research; Goldwin Smith Lecturer in Cornell University; assistant editor, *Dictionary of National Biography*; originator and organizer of the Anglo-American Historical Conferences, leader in development of professional relations between American and British historians; author and editor of many works and articles, including *Life of Thomas Cranmer* (1904), *Factors in Modern History* (1907), *Political History of England*, Vol. V (1910), *Evolution of Parliament* (1920), and *Factors in American History* (1925).

Afonso de Escagnolle Taunay. Director of the Paulista Museum, São Paulo; born 1876; member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute; author and editor of many historical works, including *Historia geral das bandeiras*, *Historia seiscentista da villa de São Paulo*, and *Collectanea de documentos da antiga cartographia paulista*.

George Macaulay Trevelyan, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; born 1876; has been Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge; author of many historical works, including *England under the Stuarts*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (1909), *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (1911), *Life of John Bright* (1913), *British History in the Nineteenth Century* (1922), *History of England* (1926), *England under Queen Anne* (1930-35), *Grey of Falloden* (1936), and *The English Revolution, 1688-1689* (1938).

George Mackinnon Wrong, M.A., LL.D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada; emeritus professor of history, University of Toronto; born 1860; author of *The British Nation: A History* (1903), *The Earl of Elgin* (1905), *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs* (1908), *The Fall of Canada* (1914), *The Conquest of New France* (1918), *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* (1920), *The Rise and Fall of New France* (1928), *Canada and the American Revolution* (1934), and *The Canadians: The Story of a People* (1938).

As the term of membership of the Committee on Honorary Members had not been set at the time when the committee was constituted in 1943, a motion was made and carried that the term of the committee be for the period of three years, present members serving from December, 1943, to December, 1946.

On motion the present members of the Executive Committee were re-elected for one year. The membership is as follows: Arthur M. Schlesinger, chairman; Ralph H. Gabriel, J. Salwyn Schapiro, Carl Stephenson, Solon J. Buck, Treasurer, and Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary, ex officio.

In the absence of Dr. Solon J. Buck, his report as Treasurer was briefly summarized by Mr. Ford. It will be printed in full in the *Annual Report*. In substance it indicated that the finances of the Association were in a healthy condition.

The last matter before the Council was the consideration of the annual meeting for 1945. It was determined to follow the cycle, which would bring the meeting in 1945 to Washington, D. C. Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University was named chairman of the Program Committee and Dean E. L. Kayser of George Washington University, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee. Authority was given to the Executive Committee to modify all arrangements to fit any contingency that might arise during the year. See page 664.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, SOUTH BALLROOM,
STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
DECEMBER 28, 1944, 3:45 P.M.

The annual business meeting of the American Historical Association, held in the South Ballroom of the Stevens Hotel in Chicago, was called to order by President Westermann.

The motion was made to approve without reading the minutes of the meeting in 1943, as they had already been printed and circulated.

Mr. Ford then read his report as Executive Secretary and summarized the reports from the chairmen of the various committees and the delegates and representatives of the Association to other meetings (pp. 643-55).

In the absence of the Treasurer, the essential parts of his report were presented by the Executive Secretary. The motion was made to accept the report and place it on file. Approved. (The report will be published in full in the *Annual Report* for 1944, Volume I, *Proceedings*.)

The nomination of A. W. Page to continue his membership on the Board of Trustees for another term was presented, and he was re-elected by the Association.

For the information of the Association the Executive Secretary reported on the following interesting actions taken by the Council:

The choice of ten additional honorary members; the approval of the proposal of the Watumull Foundation to support a prize for the best work on the history

of India, to be awarded by a committee of the American Historical Association; the discontinuance of representation on the American Documentation Institute; the continuance of representation on the Supervisory Board of the *American Year Book*; the re-election for the coming year of the present Executive Committee; the roster of committees, delegates, and representatives chosen by the Council; and the selection by the Council of Washington as the place for the next meeting, Professor Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University as chairman of the Program Committee and Dean E. L. Kayser of George Washington University as chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and the empowering by Council of the Executive Committee to modify all arrangements to fit any contingency that might arise during the year. (These matters are given in full in the minutes of the Council, pp. 656-62.)

In the absence of Professor Julius Pratt, chairman of the Nominating Committee, its report was presented by Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas. The committee had received 332 mail ballots by the final date, December 20. A tabulation showed the election of the following from names submitted by the committee:

Members of the Council (two to be chosen)—Miss Laura A. White of the University of Wyoming and Professor Ralph H. Lutz of Stanford University.

Members of the Nominating Committee (three to be chosen)—Professors Edward M. Earle of Princeton University and Max H. Savelle of Stanford University.

For the third place on the Nominating Committee there was a tie with 165 votes for each of two nominees. This necessitated a written ballot at this meeting. The results, believe it or not, were 71 votes for one nominee and 69 for the other. A change of one vote would have produced a second tie. Professor Frank J. Klingberg was elected. The other members of the Nominating Committee are Professor Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina, chairman, and Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas.

The president, vice president, and treasurer are elected at the business meeting. The committee nominated for these offices Professors Carlton J. H. Hayes, Sidney B. Fay, and Dr. Solon J. Buck respectively. Professor Malin stated that the chairman had received within the prescribed time limit a written petition from more than the required twenty members submitting the name of Professor Fay for the office of president. Professor Arthur Schlesinger then read a letter from Professor Fay, dated December 23, strongly deprecating the grounds on which the petitioners had acted and declining to accept if he were nominated for the presidency. Professor W. M. Gewehr made an extended statement in explanation of the position of the petitioners. The presiding officer, Professor Westermann, although stating that in his view, under a correct interpretation of Professor Fay's letter, there was only one candidate for the presidency, that presented by the Nominating Committee, assented to the call for a written ballot. Professor Hayes was elected president for the ensuing year by a vote of 110 to 66. Professor Gewehr closed the

incident by a statement for his group that they accepted the result with undiminished loyalty to the Association.

In the absence of any representative from the Pacific Coast Branch, Mr. Ford read an excerpt from the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Hardin Craig, jr.

At the call for new business, Mrs. Jeannette Nichols, chairman of the Committee on Government Publications, presented the following resolutions:

Whereas, the ever-increasing significance of the foreign relations of the United States makes it of more and more importance that adequate material on our foreign policies be made available to the American public in general and to the historical profession in particular:

Therefore, be it Resolved, that the American Historical Association reaffirm its continued interest in the publications of the Department of State and urge that that Department make its documentation of past policy more nearly up to date, and its documentation of current policy and of the great international events of the year as full and revealing as the public interest permits.

Whereas, in times such as these our people need a more complete understanding of the democratic bases upon which the United States was founded and whereas such understanding is made possible in larger degree by publication of the records of our territorial development and whereas it would be highly undesirable to leave so valuable a record incomplete:

Therefore, be it Resolved, that the American Historical Association urge prompt passage by Congress of the bill authorizing the completion of the publication of the Territorial Papers.

They were unanimously approved.

The meeting was one of the best-attended of any held in recent years.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

Since the Council of the Association at its meeting on December 27 fixed on Washington for the meeting in 1945, the Office of Defense Transportation has taken definite action limiting meetings involving the attendance of fifty or more out-of-town participants. Meetings requiring travel for more than the above number must have the approval of the ODT. Only two of the first 110 applications (up to January 22) were approved. Fortunately the Council gave its Executive Committee full authority to meet such a contingency. If there is no relaxing of travel restrictions, the December meeting could take the same form it did in 1942, when the two-day program was canceled and only a Council meeting, a business meeting, and the annual dinner were held. Both had almost a normal attendance because of the large number of members in military and civilian service or resident in Washington. The Program Committee will be asked to make at

least tentative plans so that a two-day meeting may be held if there is no conflict with the then prevailing regulations concerning civilian travel.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO MEMBERS

In conformity with the provisions of the Constitution governing the choice of elected officers of the American Historical Association, the Nominating Committee invites members of the Association to submit by signed letter their suggestions for nominations for the offices of president, vice president, treasurer, members of the Executive Council (two to be elected), and members of the Nominating Committee (two to be elected). Members may, of course, suggest more than one name for the same office. All such suggestions are to be regarded as in the nature of advice to the Nominating Committee.

Listed below are the present officers of the Association, the elected members of the Executive Council, and the members of the Nominating Committee, with indication of the members of the Council and the Committee who are to be replaced this year.

Officers of the Association

President	Carlton J. H. Hayes
Vice President	Sidney B. Fay
Treasurer	Solon J. Buck

Elected Members of Executive Council

*Carl Stephenson	(term expires 1945)
*Arthur S. Aiton	(term expires 1945)
J. S. Schapiro	(term expires 1946)
Ralph H. Gabriel	(term expires 1946)
Roy F. Nichols	(term expires 1947)
Robert L. Schuyler	(term expires 1947)
Ralph H. Lutz	(term expires 1948)
Laura A. White	(term expires 1948)

Nominating Committee

*Loren C. MacKinney	(term expires 1945)
*James C. Malin	(term expires 1945)
Edward M. Earle	(term expires 1946)
Frank J. Klingberg	(term expires 1946)
Max Savelle	(term expires 1946)

Letters should be mailed before July 1, 1945, and addressed to the Executive Secretary, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C., or to the chairman of the Nominating Committee, Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

*Members to be replaced this year (1945).

The committee appointed to award the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize for 1945 desires to call attention to the terms of the award. This prize, which carries a stipend of \$200, is awarded in the odd-numbered years for a book or manuscript on the history of the United States or of other countries of the Western Hemisphere. Entries for the 1945 competition must be submitted prior to June 1, 1945. By the rules of the competition, printed works can be considered for the 1945 prize only if the date of publication falls between December 1, 1942, and June 1, 1945. Entries should be sent to the chairman of the committee, Professor Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. The terms of the competition, as defined by the American Historical Association, follow:

In awarding these prizes, the committee in charge will consider not only research accuracy and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. These prizes are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

All work submitted in competition for these prizes must be in the hands of the prize committee on or before June 1 of the year in which the award is made. The date of publication of printed monographs submitted in competition must fall within a period of two and one-half years prior to June 1 of the year in which the prize is awarded.

A list of members of the American Historical Association in 1887 from the papers of John Nicolay, secretary and biographer of Lincoln, shows the following officers: William F. Poole of the Newberry Library, President; Charles Kendall Adams and John Jay, vice-presidents; Herbert B. Adams, secretary; and Clarence Bowen, Treasurer. The additional members of the Council are Andrew D. White, George Bancroft, Justin Winsor, Rutherford B. Hayes, William Wirt Henry, John W. Burgess, and Arthur M. Wheeler. The first seven names in the list of members are Adams, Charles Francis; Adams, Brooks; Adams, Charles Kendall; Adams, George B.; Adams, Henry; Adams, Henry Carter; Adams, Herbert B. Despite the fact that every one of these and many another Adams found a place in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, or because of it, one is reminded of the little girl who announced to her mother that she did not like American history because it was all cluttered up with Adamases.

As a result of the announcement in the January issue of available volumes of the *Annual Report*, requests for over one thousand volumes have come in. This is a gratifying result and will leave relatively few volumes to be turned in by the Government Printing Office for paper salvage.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: Sammatite stone seal, Egyptian, eighteenth dynasty (1500 B. C.) found at

the great Temple of Amon Ra; handwritten copies of letters and documents of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, or relating to him, 1595-1646, accumulated by the late James Phinney Baxter; additional photocopies of manuscripts in Spanish and Mexican archives and libraries, mainly relating to the Yucatan region, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; one box of photostats of wills, deeds, and other documents pertaining to Thomas Ward and other persons of Massachusetts and Connecticut; photostats of three letters from George Washington, 1775, 1797, 1798; letter from Admiral Samuel Barrington to Lord Macartney, December 24, 1778; microfilm reproductions of papers of Thomas Jefferson, mainly letters from Jefferson to Albert Gallatin (New York Historical Society), 1779 to 1826; twenty-seven papers of Guy Atkinson, mainly letters of members of the Atkinson family, 1781 to 1835; twelve items pertaining to the trade of the Philippine Company and the East India Company in the Philippine Islands, 1784 to 1809; four additional boxes of the papers of James McHenry, 1790 to 1810; a letter from James Monroe to Mr. Pinkerton, October 14, 1806; two account books of Andrew Johnson, 1829 to 1860; letter, relating to work of missionaries in Hawaii from Charlotte C. Knapp to Adelia Mend, August 19, 1837; scrapbook of John Dean Cato, *c.* 1837 to 1866; letter from Edward Everett to Asbury Dickins, November 10, 1838; memorandum book of J. A. Arnold, 1840 to 1886; one box of the papers of Friedrich Kapp, 1842 to 1884 (restricted); letter from Colonel Henry Stanton to James Warrin, May 29, 1846; certificate of Moses Yale Beach's citizenship by J. M. Storms, February 4, 1847; letter (facsimile) from Daniel Webster to Daniel S. Dickinson, September 27, 1850; letter from John Tyler to Dr. William H. Gardiner, May 21, 1852; photostats of agreement between Perry Blackburn and Lincoln and Lamon, February 11, 1853, and of receipt of De Loss Warren to Lincoln and Lamon, August 3, 1854; letter from Thomas Hart Benton to Martin Van Buren, undated; photostats of four letters from Thaddeus Stevens to Colonel L. Blanchard, 1855 to 1862; W. M. Osborne's "Reminiscences of Berea," Ohio, August 25, 1857; one box of the papers of Major James Jenkins Gillette, 1857 to 1887; letter from Abraham Lincoln to George B. McClellan, April 9, 1862; letter press copies, Office of Engineers, on Defense of Washington, South of the Potomac, May 9, 1862, to June 8, 1865, one volume; note from Abraham Lincoln to William Windom, March 30, 1864; a handwritten copy of the "History of the 28th Regiment of N. Y. S. Volunteers, Army of the United States" during the Civil War, also a collection of badges and reunion programs; a collection of thirteen letters and other autograph signatures of American statesmen and others, 1880-1937, one volume; letter from James A. Garfield to William Windom, March 31, 1881; sixteen additional boxes of papers of the Riggs family, *c.* 1887 and later; two additional papers of Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain; typewritten copies of twenty-eight letters from Emma C. Folsom, Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, and Francis F. Cleveland to Mrs. Don Dickinson, 1888 to 1900; two boxes of the papers of Albert Payson Terhune, *c.* 1890 to 1941; minutes and accounts of the District of Columbia Library Association, 1894 to 1921; four volumes of typewritten copies of notes

and unpublished writings of Edward Bellamy; photostats of letter from John McRea to Carleton Noyes, May 31, 1916, and a manuscript copy of "In Flanders Fields"; fourteen additional papers of William Howard Taft (restricted); additional papers of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, including the original draft and revised copies of his inaugural address, March 4, 1933, and other addresses, 1932 to 1944; papers of Captain Eric Erskine Loch, pertaining to the Andes-Amazon Expedition, 1935 to 1937; additional papers of the Honorable Henry Agard Wallace, 1941 to 1944 (restricted); radio scripts, typewritten and mimeographed, of Raymond Gram Swing, 1936 to 1944, in thirty boxes; photostats of five letters to Cyril Clemens, 1939 to 1943; notebook of a narrative and poem "When We Landed the Yanks at Oran" by Robert Thomson, July 8, 1944; printed, typewritten, and mimeograph copies of thirty-two additional letters from Douglas Cockerell to his brother, T. D. A. Cockerell, 1940 to 1944; eight additional letters and photographs in the Robley D. Stevens collection, 1944; autobiographical letter from Charles P. Chase to Honorable Guy M. Gillette, July 31, 1944; and four additional papers of Archibald MacLeish, 1944; and papers of, or collected by Victor Selden Clark.

Closer relations between archivists and archival institutions in the Western Hemisphere are being made possible by grants for internships or fellowships at the National Archives. The Abbé Honorious Provost, for the last eight years assistant archivist at the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec and Laval University, has received such a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Through the Interdepartmental Committee for Cooperation with the American Republics, funds have been made available for instituting a long-range program for bringing Latin-American archivists to the United States to work in the National Archives and to become acquainted with North American practices. Such fellowships are being offered to archivists in Chile, Cuba, and Mexico.

The National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records are co-operating in the presentation of a short training course on the preservation and administration of archives for custodians of institutional and business archives to be offered by the American University in Washington, D. C., from June 11 to June 30.

Records relating to military affairs continue to predominate among National Archives accessions. Material received recently from the Navy Department includes Naval Intelligence records, among which are reports on subversive activities during World War I, files of the *Japan Advertiser*, and reports and other records of naval attachés at various diplomatic posts, 1917-33; records of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, 1827-1926, and the New York Navy Yard, 1842-1922; and records relating to the operation of the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company at Kearny, New Jersey, by the Navy Department, 1941-42. The War Department material received consists largely of field records and includes correspondence, maps, and other records of district engineers at Providence, 1800-1921; Albany,

1820-1940; New York City, 1864-1934; Pittsburgh, 1890-1940; and Philadelphia, 1893-1936; and records of Army commands, such as Fort Adams and headquarters of the Coast Defenses of Narragansett Bay, 1865-1917, Forts Banks, Andrews, Strong, and Warren, 1866-1915, and Fort Huachuca and headquarters of the 25th Infantry, 1867-1929.

Materials acquired recently by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library include manuscripts, photographs, and prints relating to United States naval history; pamphlets and broadsides used in recent Democratic presidential campaigns; and sound recordings, motion pictures, photographs, and books on subjects connected with the present war. From the President was received a gift of some three hundred letters and twenty-two journals and notebooks of Commodore David Conner (1792-1856), commander of the Gulf Squadron during the war with Mexico. The papers cover the years 1812-55 and touch upon every important period of Conner's life, from his service aboard the *Hornet* in the War of 1812 to his operations against the Mexican ports in the summer and fall of 1846. Some of the letters and most of the journals relate to his family and professional life in Philadelphia, where he was assigned to the Navy Yard, and in Washington, as an official of the Navy Department. They contain much material on the social history of the period. Other naval history items received from the President include a number of prints, engravings, and photographs of United States war vessels from the period of the Civil War to the present.

From Miss Mary W. Dewson, formerly director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, were received correspondence, pamphlets, broadsides, copies of speeches, and programs of meetings, conferences, and dinners relating to the activities of the Women's Division in the presidential campaigns of 1936, 1940, and 1944. Recordings of speeches made by the President during the recent campaign and motion pictures used for campaign purposes were received from the Democratic National Committee. Materials relating to the war include a recording of all news reports and commentaries broadcast by the NBC on D-day; Signal Corps photographs of the invasion of Normandy; portrait photographs of fifty-three high-ranking United Nations civil and military leaders; and motion pictures of important events in which the President has figured during the past two years.

Fred W. Shipman, director of the Library, has returned to the United States from a second mission to the European theater of operations. Under auspices of the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department, he visited both Italy and France to survey the situation and to make recommendations with reference to the protection and use of records in occupied territory.

The New-York Historical Society of 170 Central Park West, New York City, has announced its intention to publish its General Horatio Gates Papers in a series of eleven or twelve volumes. The important decade of the Revolution accounts for the bulk of the material, with some five thousand letters to and from Gates,

including 148 letters from Washington alone. Although this is by far the largest and most important collection of Gates material in existence, several hundred Gates letters and related documents have been located in a dozen other libraries. In order that the society's publication may be as definitive as possible, an attempt will be made to arrange for the inclusion of such material in the projected volumes. The editor of the society will welcome information from any source concerning other extant Gates material, particularly in private collections.

The collection of Thurlow Weed Papers deposited with the library of the University of Rochester has been enriched by eighty letters from Weed to Seward. They were found in an old trunk in the attic of the Seward mansion in Auburn. The find increases considerably the number of letters written by Weed himself. They cover the years from 1848 to 1868 in a frank and intimate way.

The Illinois Central Railroad Company recently deposited in the Newberry Library several tons of records from 1851, the year of its charter, to 1906, the end of the presidency of Stuyvesant Fish. It is a remarkable collection, containing a practically unbroken file of the correspondence of the presidents of the road. Unlike most great corporations, the Illinois Central never had a disastrous fire. Most of the material is bound in volume form and will therefore be fairly easy for scholars to use. The material is open on approval of the librarian to qualified applicants with matured plans for research.

In addition to its usual awards of predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships and grants-in-aid of research, the Social Science Research Council announces demobilization awards: These awards are especially intended to aid scholars in the fields of the social sciences whose careers either in training or research have been disrupted by service in the armed forces or by other war service. Eligibility is limited to men and women under thirty-six years of age who are citizens of the United States or Canada and have received either the doctoral degree or made outstanding records as advanced graduate students in social science. Stipends will be adjusted to individual needs. Great flexibility is given in beginning and distributing the time in residence of holders of the awards, *e.g.* successive summer schools or two nonconsecutive academic terms or a half-time arrangement. Inquiries should be directed to Miss Laura Barrett, Secretary to the Committees, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Czechoslovak State Prize for Literature for 1943 was presented to Dr. S. Harrison Thomson at a reception held in honor of Vladimir S. Hurban, envoy to the United States from the Czechoslovak Government in London, and Dr. Thomson at the University Club, New York, on December 30. Dr. Thomson, who is a professor at the University of Colorado and editor of the *Journal of Central European Affairs*, received the prize for his book *Czechoslovakia in European History*. This was the third time that this award has been given by the Czechoslovak Government in London to express its appreciation of works in which the

Czechoslovak people are interpreted by authors abroad. Before the war, the prize was annually awarded to outstanding writers of Czech, Slovak, and German nationality.

Stanford University has established a "Symposium on American Studies," under the auspices of the School of Humanities, to bring together specialists from a wide variety of fields within the university, all of whose studies bear upon either the history or the current problems of the United States. The all-university committee in charge is headed by a historian, Professor Arthur E. Bestor, jr. Papers will be presented twice a month to a faculty-student group. The first four announced speakers are from the Graduate School of Business and the departments of chemistry, English, and history.

The first series of the William W. Cook lectures on American institutions was delivered December 4-8, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, by Professor Carl L. Becker. The themes of the five lectures were the American political tradition, freedom of speech and the press, freedom of learning and teaching, constitutional government, and private economic enterprise.

A Civil War Round Table has been formed in Chicago. The membership consists of writers, students, collectors, and others interested in the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln. Monthly meetings are held at which papers are read and discussed. Ralph Newman, 16 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, is the secretary.

The *Publishers' Weekly* in its annual summary of American book production in 1944 reports under "History" 475 new titles and 55 reprints as against 465 new titles and 74 reprints in 1943. The corresponding figures for British production are 213 and 31 for 1944, 192 and 20 for 1943, and 161 and 19 for 1942.

Personal

Dixon Ryan Fox died of a sudden heart attack at Ellis Hospital in Schenectady, New York, on January 30. But fifty-seven years of age, he had gained a distinguished reputation as a historian, editor, and educator. Thirteen universities conferred honorary degrees upon him. His sparkling wit and courtly manner made him a favorite among his historical colleagues, and he was always much sought after as an after-dinner speaker. Born in Potsdam, New York, on December 7, 1887, he received his higher education at Columbia University, winning his Ph.D. in 1917. He taught in the history department of his alma mater from 1912 to 1934, after which he served as president of Union College until his death. In 1927-28 he was director of the American University Union in London, lecturing in eighteen British colleges and universities in connection with his duties. As a historian he displayed a keen and fruitful interest in local as well as national history, and in the dissemination of historical knowledge through museums,

motion pictures, and the radio as well as through conventional scholarly channels. From 1929 on, he found time in a very busy life to serve as president of the New York State Historical Association. Perhaps his best-known publications are *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (1919); *Ideas in Motion* (1935), a group of interpretative essays showing the imaginative quality of his mind; and *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830* (1944), written with John A. Krout. The last work is Volume V of the *History of American Life*, which he had planned and edited in collaboration with Arthur M. Schlesinger. He also acted as general editor of a series of college textbooks in American history, published by F. S. Crofts and Company. He is survived by his wife, the daughter of the late Herbert L. Osgood, and by two sons.

Clyde Augustus Duniway died at the Palo Alto Hospital, Stanford University, California, on December 24, 1944. He was seventy-eight years of age, and since his retirement from teaching at Carleton College (Minnesota) in 1937, had made his home on the Stanford University campus. It was a return to the scenes of his early teaching career, for he had become a member of the history faculty of Stanford University upon the completion of his graduate work at Harvard in 1897, and had continued a member until his election as president of the University of Montana in 1908. He had left Montana to become president of the University of Wyoming in 1912, and in 1917 he became president of Colorado College, serving there until 1924, when he returned to teaching as professor of history at Carleton College. Throughout all of these years, his academic interest remained in history, and his greatest attention was given to men and women in the profession of teaching. The meticulous care which he gave to detail was seen in his useful *Handbook of Graduate Courses*, first published in 1895. He published *Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* in 1906, and *Daniel Webster* (American Secretaries of State Series) in 1927. During his retirement he had prepared under university assignment a *History of Stanford University in World War I*, which was unpublished at the time of his death. He was working, as well, upon the diary and letters of his mother, Abigail Scott Duniway. This was of great interest to him, for despite his college education at Cornell University, where he graduated in 1892, and his graduate studies at Harvard and advanced studies in Germany, he retained a hearty interest in the life and customs of the American west of his youth and young manhood. He was born in Oregon and knew from his own experiences the actual life of the farm and ranching frontier. At times there was some incongruity in the fact that tales of the rough experiences of western frontier life came from the lips of this soft-spoken gentleman who seemed always to symbolize the dignity of academic tradition. He prized highly his long membership upon the board of electors of the Hall of Fame. His bequests for scholarships and books to Stanford University, to the University of California, to the University of Wyoming, and to Cornell University all marked with fine distinction and deep

devotion the passing of a sound scholar, a constructive educator, and a sturdy gentleman.

Dr. Frederic Bancroft, who had been a member of the Association since 1888, died in Washington, February 22. He was born October 30, 1860. To his undergraduate training at Amherst and his doctorate from Columbia (1885) he added several years of study in German universities and in the *Ecole des Sciences Politiques* in Paris. He took up his residence in Washington in 1888 as librarian of the State Department until 1892. Washington had been his home ever since with tours of duty as lecturer in history at Amherst, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Chicago. Aside from a memorial volume to his brother, Edgar Bancroft, who was ambassador to Japan in 1924-25, Dr. Bancroft's chief publications were a two-volume *Life of William H. Seward* (with William A. Dunning), *The Public Life of Carl Schurz* (1908), and an edition in six volumes of Schurz correspondence and public speeches. His other works were concerned principally with the South and include *The Negro in Politics* (1885), *Calhoun and the Nullification Movement in South Carolina* (1928), and *Slave-Trading in the Old South* (1931). Dr. Bancroft never married and for many years had lived at the Metropolitan Club in Washington. Burial was in Galesburg, Illinois, his birthplace.

Hunter Dickinson Farish, director of the department of research of Colonial Williamsburg since 1937, died on January 16 at his home in Beatrice, Alabama. In spite of warnings from his physician a year ago, he had continued his work in his department until the thirty-first of last December. His association with Colonial Williamsburg had not ended, however, since that organization had arranged for him to continue research, which he had already begun, when his health should permit. Dr. Farish was born in Montgomery, Alabama, September 12, 1897. He attended Dallas Academy at Selma and Wilcox County High School at Camden, Alabama. His undergraduate work was taken at Princeton University and his graduate work at Harvard—A.M., 1926, Ph.D., 1936. After receiving his master's degree, he was for several years assistant professor of history at Westminster College (Pennsylvania). From 1936 to 1937 he was a tutor and instructor at Harvard and at Radcliffe College. While associated with Colonial Williamsburg he was visiting professor at the College of William and Mary in 1939. Dr. Farish was an enthusiastic and able scholar. His doctoral dissertation at Harvard was later published under the title, *The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865 to 1900* (Richmond, 1938). As director of research of Colonial Williamsburg he originated and was the general editor of the *Colonial Williamsburg Historical Studies* (formerly *Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies*). Three volumes of the series have been published. He also assisted in working out the plans for the organization of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, which is sponsored jointly by the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg. The death of Dr. Farish is a grievous loss to

his many friends and will be keenly felt by his associates and all those interested in colonial American history.

Maurice Georges Paléologue, French diplomat, ambassador to Russia during the last war, author, and member of the French Academy, died in Paris on November 21. He was eighty-five years old. Among his books which have been published in this country are *Ambassador's Memoirs*, *Cavour*, *The Tragic Empress*, and *The Enigmatic Czar: The Life of Alexander I*.

Philip Guedalla, British historian, biographer, and essayist, died December 16 in London at the age of fifty-five. Educated at Rugby School and Balliol College, Oxford, he became a barrister in the Inner Temple in 1913 but retired from the practice of law in 1923 to devote the rest of his life to writing. During the first World War he served as legal adviser to one of the British contract departments. In 1917 he helped to organize the Flax Control Board and was its secretary until 1920. In the early days of the present war he made a good will tour of America, and in 1943, as an RAF squadron leader, he traveled twenty thousand miles by air in the Middle East to gather material about the influence of air power. At his death he was an honorary director of the Ibero-American Institute of Great Britain, chairman of the Ibero-American and Films committees of the British Council, and a member of the Cinematograph Films Council of the Board of Trade. His writings, which show distinct ability to make personalities vivid, include *The Partition of Europe, 1715-1815* (1914), *Palmerston* (1926), *Conquistador* (1927), *Gladstone and Palmerston* (1928), *The Queen and Mr. Gladstone* (1933), *The Hundred Days* (1924), *The Hundred Years* (1940), *Mr. Churchill: A Portrait* (1941), *The Liberators* (1942), and *The Two Marshals, Bazaine and Pétain* (1943).

Godfrey Rathbone Benson, first Baron Charnwood, died February 3 in London in his eightieth year. Lord Charnwood was best known in this country for his excellent one-volume life of Abraham Lincoln (1916) and for a life of Theodore Roosevelt (1923).

Wallace M. True, assistant professor of history in the Florida State College for Women, died November 17, 1944.

Philip Ainsworth Means, author of many books on ancient South American civilization, died November 24 at the age of fifty-two.

Hulbert Footner, author of thirty-six books, many of his earlier works adventure and mystery stories, died on November 25 at the age of sixty-five. Some of his more recent books include *New York: City of Cities*, *Sailor of Fortune: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Joshua*, *Maryland Main and Eastern Shore*, *The Death of a Saboteur*, and *Rivers of the Eastern Shore*.

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, California, announces the appointment of Professor Merle Curti of the University of Wis-

consin as its first visiting professor to the leading universities of India. Professor Curti will leave for India some time in the middle of 1945.

Professor Dixon Wecter of the University of California has accepted an invitation from the University of Sydney to give a series of lectures on American history. He will leave for Australia in April.

Fulmer Mood began work on January 1 as special assistant to the president of the University of California. His function will be to plan and conduct a survey of the printed materials in the libraries of the eight campuses of the university, with a view to the formulation of a comprehensive acquisitions plan for the post-war period. Dr. Mood has recently been in Washington on a war service appointment, where he acted as chief of the archives section, Historical Division, AC/AS Intelligence, Army Air Forces Headquarters.

J. Fred Rippy, professor of American history at the University of Chicago, has been appointed the Walker Ames visiting professor at the University of Washington, Seattle, for the spring quarter.

Howard H. Peckham, curator of manuscripts at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, has been appointed director of the Indiana Historical Bureau to succeed the late Dr. Christopher B. Coleman. Mr. Peckham has assumed his new duties which include the editing of the monthly *Indiana History Bulletin* as well as the documentary material in the Indiana Historical Collection, acting as secretary to the Indiana Historical Society and serving in an advisory capacity to the State Archives Commission and to the state librarian in regard to the purchase of historical material.

Thomas E. Drake, curator of the Quaker Collection of Haverford College, has been appointed editor of the *Bulletin* of the Friends Historical Association for a two-year term.

Joseph W. Ellison has been appointed head of the department of history in Oregon State College, following the resignation of Dr. E. V. Vaughn. New appointments to the department are C. C. Hulley, R. W. Smith, and Sidney Phillips.

Robert Leroy Hildrup, formerly professor of history at East Carolina Teachers College, has been appointed professor of history at the Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In reading the extremely interesting Bryce-Jameson correspondence published in the January number of the Review, I find that Mr. Stock thought it worth while to include Bryce's note of acknowledgment to Jameson for sending him "the little essay on Kansas." This reminded me that at the same time Jameson sent a copy

of the little essay to another valued friend, and from him received also a note of acknowledgment. The other friend was Henry Adams. Since the note is pure Henry Adams, and adds something to the gaiety of nations, which is especially needed just now, it occurred to me that your readers might be interested in seeing it. Here it is.

Sincerely yours,

CARL BECKER.

1603 H STREET.

MY DEAR MR. JAMESON.

Of course I have at once read the paper of Professor Becker, which is charming. If I were he, I should be a little afraid of indulging so freely my fancy for humor, but to elderly men somewhat desperately bored by commonplaces, humor is the single redeeming chance of literature, and they lap it up like a thirsty dog. A light touch is to them the finger of God. Even poor dear Emerson, whose sense of humor was extremely diluted, and who could see none in Aristophanes, was said to define God as infinite risibility, and this is one of the aphorisms which greatly reconciles me to Emerson's very homeopathic deity. Professor Becker shaves dangerously near laughing at us now and then. I enjoy not only the laugh, but also the restraint which holds it back. . . . I do not know whether it is possible to do battle with the Philistine in American Universities, but I earnestly hope he will try. Yet, no! I would be his friend; and I wish him no serious wrong.

Ever yrs.

HENRY ADAMS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

An unintentional disservice is sometimes done an able man by placing his title to remembrance upon grounds which, though perhaps related to the true basis of his distinction, are in themselves untenable. In my opinion Dr. Chester M. Destler has done Henry Demarest Lloyd precisely this disservice in his recent paper on that writer in the *American Historical Review* (October, 1944). He treats Lloyd as a sober, judicious, and absolutely veracious historian of American industry. In doing so he challenges a thesis which I presented as a minor element in my recent two-volume work on John D. Rockefeller:¹ the thesis that Lloyd was an efficient and in some respects useful propagandist, but a signally untrustworthy historian. To this challenge an answer is required. While a thorough examination of the many inaccuracies, partisan misrepresentations, and other deficiencies of Lloyd's *Wealth against Commonwealth* would occupy an inordinate amount of space, I wish to offer some proofs of Lloyd's weaknesses, with special attention to those points at which Mr. Destler criticizes my examination of the book. That Lloyd was too biased, too limited of view, too abusive, too prone to suppress facts adverse to his side of controversial cases, and too blundering in economic fields to make a dependable historian would be questioned by few who have read him in the light of an expert knowledge of our economic record; but general readers may perhaps desire a demonstration.

Mr. Destler begins with the vaunting remark that Lloyd had a "more penetrating mind" than Lord Bryce. Fortunately, this need not be taken seriously. The

¹ *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*. It may be noted that this book was issued in absolute independence, without subsidy to publisher and author; and that its tone is critical throughout.

world has long since determined to measure the gifts of the author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, *The American Commonwealth*, and *Modern Democracies* by a much ampler measure than that supplied by H. D. Lloyd. More important is Mr. Destler's assertion that Lloyd was vastly superior to the so-called muckrakers, for Lloyd treated fully and cited exactly, while "the pat phrases of later writers rattled off the armor of great corporations." This is at variance with the facts. Lloyd's book was followed within the decade by a much superior work of the so-called muckraking school, Ida M. Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company*. Miss Tarbell's volumes have been severely criticized, but as industrial history they are incomparably more thorough, shrewd, and careful than Lloyd's book. Indeed, anybody who compares Tarbell and Lloyd will have one good measure of the latter's shortcomings. Mr. Destler further writes that the attack upon Lloyd comes in cycles and "is sharpest when, as in recent years, the papers of some of the capitalists of an earlier day" (he notes the "Standard Oil coterie" as especially hostile) are opened to historians. What papers? What capitalists? No Standard Oil papers save those of Rockefeller and J. N. Camden have been thrown open, and Camden's biographer ignores Lloyd. The attack on Lloyd's ideas is sharpest when some qualified economist deals with him; witness Gilbert H. Montague's work on the Standard Oil (1903), begun when Montague was Ricardo Scholar at Harvard.

In attempting to produce the impression that most criticism of Lloyd is of recent and dubious origin, Mr. Destler has to reckon with other writers than Tarbell, Montague, John T. Flynn, and myself—for by implication and comparison the first three expose Lloyd's faults nearly as much as I do. He has to reckon with the *New York Nation*, which when Lloyd's book appeared was the leading critical organ of the country, invariably expert, judicious, and responsible. Its literary columns were conducted without fear or favor by Wendell Phillips Garrison. The review of *Wealth against Commonwealth* was scathingly condemnatory. "This book," it began, "is a notable example of the rhetorical blunder of overstatement." A temperate, judicial presentation of evidence against the Standard Oil would have been useful. "But instead of this, we have over five hundred pages of the wildest rant. Much learning in the Standard Oil Company has made Mr. Lloyd mad. He raves more coherently at some times than at others; but he is never perfectly sane." The *Nation* continued:

If we examine the particulars of the case presented by Mr. Lloyd, we find a number of them to be supported by questionable evidence. It is in the first place a very suspicious circumstance that Mr. Lloyd never mentions the names of the individuals whose conduct he denounces.² . . . In the second place, Mr. Lloyd calls witnesses without discrimination. Some of them testify that they were bribed to commit arson and other crimes by the mysterious leaders of the Standard Oil Company. A dog would not be hung upon such evidence. Nor can Mr. Lloyd's citations of the evidence of reputable witnesses be allowed much weight, for he is so bitter in his advocacy that it would be grossly unfair to pass judgment upon his ex parte statement. It would be like deciding a case only after hearing the address to the jury of the plaintiff's attorney.

Upon the whole, Mr. Lloyd's book is abundantly calculated to arouse incredulity in the mind of any reader who understands the nature of evidence. . . . He appears to us

² Part of Lloyd's avoidance of names was excusable on his publisher's or his own fear of libel suits, but only part. It was absurd that in a long book treating of Standard Oil operations the names of John D. Rockefeller, H. H. Rogers, Henry M. Flagler, and Stephen V. Harkness never once appeared. A similar vagueness attaches to many dates and many discrete facts. Lloyd was in fact a master of ambiguous statement, accusation by insinuation, hinted and indirect charges, and reckless assertions modified by subtly evasive clauses. By avoiding names and dates, employing innuendo, and stopping just short of explicit charges which were rhetorically implied, he wished to make it difficult to pin him down to any exact affirmation.

to exhibit in his writings such indifference to truth, such incoherency of thought, such intemperance of speech, and such violence of passion, as to make him an undesirable leader. If reform can be had only through such reformers, it is better to endure our present ills. As to the Standard Oil Company, its history remains to be written, and the economic situation which it indicates remains to be described.³

Now for a specification of flaws. It is clear, to begin with, that Lloyd never understood or tried to understand Rockefeller and his associates. In his article "The Story of a Great Monopoly"⁴ he wrote that "Rockefeller had been a bookkeeper in some interior town in Ohio, and had afterward made a few thousand dollars by keeping a flour store in Cleveland." Passing over the snobbery of this sentence (Lloyd achieved enjoyment of a handsome fortune by the easier method of marrying it), we find in its three blunders—Rockefeller was never bookkeeper in interior Ohio, never kept a flour store, and made much more than a few thousands in his commission business—proof of an indisposition to learn the truth about the oil magnate. Nowhere in *Wealth against Commonwealth* does Lloyd indicate any real effort to ascertain what manner of men Rockefeller, Rogers, Flagler, and Harkness were, why they had undertaken to organize the disorderly oil industry, and how they viewed their own aims. His unpublished letters are full of epithets like "robbery," "theft," and "depredation." Writing of "the essentially criminal character of what was done," he stated that the Standard heads "ought to be in the penitentiary."⁵ Without supporting facts, he accused them of employing a "condottieri."⁶ He wrote George Rice that the Standard men had been guilty of "piracies, treasons, and murders"—again without facts, for none existed. Such loose talk of treason and murder is not employed by responsible historians.

In *Wealth against Commonwealth* Lloyd wrote that Rockefeller and his partners had "dazzled the world by the meteor-like flash of their flight from poverty into a larger share of 'property'—the property of others—than any other group of millionaires had assimilated in an equal period."⁷ Here again we meet with blunders. The rise of the Standard Oil men to great wealth was not from poverty. It was not meteor-like, but accomplished over a quarter of a century by courageous venturing in a field so risky that most large capitalists avoided it, by arduous labors, and by more sagacious and farsighted planning than had been applied to any other American industry. The oil fortunes of 1894 were not larger than steel fortunes, banking fortunes, and railroad fortunes made in similar periods.⁸ But it is the assertion that the Standard magnates gained their wealth by appropriating "the property of others" that most challenges our attention. We have abundant evidence that Rockefeller's consistent policy was to offer fair terms to competitors and to buy them out, for cash, stock, or both, at fair appraisals; we have the statement of one impartial historian that Rockefeller was decidedly "more

³ *Nation*, LIX (Nov. 8, 1894), 348. Other condemnatory reviews might be cited.

⁴ *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVII (Mar., 1881), 321.

⁵ Lloyd to "Golden Rule" Jones, Aug. 7, 1889, Lloyd Papers. Such unfounded statements explain why various Standard men expressed glee when one of Lloyd's closest relatives fell seriously afoul of the law.

⁶ The Standard never needed and never employed any such body as the Pennsylvania Coal and Iron Police, and I have found no evidence of use of Pinkerton men.

⁷ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁸ Carnegie in twenty-eight years, 1873-1901, accumulated a fortune of \$300,000,000, larger than the fortune Rockefeller accumulated in the twenty-eight years, 1863-1891. Burton J. Hendrick, *Life of Andrew Carnegie* (Garden City, N. Y., 1932), II, 144. Lloyd himself opens his *Atlantic* article by exclaiming over the speed with which Commodore Vanderbilt, by his railroad operations, became the richest man of Europe or America. But Lloyd is full of such contradictions.

humane toward competitors" than Carnegie;⁹ we have the conclusion of another that his wealth was "the least tainted of all the great fortunes of his day."¹⁰ But even without such evidence, Lloyd's reckless assertion that the Standard property was all stolen clearly bears no relation to historic or economic truth. It is not in the spirit of such utterances that the work of any industrial captain, or the complex story of the construction of any of the huge industrial edifices, is to be understood.

Of Rockefeller's true character (one broad side of which—austere, hard-working, home-loving, religious, and even in days of small means highly philanthropic—must command regard), Lloyd knew nothing. It may be said that Rockefeller's private character was no concern of Lloyd's. But had he learned something about it, he would have spared himself an egregious error. At one point, even Mr. Destler remarks, Lloyd did Rockefeller "less than justice." Less than justice indeed! Lloyd in *Wealth against Commonwealth* charged, in essentials, that Rockefeller had tyrannously brought a poor Cleveland widow, Mrs. F. M. Backus, into his power; that by threats, cajolery, and trickery he broke her resistance; that he forced her to sell for \$60,000 a business "worth nearly \$400,000"; and that after thus robbing a defenseless woman, toiling for her "fatherless children," he brutally refused to let her keep even an interest of \$15,000 "in the business into which she and her husband had built their lives." Rockefeller was characterized as "the great man of commerce, who passes the contribution box for widows' mites outside the church as well as within." Filling a complete chapter, the tale was garnished with Lloyd's peculiar rhetoric: words like "slavery," phrases like "the maw or the morgue," and even a closing reference to the way in which "Dives once begged for a drop of water," which was intended to suggest that Rockefeller would soon languish in Tophet. This widely circulated tale did Rockefeller immeasurable harm. He had just founded the University of Chicago; he was planning other benefactions; his house was filled with missionaries and social workers; he was the principal lay pillar of the Baptist church; he was constantly consulting with such men as Drs. William Rainey Harper, W. H. P. Faunce, and Jacob Gould Schurman. But what a hypocrite this robber of widows was!

It is unnecessary to go into the evidence which has completely disproved every part of this bit of "history," and shown that the Widow Backus was treated with exemplary generosity.¹¹ This evidence Lloyd could easily have found. Nobody now defends his story. Mrs. Backus apparently died wealthy. If the reader of these lines were accused of tricking and browbeating a helpless widow, and robbing her of a large sum; if the allegation were sown broadcast in repeated editions of a famous book; if he knew that his traducer could quickly have ascertained its falsity, he would probably feel as Mr. Rockefeller always felt about Lloyd—that he was a "misguided man."

It is clear, again, that Lloyd never seriously tried to understand, in any historical sense, the industrial situation out of which the trust movement grew, or the circumstances under which the Standard and many like combinations were organized. He treats the rise of the Standard Oil combination, embracing leaders of the refining industry in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, the Oil Regions, New York, and Baltimore, as a conspiracy to create chaos in a flourishing, prosperous industry for the enrichment of a few predatory men. He begins by paint-

⁹ Mark Sullivan, *Our Times* (New York, 1935), II, 343.

¹⁰ John T. Flynn, *God's Gold: The Story of Rockefeller and His Times* (New York, 1932), p. 5.

¹¹ See Flynn, p. 203; Nevins, II, 49–52; John D. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (New York, 1909), pp. 96 ff.; Charles J. Woodbury, in *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 21, 1911. Woodbury had been an employee of F. M. Backus.

ing a paradisaical picture of the oil industry in its early years. Readers of *Wealth against Commonwealth* will find, in pages 40-43 inclusive, a dazzling account of a Golden Age in northwestern Pennsylvania.¹² But into this elysium a serpent was preparing to creep. In 1863—Lloyd says 1862, but this is an error—Rockefeller entered refining in Cleveland. Then “as early as 1865 strange perturbations were felt, showing that some undiscovered body was pulling the others out of their regular orbit.” Still the Golden Age continued. But before the panic of 1873 general distress began to make itself felt. Some oil combination was putting an end to the happy era of prosperity. “Out of this havoc and social disorder,” Lloyd laments, “one little group of half a dozen men were rising to the power and wealth which have become the marvel of the world.”

The facts, as every careful student knows, are not only far more complex than this simple view suggests but point in the opposite direction. It was the disorder which preceded and caused the industrial combination; not the combination which caused the disorder. This was true alike of the oil industry, railroad industry, sugar industry, and many others.¹³ It is an elementary fact of economic history that in the great business efflorescence after the Civil War many industries suffered heavily from excessive expansion, overproduction, and cutthroat competition. Railroad rate wars in the 1860's and 1870's almost bankrupted many roads and gave rise to eveners' agreements and pools which by 1887 were almost universal. Excessive competition in the salt industry, causing sickening losses, again resulted in pooling compacts. To stop a savage competition of overgrown units which led straight to the bankruptcy courts, whisky distillers resorted first to pools and then to a trust, while the same conditions in the sugar industry prompted Henry Havemeyer to introduce the same remedy. In no industry was competition fiercer or more damaging than in oil refining. Here occasional periods of prosperity held out a glittering lure; rising world demand and advancing gold values assisted the boom; less capital was required to set up one of the early refineries than to establish a jewelry store or livery stable. In the spring of 1865 the Oil Regions had about thirty, with more fast being added; that fall Pittsburgh had eighty; by the following autumn Cleveland had more than fifty.¹⁴ They sprang up in the East all the way from West Virginia to Portland, Maine. The production of crude oil was equally unrestrained. Market gluts, price slashing, and disaster followed. What Dr. Paul Giddens in *The Birth of the Oil Industry* calls the “years of depression” began in 1865-66 at the time of the great Pithole rush, with its heavy oil production, and continued with intervals of partial recovery¹⁵ until the national depression of 1873.

The evidence of this widespread overexpansion, harsh competition, and ruthless price cutting, contained in files of commercial newspapers, annual reports of boards of trade in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and other cities, and statistics of the Chamber of Commerce of the state of New York, is summarized in some fifty pages of my life of Rockefeller, with citations far too numerous to list. Overproduction of crude oil forced well owners to set up rings and later to attempt stop-

¹² Comparison of these roseate pages with Paul H. Giddens' scholarly and realistic work on *The Birth of the Oil Industry* (New York, 1938), pp. 114-96, is illuminating.

¹³ Described in Myron W. Watkins, *Industrial Combinations and Public Policy* (Boston, 1927) and Henry R. Seager and Charles A. Gulick, jr., *Trust and Corporation Problems* (New York, 1929), as well as numerous earlier works.

¹⁴ *Pittsburgh Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1865; Cleveland Board of Trade, *Report*, 1866; William Wright, *The Oil Regions of Pennsylvania* (New York, 1865).

¹⁵ Notably in 1869, when Pithole had gone dry and consumption had come fairly abreast of production; Giddens, p. 192.

drilling agreements,¹⁶ but nothing could restrain the frenzied rush to new sites. Overproduction of refined oil naturally followed. Area competed with area, for the Oil Regions, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Cleveland all wished to establish supremacy; railroads serving the different areas stimulated this rivalry. The margin between the price of a gallon of crude oil and a gallon of refined oil sank from 19½ cents in 1865 to 7⁹/₁₀ cents in 1870; and it required four gallons of crude to make three gallons of refined. Failures became commonplace. Indeed, the records of bankruptcy cases and testimony of commercial editors show that at times the situation was appalling. Yet there is not one line in Lloyd's chapter on these years to show that overproduction and overcompetition, among well owners and refiners alike, was a factor in the depression. Mr. Giddens enumerates half a dozen contributory elements: unbalance between production and consumption, taxation, adverse export conditions, transportation difficulties, banking troubles, and speculative rings.¹⁷ Not one of these is mentioned by Lloyd. Intent on making readers believe his theory of a disruptive plot, a conspiracy against prosperity, he traces the difficulties entirely to a refiners' combination which did not exist even in embryo until 1872, and did not operate effectively until after 1873!

As Mr. Destler questions my statement regarding Lloyd's Golden Age, one of several passages may be quoted. Of this period Lloyd writes:¹⁸

There was a free market for the oil as it came out of the wells and the refineries, and free competition between buyers and sellers, producers and consumers, manufacturers and traders. Industries auxiliary to the main ones flourished. Everywhere the scene was of expanding prosperity, with, of course, the inevitable percentage of ill-luck and miscalculation; but with the balance, on the whole, of such happy growth as freedom and the bounty of nature have always yielded when in partnership. The valleys of Pennsylvania changed into busy towns and oil-fields. The highways were crowded, labor was well-employed at good wages, new industries were starting up on all sides, and everything betokened the permanent creation of a new prosperity for the whole community, like that which came to California and the world with the discovery of gold.

Lloyd goes on to say that in 1869 the business had sprung to a net product of "6,000,000 barrels of oil a year" (the true figures for 1869 are just over 4,800,000);¹⁹ that the Oil Regions had "provided the financial institutions needed" (actually they depended heavily on outside banks, while the three pioneer oil exchanges at Titusville, Oil City, and Franklin were not organized until 1871); and that they had "built up towns and cities, with schools, churches, lyceums, theatres, libraries, boards of trade" (also with saloons, gambling hells, and other appurtenances of a rough boom area, and with a marvelous litter of wreckage as boom cities like Pithole were abandoned).²⁰ The true picture of fierce individualism and mingled boom-and-bust in oil production and refining alike Lloyd does not give, for it would spoil his picture of Rockefeller's plot-against-the-Pennsylvania-paradise.²¹

¹⁶ Both Lloyd and Miss Tarbell, savage in criticizing combinations of refiners, never criticize combinations of oil producers to restrict the flow and so raise prices.

¹⁷ Giddens, pp. 153 ff.; John J. McLaurin, *Sketches in Crude Oil* (Franklin, Pa., 1902), pp. 355 ff.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

¹⁹ As usual, Lloyd is vague about dates; here he slips into one of his mistakes by dating his passage ten years after Drake's discovery of oil (p. 43).

²⁰ *Derrick's Handbook of Petroleum* (Oil City, 1898), 142, 147, 149; Giddens, pp. 190, 191.

²¹ In speaking of the "strange perturbations" produced in 1865 by "some undiscovered body" Lloyd apparently wished to make readers believe that a refiners' combination was already at work. No such body existed for years afterward.

Actually the situation was such that by 1871 railroad presidents and responsible refiners (the Logans of Philadelphia, Frew and Lockhart of Pittsburgh, Rockefeller and Flagler of Cleveland) were looking desperately for a remedy.

In short, Lloyd confused cause and effect; for nothing can be plainer than that it was chaos which produced combination and not combination which produced chaos.

Lloyd's misstatement of this basic situation is emphasized by his vague, confused, and erroneous presentation of the South Improvement Company. Correct in treating this company as indefensible, he is misinformed on much else. He asserts that Rockefeller was the "principal member" of the South Improvement Company. On the contrary, Rockefeller, like Flagler, entered it unwillingly (he had a very different plan of his own), never fully believed in it, and was probably glad when it was abandoned. Neither his name nor Flagler's was on the original list of stockholders. Neither became an officer of the company. Lloyd correctly treats the company as the product of joint action by certain railroads and refiners, but the emphasis of his exposition (like the above remark concerning Rockefeller) gives the refiners the more important role. Here he is wrong. The scheme originated with the oil-carrying railroads; its chief backers were Peter H. Watson of the New York Central-Lake Shore system and Vice-President Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania; and Watson became president. Its main objects were to unite the oil-carrying railroads in a pool for the division of traffic, to unite the refiners in an association to act as traffic eveners, and to tie the two elements together by agreements which would stop destructive price cutting on refined oil and raise freight rates on petroleum. Rockefeller, preferring what he called "our plan" of a more completely integrated union of refiners, was continuously skeptical of "Tom Scott's scheme."²²

The vital differences between the two plans are completely missed by Lloyd in his astonishing assertion that the Standard Oil was simply the South Improvement Company revived. He wished to attach to the Standard the odium of the earlier combination. He therefore wrote of "the oil trust into which the improvement company afterwards passed by transmigration. Any closer connection there could not be. One was the other."²³ We may well rub our eyes at this. One was the other! In reality, the stillborn South Improvement Company was an *ad hoc* creation; the Standard Oil combination was a slow growth over a period of a half-dozen years. The South Improvement Company was a very loose association of refiners, bound together only by agreements with each other and the railroads; the Standard Oil trust became a complete unification of properties. The South Improvement Company proposed to force other refiners to join by a crushing system of secret freight rebates; the Standard Oil combination was built up by purchase and merger—sometimes with the aid of rebates, sometimes not. The South Improvement Company was united like a Siamese twin to a railroad pool; the Standard stood apart from any railroad combination, and early in its history fought perhaps the most titanic industrial battle of the century with the Pennsylvania Railroad. The two organizations had few resemblances and the most radical differences. The statement that "one was the other" is nonsense.²⁴

²² Cf. my life of Rockefeller, I, chap. xiv, which sharply condemns Rockefeller's participation in the South Improvement Company.

²³ Lloyd, p. 49.

²⁴ Mr. Destler defends Lloyd's statement that the South Improvement Company actually "did business," first by treating all the work of *organizing* the company *preparatory* to using it for business operations as comprehended in that phrase; and second, by citing the evidence that *one* shipment was perhaps made at the higher freight rates. This is not impressive. But what

Thus we might track Lloyd through chapter after chapter. In dealing with the Standard Oil rebates (which I condemn as warmly as he) he omits all mention of the facts that widespread rebating antedated the Standard and even the Civil War, and that independent refiners took rebates as eagerly as Standard men. He essays at great length to justify the attempt of a political-minded auditor-general of Pennsylvania to tax the Standard, an Ohio corporation, not merely upon its Pennsylvania properties but on its whole capital stock and dividends, an attempt which utterly broke down in the courts (pp. 166-81). His treatment of the "immediate shipment" controversy (pp. 104 ff.) is highly misleading. He gives seventeen pages, with much tear-wringing rhetoric (pp. 181-98), to a suit against one of the Standard's component companies which the judge closed with a six-cent verdict. His statistics on prices can easily be riddled. On page 403 he finds something terribly sinister in the fact that William C. Whitney, identified as an "associate" of Rockefeller, was managing Grover Cleveland's 1892 campaign; Whitney was never an associate of Rockefeller and never connected with the Standard. So far we might regard Lloyd as merely ignorant and partisan, his sincerity standing unquestioned. But unfortunately his book contains material which throws suspicion on his literary integrity. Mr. Destler tries to exculpate him from two of my charges, giving a distorted statement of each. The evidence may here be briefly restated.

To the Buffalo conspiracy case of 1887 Lloyd allots the disproportionate space of forty-five pages. Hiram B. and Charles Everest, organizers of the Vacuum Oil Company of Rochester, and John D. Archbold, H. H. Rogers, and Ambrose McGregor, through whom the Standard had bought a three quarters interest in the works, were indicted for allegedly conspiring to blow up the plant and otherwise destroy the business of the rival Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, Ltd. The trial attracted wide attention. It ended in a fine of \$250 each for the Everests and the acquittal of the three others! These are the basic facts on which Lloyd built an amazingly *ex parte* recital.

Lloyd offers at great length, with detailed comment, the entire case of the prosecution (pp. 243 ff.). He expatiates upon the rugged virtues of the head of the Buffalo company, Charles B. Matthews, and his associates Miller and Wilson. He excoriates the Everests for their alleged machinations to ruin these competitors. In ten sensational pages he describes how an employee was induced to sabotage the Buffalo plant; how he weighted the safety valve of the oil-still furnace and packed it with plaster; how he ordered the fire stoked till the firebox grew cherry-red; and how the plant was saved only because the plaster broke and the valve opened. But for this, Lloyd indicates, the Buffalo plant would have exploded into "acres of fire"; its men would have been "literally roasted alive." The Everests committed other alleged crimes; they spread damaging reports about the Buffalo company, enticed workers away, and brought vexatious patent suits. But their foulest act was this attempt at a horrible explosion and general holocaust.

The reader of Lloyd's account is left in amazement that criminals so monstrous should have been let off with paltry fines of \$250, while their accomplices were

is really in question in this connection is Lloyd's statement that when the company appeared "there were panics in oil speculation, bank failures, defalcations. Many committed suicide. Hundreds were driven into bankruptcy and insane asylums" (pp. 43, 44). That great excitement arose is certain—but it was a belligerent excitement. Lloyd's idea that the mere organization of the company, with one possible shipment, would drive the hard-bitten, rough-spoken, intensely self-reliant oil operators of northwestern Pennsylvania pell-mell into suicide and insanity, is delightfully comical.

freed—until the reader, if wary, suddenly realizes that Lloyd has completely suppressed the evidence for the defense. On the vital point of the “explosion” (Lloyd uses the word again and again, and actually speaks of “the Buffalo explosion” though his own record shows that no explosion whatever took place),²⁵ not a shred of the defense is offered. Yet its story is highly significant. A plant-management expert of the Standard, a Princeton graduate of twenty years’ experience in refining, testified that it was general usage to attach safety valves to fire stills; that it was economical to build extremely hot fires to heat the petroleum as fast as possible; that “there is no such thing as making too hot a fire for the first two hours”; and that safety valves frequently broke open. Other experts testified that packing plaster of Paris in safety valves was common practice; it prevented leakage of gases in the still, but instantly broke when the valve blew open. An independent refiner of Philadelphia, of obvious honesty, corroborated all this; the safety valve was sound usage, and the cherry-red fire “occurs at almost every distillation in my knowledge.”²⁶

Not only did Lloyd suppress all this, but he suppressed also the fact that the principal witness to the alleged sabotage was a brother-in-law of Matthews. He suppressed the evidence that in establishing the Buffalo plant Matthews and his associates Miller and Wilson had acted unethically; they were former employees of the Vacuum Oil Company, and they took steps to copy the special Vacuum process, reproduce some of the Vacuum machinery, and carry off the list of Vacuum customers. Lloyd also suppressed Wilson’s testimony that Matthews had said that he expected to get \$100,000 or \$150,000 by getting the Standard to buy him out, and Matthews’ own uneasy admission on the witness stand that he had said “something of that sort”—i.e., that he might be bought out for a large sum.²⁷

These suppressions amount to falsification of the record. When the defense story is told, and not until then, we can understand why the Everests were let off with the inconsequential penalty of a \$250 fine, and the three more prominent defendants acquitted. Men guilty of trying to blow up a factory are not treated so lightly. When the defense story is told we can understand why it was that, to quote Lloyd (p. 286), six of the jurors “signed a statement that the prisoners were found guilty, not because they had conspired to blow up their rival’s refinery, but because they had enticed away Albert [an employee].” One juror certainly signed an affidavit that he believed the whole panel did not intend, “in rendering said general verdict, to pronounce the defendants guilty of an attempt or conspiracy to blow up or burn the works of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, Ltd.,” but simply guilty of enticement of a worker. By suppressing the defense, Lloyd placed himself under the necessity of supplying wild explanations of the result. He writes that the judge was crooked; “he failed to remember to observe the law” (p. 278).

²⁵ Lloyd devotes the greater part of two pages (pp. 252–53) to lurid rhetoric upon subsequent explosions in the oil industry—though actually one was apparently an ordinary gas main explosion; incidents in which no malpractice was alleged, and which had no connection with the Buffalo explosion—that-never-exploded. His intent seems to be to confuse readers, arouse a prejudice, and suggest to hasty people that the Standard was probably guilty of setting fires and blowing up plants in a variety of places.

²⁶ *House Trust Investigation*, 1888, gives all this evidence verbatim.

²⁷ Mr. Desler states that the charge of business “blackmail” against Matthews was “never proved.” But the testimony of Matthews’ partner on this point is explicit (*House Trust Investigation*, 1888, p. 917), while Matthews himself admitted that he had “talked about selling the property” to a businessman known to be close to the Standard Oil, and had discussed a price. Mr. Desler states that the point is irrelevant. It is relevant to the historian in bearing on Matthews’ motives and character, and in contradicting Lloyd’s absurdly idealized portrait of the man.

The six jurors were probably crooked; the district attorney accused them of taking bribes (p. 286). Even the minister of Matthews' church was crooked; he asked Matthews to drop his office in the church, simply because a Standard agent in the city had been "very kind to our pastor" (pp. 294, 295).²⁸ H. H. Rogers, John D. Archbold, and Ambrose McGregor contended that their own indictment had been an afterthought of the district attorney in an effort to exploit anticorporation prejudices. Judge Haight directed their acquittal on the ground that they clearly knew nothing about the alleged enticement or sabotage. Lloyd includes none of the facts which led Ida M. Tarbell, after careful study of the papers, to declare that their connection with the case "had been so indirect" that their indictment was quite unjustified.²⁹

The Buffalo case was a sorry episode in American industrial history. Nearly all those concerned with it (John D. Rockefeller was not one) emerge badly. In my life of Rockefeller I sharply censure H. H. Rogers and the Standard attorney, S. C. T. Dodd, for several acts. While nobody can now determine the exact degree of guilt attaching to the Everests, they had certainly behaved with gross impropriety and probably with some criminality. But among the sorry figures in the case is Lloyd. The charge against him is not that he failed to delve deeply into the evidence. It is that his eagerness to blacken the Standard led him to suppress one entire side of it.³⁰ His chapters are larded with the usual question-begging rhetoric. Typical page headings include "Crime Cheaper Than Competition," "The Victim Punished First," and "Hardly a Mouthful for the Trust." He makes the most of every crumb for the prosecution. But that there was a case for the defense, and a strong case, no reader would ever guess.³¹

A similar instance of *suppressio veri* is afforded by Lloyd's treatment of the Payne election case. Whether Henry B. Payne of Cleveland, a prominent Douglas Democrat before the Civil War and a prominent Tilden Democrat after it, was a beneficiary of bribery in gaining his Senate seat no man can now say.³² The

²⁸ Matthews had accused the Buffalo board of aldermen of corruption and had even carried that charge to the legislature, which dismissed it. In fact, he and Lloyd saw conspiracies and crooks on every hand. But Miss Tarbell furnishes a more reasonable explanation of the pastor's act; she writes that the Buffalo Company partners were guilty of "bad faith and various questionable practices." *All in the Day's Work* (New York, 1939), p. 221. Mr. Destler's own "explanation" that the fine was kept trivial because damage suits were hanging over two of the defendants obviously does not touch the heart of the matter. Had judge and jury believed them guilty of a malicious explosion, the penalty would have been imprisonment, not a fine. For such an act, section 636 of the New York Penal Code of 1881 prescribed "imprisonment for not more than ten years." It is clear that judge and jury discarded the idea of such guilt.

²⁹ *Ibid.* By contract with the Standard after the acquisition, the Everests had been given employment for five to ten years as managers of the Vacuum; and being entirely familiar with the works and market, ran the plant with little reference to Archbold, Rogers, and McGregor, directors of the Vacuum Company living four hundred miles away.

³⁰ Mr. Destler remarks that Lloyd examined more evidence than I did. As I visited Buffalo for material, made contact with the Matthews family, used printed evidence thoroughly, and employed Mr. Oscar Zeichner to assist me in a much more careful search of the press than Lloyd made, I deny this. Rockefeller's connection with the case being tenuous (he was merely a witness called by the prosecution), his biographer's responsibility was limited. But I thought I had made it clear that I hold Lloyd at fault not for failing to get the evidence, but for dropping half of it out of sight when found. In a revised edition of my life of Rockefeller to appear after the war, I shall make this plain to the hastiest reader.

³¹ Mr. Destler remarks that "Lloyd, rather than Nevins, follows the evidence that won the case." It is certain that Lloyd follows the prosecutor's evidence and practically nothing else, making only a few brief references to the defense testimony. But in how far was the case really "won"? It was lost as to Rogers, McGregor, and Archbold, and practically lost as to the two Everests.

³² Payne presented the Douglas report at the Charleston Convention of 1860, and a flattering

undisputed facts are that in 1884 the Ohio legislature met with a Democratic majority; that the Democratic caucus gave Payne forty-six votes, Durbin Ward seventeen, and George H. Pendleton fifteen for the Senate seat; that the legislature then elected Payne with practically all the Democratic votes; and that disappointed Democrats soon raised a cry of bribery. When a Republican house came into power in Ohio in 1886 it took up these charges, which involved several Standard Oil men, and ordered an investigation by a select committee; fifty-five or sixty witnesses were heard; the minority report declared that "absolutely nothing" had been found in any way compromising the accused legislators; and the majority report, while declaring that "the testimony developed nothing of an incriminating character concerning the members of the House named in the resolution of inquiry," stated that the circumstances warranted sending the testimony to the United States Senate "for such action as it may deem advisable." The evidence was referred to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections; this body, after scrutinizing it carefully, reported in July, 1886, against any further investigation; and the Senate by a vote of forty-four to seventeen dismissed the issue. Historians may well regret that a Senate inquiry was not ordered. But the dismissal was not on party grounds, for both the Senate committee and the Senate itself were Republican.³³

Lloyd was eager to make his readers believe that the Standard Oil had bought Payne his Senate seat. Nearly all the Standard heads were Republicans, uninterested in Democratic affairs; the idea that a man of Payne's high probity could be controlled in the Standard's interest is hardly tenable; and Rockefeller, who was sometimes evasive but never mendacious, has explicitly denied that the Standard interfered in this matter. We may put to one side the now insoluble question whether bribery swayed the election. For our purposes the material issue is the use Lloyd made of the available evidence. It was of course not enough for him to suggest bribery of a general character; it had to be Standard Oil bribery. His account is marked by these extraordinary features:

1. Lloyd makes great use of the fact that the chief financial manager of the Payne campaign at Columbus was treasurer of the Standard Oil. *He completely suppresses the fact that this man was Payne's son, with a filial motive for wishing his father in the Senate*, and the additional fact that, being independently wealthy, he was quite able to finance his own campaign operations.³⁴

2. Lloyd fails to mention that whereas the legislature which elected Payne was Democratic, the legislature which two years later asked an investigation was Republican.

3. Lloyd's statement of the presentation of testimony to the Senate is less

portrait of him as "a lawyer of culture and gentleman of refinement" may be found in James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893), II, 446, 447. He was Tilden's choice for the Democratic presidential nomination of 1880; Alexander C. Flick, *Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1939), p. 455. His fitness for his senatorial seat was never questioned.

³³ The official documents in the case are the *Ohio House Journal*, 67th General Assembly, 1886; 49 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Miscellaneous Document 106*; 49 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Report 1490*.

³⁴ Mr. Destler remarks that I "may be forgiven, perhaps, for failing to discover the distinction between Oliver H. Payne, the treasurer of the oil trust, and Oliver H. Payne, the son of Henry B. Payne." That is precisely the distinction upon which I insist in my life of Rockefeller. It is precisely the distinction which Lloyd fails to make, and does not allow his readers the information for making.

honest than Miss Tarbell's. She writes: "The testimony did not prove the charge of bribery, the Ohio legislature said." Nor does Lloyd mention that the minority of the house committee in Ohio declared that the evidence was completely empty.

4. Lloyd tries to suggest throughout that the Ohio legislature was unable to get at a great deal of evidence that the United States Senate could have found. The fact is that the Ohio investigation was most searching. The majority of the house committee reported: "Whenever our attention was called to anything which indicated the probable employment of improper means to gain support, we followed the clues presented. . . . our inquiries were not confined to the technical rules of legal proof, but the committee availed itself of any source of information—admitted hearsay statements, and even the opinions of witnesses." The minority reported that the committee had "exercised the greatest liberality possible in the taking of testimony, which has extended the scope of its inquiry far beyond the limits that could be given the most liberal construction of the resolution." The investigative powers of the Senate were actually narrower than those of the Ohio authorities.³⁵

5. Lloyd states that of the evidence brought from Ohio to the Senate (which included new material specially prepared by two Republican congressmen of Ohio) "none of the matter was presented on mere hearsay or rumor." As I say in my biography, "His own statement then proves that practically all of it was so presented." Men were willing to say they *had heard* this or that of bribery, but of direct evidence there was a minimum.

6. Describing the adverse report of the Senate elections committee, Lloyd makes a statement intended to suggest that it acted on partisan grounds. He writes of "Senators Pugh, Saulsbury, Vance, and Eustis [Democrats] voting against Hoar and Frye." He suppresses the fact that three Republicans of high standing, William M. Evarts, a former Secretary of State, Henry M. Teller, a former Secretary of the Interior, and John A. Logan, onetime major general commanding the Army of the Tennessee, voted alongside Pugh, Saulsbury, Vance, and Eustis.

7. Lloyd, unlike Miss Tarbell, fails to mention the emphatic vote, forty-four to seventeen, by which the Senate dismissed the matter.

The point at issue here is not the question whether bribery was or was not used. No positive assertion on that question is now possible. The point is that Lloyd does not make a fair statement of the evidence pro and con. It may be added that he accuses Payne, without evidence, of dishonest subserviency to corporate influence in his vote on the Interstate Commerce Bill (p. 388). Again we meet the rhetorical flourishes: "Coal-Oil Legislators," "The Senate Votes To Be a Market," "The Presidency on the Bargain-Counter." When did the Senate vote to be a market? When was the Presidency put on the bargain counter? If this

³⁵ As Mr. Destler denies this, a word of explanation is in order. It may be that a Senate committee could have brought before it a few witnesses unavailable in Ohio, though in dealing with others it would have labored under disadvantages of distance. But as a majority of the Senate committee agreed, their powers were limited. Some members thought they could inquire only into the question of Mr. Payne's participation in corrupt acts; other members held that they could inquire only into evidence showing that enough legislators had been bought to sway the election. In Ohio, on the other hand, evidence of the guilt of even one person could be investigated, and that person could be prosecuted in the courts. Senators Evarts, Logan, and Teller declared: "It is obvious that the province and duty of a State, in its investigations of fraud, corruption, and bribery in an election of senators, are much more extensive." Mr. Destler may refresh his memory of some of the difficulties met by Senate investigating committees by turning to the famous case of Frank B. Sanborn and the John Brown raid-committee.

chapter is history, a better name for the productions of true historians must be found.³⁶

At this point we may end our detailed traversal of Lloyd's pages. In noting his weaknesses, I do not intend to suggest for a moment that the Standard Oil and other monopolies were not guilty of great abuses. The voracities that accompanied the Standard's rise to power and that marked its long domination of the oil business are described with great fullness, and with much more precision than Lloyd offered, in chapter after chapter of my life of Rockefeller: "The Conquest of Cleveland," "Rockefeller and the Producers," "Sweeping the Board," "He Should Keep Who Can," and a dozen others. Far from excusing the Standard's interference with government, in a chapter on "The Standard in Politics" I offer a detailed specification of them and present the only clear proof yet given that the Standard's agents *did* once bribe a legislature: the Pennsylvania legislature in connection with the Billingsley bill of 1887. My summation of Standard Oil practices at points goes beyond Lloyd's, for it takes full note of "a cruel use" of railroad rate discriminations, of espionage, of local price slashing to destroy competitors, of excessive profits, and of other evils. But it also takes note of the complex economic conditions which made the trust movement inevitable, of the laissez faire individualism which dominated business ethics, and of the Standard's many constructive achievements.

Some larger considerations remain to be briefly indicated. Lloyd, whose grasp of economic realities was never firm,³⁷ failed to comprehend the deeper meaning of the great sweep of business consolidation which took place during his generation. The fundamental postulates of *Wealth against Commonwealth* fit the early machine capitalism of the United States before 1870; they do not fit a system wherein the means and scale of production had enormously expanded, small businesses had in great part become uneconomic, and huge aggregations of plant and capital could in many instances best serve society. If there is a paragraph of Lloyd's book which shows a realization that the ravages of unbridled competition were frequently more terrible than the ravages of monopoly, careful reading fails to discover it; yet evidences of this fact (and of the wastefulness of much small business) lay all about him. In the field of business history moral strictures, however enticing, cannot be substituted for a scientific study of rigid economic causes and compulsions. Lloyd, failing to understand that the movement for industrial concentration was primarily a reaction against deep-seated evils and a response to irresistible economic forces (forces which in the last four years have conspicuously made big business still bigger), fails to do any justice to its beneficial side. His book contains nothing remotely comparable to Miss Tarbell's chapter on "The Legitimate Greatness of the Standard Oil Company"³⁸ and shows no understanding of those truths which Charles R. Van Hise shortly afterwards stated so vigorously

³⁶ Mr. Destler writes: "The admission by Nevins, II, 103-104, that it is clear that money was spent, probably corruptly, and 'with inexcusable lavishness by Payne's managers,' would seem to clinch Lloyd's main contention." Not at all. His main contention was that the Standard Oil did the bribing, and of this no proof was ever offered. Payne asserted that not a penny of Standard money went into his election; Rockefeller said not a farthing. Nevins, II, 103.

³⁷ Take Lloyd's remark that Buffalo was "a much better situation than Cleveland" for oil refining (p. 244). For three reasons Buffalo was a poor center. In rail transport it was long substantially dependent on one road; it could not compete in the export trade with the seaboard refineries; it could not compete with Cleveland in the Western trade.

³⁸ See also my chapters "Leviathan," "The Great Machine," and "New Horizons in Oil." Mr. Destler's statement that the Standard furnished no basic new process or device except the Frasch process is much like saying that Eli Whitney invented nothing but the cotton gin; for the Ohio and Ontario fields of sulphur-laden oil were made economically available by the Frasch

in his *Concentration and Control* (1912). Nor did Lloyd comprehend the true implications of the trust movement for the government. In his final chapters he condemns the very policy of government regulation of business which the nation has found indispensable, terming it "a dream" and a compromise with evil (p. 533).

Family piety has given Lloyd two volumes of eulogy; it is to be hoped his next biographer will not substitute "the foolish face of praise" for a strict appraisal. He was not a historian intent upon impartial truth and sensitive to the injunction, *audi alteram partem*; not an economist; not a clear-eyed analyst of current facts and trends. He was a truly remarkable propagandist. It is a disservice to Lloyd to view him as a historian. Many of his faults and errors fade away if he is treated as a publicist and crusader, laboring in what multitudes thought a great cause; but they condemn him utterly if he is treated as a historical writer.

Columbia University

ALLAN NEVINS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Through the courtesy of the editor I have seen the galley proof of the above communication. After reading it I prepared an analytical comment and reply. I felt this was due to the editor who had accepted the article published in the October issue, to those who read it, and to myself. The editor, although recognizing the right of the affirmative to close the debate, finds my reply too extended to print. With this decision I do not seriously quarrel. If any readers are interested in following further Mr. Nevins' special technique in using and evaluating historical evidence, I shall be glad to send them a copy of my reply. I can assure the curious that it documents still further my view that Mr. Nevins' historical judgment of Lloyd and *Wealth against Commonwealth* in his life of Grover Cleveland was infinitely sounder than what his life of Rockefeller and the above communication betray. In this life of Grover Cleveland (pp. 606-607), Mr. Nevins described Lloyd's work as "a searching exposure, amply buttressed by detail." He praises the accuracy with which Lloyd described "the iniquities of the trusts," the "sordid record of business piracy" of the Standard Oil which "was laid bare in more than five hundred *calm unemotional* pages" (italics mine), and emphasizes his tribute by pointing out that "Nothing escaped Lloyd's keen eye." This, believe it or not, is the same Lloyd Mr. Nevins is spluttering about in his communication.

A postal card request will bring my extension of these remarks.

Connecticut College

CHESTER McA. DESTLER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May I correct an error in my review in the October number of the *Review*, page 120? I there refer to Mr. Joseph Freeman, the author of the well-informed volume *Never Call Retreat*, as an Austrian. Mr. Freeman is an American citizen and has been resident in this country since he was seven years old.

HALVDAN KOHT

process just as the Pennsylvania fields began to fail. But the Standard also made highly important contributions to the standardization of kerosene grades; the development of lubricating oils; the manufacture of innumerable petroleum by-products; and the packaging and transportation of oil. Its enterprise was the chief factor in developing the world market for American oil against Russian and Dutch competition. After Frasch's day it gave the world Dr. W. M. Burton's epochal process for "cracking" petroleum.

Attention of members is again called to the special notice on page 665, above, concerning names to be suggested to the Nominating Committee for Association officers.

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The Baltimore Convention of 1912

ARTHUR S. LINK*

THE movement to make Woodrow Wilson the Democratic presidential nominee in 1912, fathered by George Harvey and carried forward by a group of young progressive Democrats, stood in a fair way of foundering on the rocks of factional politics by the spring of 1912.¹ Wilson had campaigned vigorously for the nomination during the early months of 1912, but in few states in which he campaigned did the New Jersey governor win support. It was Champ Clark of Missouri, speaker of the House of Representatives, who loomed up as the man most likely to win the nomination. Following his smashing victory over Wilson in the Illinois primaries in April, 1912, Clark swept through Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Maryland, Nebraska, West Virginia, Washington, Arkansas, Rhode Island, California, and several of the less populous western states.²

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¹ The author's research in this field, made possible by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, has been embodied in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," deposited in the Library of the University of North Carolina.

² For the Democratic prenomination campaign see Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (8 vols., New York, 1927-39), III, 175-321, and my "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912."

Early in April Wilson made an extended "swing around the circle" in his wife's native state of Georgia, only to see it fall to Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama.³ Florida and Mississippi soon afterward followed Georgia into the Underwood ranks. Wilson himself fell ill. William F. McCombs, his campaign manager, was disheartened, and his office and the headquarters at 42 Broadway were deserted.⁴ Colonel Edward M. House, who had played a minor role in the Wilson prenomination campaign, began to doubt that Wilson could be nominated. He thought that the opposing candidates in November might again be Bryan and Roosevelt,⁵ and wrote to Mary Baird Bryan, pledging his support to the Commoner if he were again the Democratic nominee.⁶ House also turned to his old friend, Senator Charles A. Culberson of Texas. "Do you feel that your health would permit you to accept the nomination if it were tendered to you?" he wrote. "In the event of a deadlock, which seems likely to occur, I can think of no one excepting you that would be satisfactory to all factions."⁷

There were, however, a few signs of encouragement. Texas, on May 28, went overwhelmingly for Wilson, and his friends in Pennsylvania carried that state solidly for him. Moreover, in Wisconsin, Oregon, Delaware, Minnesota, North Carolina, and South Carolina the Wilson leaders were successful. The greatest encouragement came when the New Jersey primaries gave Wilson twenty-four out of the state's twenty-eight delegates. It furthermore appeared that the Wilson forces were strongly represented in the Michigan, Ohio, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Maine, Virginia, North Dakota, and South Dakota delegations. Of the total convention vote of 1,088, some 248 were instructed for Wilson, and the additional support of the Wilson men in the uninstructed delegations would hardly give him control of one third of the convention vote.

Clark, on the other hand, would enter the convention with over 400 votes; Underwood was assured of over 100 votes from the South; Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana, and other "favorite sons" controlled over 100 votes, while some 224 votes were uncertainly controlled by political bosses who scented a Clark victory and were eager to use their delegations as weapons for bargains and trades with the Missourian's managers.

³ For the identification of Underwood, McCombs, and many others, see biographical footnotes to the Gregory letter in this issue, pp. 768-75.

⁴ Maurice F. Lyons, *William F. McCombs, the President-Maker* (Cincinnati, 1922), pp. 75-76.

⁵ House to Charles A. Culberson, May 1, 1912, Edward M. House Papers (manuscripts in the library of Yale University); hereinafter cited as House Papers.

⁶ House to Mary B. Bryan, June 22, 1912, *ibid.*

⁷ House to Culberson, Apr. 23, 1912, *ibid.*

The results of the Republican convention, which met in Chicago two weeks before the Democratic convention, further weakened Wilson's chances for the Democratic nomination, for the great schism between the Taft and Roosevelt forces led many Democrats to conclude that it really made no essential difference whom they nominated. Certainly the argument of Wilson's supporters that only he could win the presidency because only he among the Democrats could divide the Independents from the Republican party was completely vitiated now that Roosevelt had accomplished the division for them.

The hectic and confused week preceding the Democratic convention at Baltimore saw the occurrence of events of tremendous import for the outcome of the presidential struggle. Wilson, resting peacefully with his family at Sea Girt, New Jersey, could write that "deep down, my soul is quiet"⁸—but not for long, for William J. Bryan disturbed the peaceful scene at Sea Girt by his concern over the Democratic national committee's decision to select Alton B. Parker, Democratic standard-bearer in 1904, as the temporary chairman at Baltimore. The committee on arrangements of the national committee, meeting at Baltimore on June 20, supported Chairman Norman E. Mack in his campaign to make Parker temporary chairman.⁹ Bryan was convinced that the same conservative forces that controlled the Republican convention were preparing to move to Baltimore. He protested in vain against Parker's selection, stating that he could not believe such "criminal folly" was possible. Undismayed by the rebuff he received from the committee on arrangements, the Nebraskan determined to carry his fight against Parker into the national convention itself. Ignoring Harmon and Underwood, whom he considered "reactionaries," he immediately sent identical telegrams to Wilson, Clark, and several "favorite son" candidates, asking if they would stand by him in his fight against Parker.¹⁰

William F. McCombs, at the Wilson headquarters in Hotel Emerson in Baltimore, was terror-stricken by Bryan's move. He feared that an unequivocal answer from Wilson supporting Bryan's stand would alienate Charles F.

⁸ Wilson to Mary A. Hulbert, June 17, 1912, Baker, III, 333.

⁹ *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (Chicago, 1912), p. 473; hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of the Convention*. See also Josephus Daniels, "Wilson and Bryan," *Saturday Evening Post*, CXCVIII (Sept. 5, 1925), 48. Four months prior to the convention, Mack had given Bryan assurance that should he desire to be temporary chairman, Mack and most of the members of the committee on arrangements would gladly support him. Bryan refused to be a candidate for the position and suggested that Wilson and Clark be asked to agree upon a candidate. Norman E. Mack, "Wilson and Marshall—Mr. Bryan and New York," *National Monthly Magazine*, IV (Aug., 1912), 65.

¹⁰ Mary B. Bryan, ed., *Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia and Chicago, 1925), pp. 161-66, has an interesting discussion of Bryan's activities during this period.

Murphy and his Tammany cohorts and thereby forestall any chance Wilson might have of securing the New York delegation.¹¹ McCombs therefore immediately forwarded to Wilson a suggested reply to Bryan's query which embodied the essence of a statement Wilson had already made to the Baltimore *Evening Sun*.¹²

But Wilson, at the insistence of Joseph P. Tumulty, his secretary, William G. McAdoo, and his wife, gave a straightforward answer to the Commoner. "You are quite right," he asserted. "The Baltimore convention is to be a convention of progressives—of men who are progressive in principle and by conviction," which must, moreover, "express its convictions in its organization and in its choice of the men who are to speak for it."¹³ Wilson's statement was a masterful move, for it marked him at the very outset of the convention as one of the progressive leaders with backbone. Champ Clark, on the other hand, attempted to hedge by a noncommittal appeal for party harmony.¹⁴

On Sunday and Monday, June 23 and 24, the Democratic hosts descended upon Baltimore, traditional scene of Democratic gatherings. "It is of good augury that once more we meet in the glorious metropolis of Maryland," old "Marse Henry" Watterson wrote. "Noble city! In deep reflection the spirit of democracy walks thy streets this day; broods amid thy solitudes."¹⁵ But the solitude within the historic city was rudely shattered by the incoming Democrats. Tammany Hall, led by Murphy and August Belmont, came in a special train. Thomas Fortune Ryan arrived under cover of the night and quietly slipped into his rooms.

The arrival of the Democrats was the signal for the traditional bargaining among the presidential managers to begin, or rather to become intensified. The temporary chairmanship became the outstanding issue of the day when, in a plenary meeting of the national committee, the Clark representatives combined with Tammany Hall and the conservatives to defeat the nomination of Ollie M. James of Kentucky¹⁶ in favor of Parker for the temporary

¹¹ William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years* (Boston and New York, 1931), pp. 137-41, gives a good account of McCombs' attitude.

¹² Before Bryan sent his appeal to the candidates, the *Evening Sun* had requested that Wilson give his views regarding the temporary chairmanship contest. Wilson replied instantly that "My friends in Baltimore, who are on the ground, will know how to act in the interest of the people's cause in everything that affects the organization of the convention. They are certain not to forget their standards as they have already shown. It is not necessary that I should remind them of those standards from Sea Girt; and I have neither the right nor the desire to direct the organization of a convention of which I am not even a member." Undated letter in Woodrow Wilson Papers (manuscripts in the Library of Congress); hereinafter cited as Wilson Papers.

¹³ Original draft in *ibid*; see also *New York World*, June 23, 1912.

¹⁴ *Commoner* (Lincoln, Neb.), XII (June 28, 1912), 1.

¹⁵ *Louisville Courier-Journal*, cited in *Pensacola Journal*, July 4, 1912.

¹⁶ James was an ardent Clark supporter.

chairmanship.¹⁷ This seemingly unnatural and, to many progressives, immoral alliance between Clark's managers and Tammany fomented suspicions that the Speaker's managers had concluded a bargain with Murphy by which the Clark delegations would support Parker for the temporary chairmanship and New York's ninety votes would come to the Missourian at a propitious moment in the balloting.¹⁸ Probably this was the truth of the matter, for the Clark forces held the key to the temporary chairmanship. Clark's managers could either defeat Bryan or they could aid him in smashing the plan of the few conservatives to control the convention. But these conservatives controlled enough votes to give Clark a majority of the delegates in the convention while Bryan did not. Moreover, the Clark men had a very real dread that should the Commoner win his fight against Parker by an overwhelming vote he would be unbeatable as a presidential candidate himself.¹⁹

The tremendous crowd in Convention Hall, gathered for the first session of the convention on the afternoon of June 25, became hushed as the venerable Cardinal Gibbons invoked the blessing of God upon the deliberations of the body. The prayer was the lull before the storm. Chairman Mack rapped his gavel vigorously for order. He had been instructed by the national committee, he said, to nominate Alton B. Parker for temporary chairman.²⁰ Bryan was immediately on his feet. Standing on the convention platform, "His heavy black brows . . . contracted over his piercing eyes,"²¹ the Nebraskan nominated Senator John W. Kern of Indiana, his running mate in 1908, as the man most worthy of the confidence of the convention. Bryan declared that now the hour of Democratic triumph had arrived, a true progressive should lead the convention in the keynote address. The Democrats were announcing to the country, he insisted, whether they would take up the challenge thrown down at Chicago by a convention controlled by "predatory wealth," or answer it by giving themselves over to the same sinister forces. The dramatic climax in Bryan's speech came suddenly. "The Democratic

¹⁷ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 490.

¹⁸ *Dallas Morning News*, June 25, 1912; Robert Latham in *Charleston News and Courier*, June 25, 1912; W. E. Gonzales in *Columbia State*, June 25, 1912; Alexander Forward in *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 25, 1912; *St. Louis Republic*, June 25, 26, 1912.

¹⁹ Arthur Krock in *Louisville Times*, June 25, 1912. Senator-elect James K. Vardaman of Mississippi was selected by the Parker forces to offer the olive branch of compromise to Bryan. It was a wise selection, for Vardaman had for years been an intimate friend and loyal follower of the Nebraskan. He offered Bryan the permanent chairmanship of the convention if the Commoner would accept Parker as temporary chairman. Bryan became so "frigid," according to one report, that Vardaman picked up his hat and started to leave the room. Turning again to the Commoner, he said, "I thought our personal and political relations were intimate enough to permit me to talk about the matter to you." Bryan, smiling sadly, put his hand on the Mississippian's shoulder and told him that he had not meant to hurt him, but that he could not possibly consent to such an agreement. *Birmingham Age-Herald*, June 24, 1912.

²⁰ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 2-3.

²¹ *New York World*, June 26, 1912.

party is true to the people," he declared. "You cannot frighten it with your Ryans nor buy it with your Belmonts." This palpable defiance electrified the convention and at this point Bryan should have sat down; but he went on in a sort of anticlimactic excoriation of Parker.²²

Senator Kern rose gravely and made a dramatic appeal to Parker to withdraw from the contest and declared that if the New York delegation would agree to support either Senator James A. O'Gorman, Senator Culbertson, Henry D. Clayton, Luke Lea, or Joseph W. Folk, all discord would cease. When there was no answer to Kern's proffered compromise, the Indiana senator withdrew from the contest and nominated Bryan himself.²³ The convention was in an uproar. Theodore Bell of California, who rose to answer Kern, was overwhelmed by a torrent of noise from the Wilson delegates. Representative John J. Fitzgerald of New York seemed to have arrested the confusion and was delivering some telling blows for Parker when Cullen F. Thomas of Texas climbed into his chair and yelled, "Are you the distinguished New York Congressman who supported Joe Cannon?" This pointed interruption ended Fitzgerald's speech.²⁴ The convention was anxious to vote, but Bryan pleaded for five additional minutes of discussion before the roll call. Cone Johnson of Texas pushed to the front of the speaker's platform and with a voice as loud as a "human fog-horn," quieted the mob. The contest was not between men, he declared, and he did not pause to inquire who caused the fight, for "This one thing I know—the fight is on, and Bryan is on one side and Wall street is on the other."²⁵

The convention then proceeded to endorse the national committee and elected Parker temporary chairman by a vote of 579 to 508. The Clark managers were able to deliver enough of their delegates to insure Bryan's defeat, although practically all of the Clark men on the western delegations refused to deal what they considered a treacherous blow against their old leader.²⁶ They accordingly stood by the Nebraskan, and the Wilson delegates almost to a man voted for the Commoner. Champ Clark himself had remained neutral during the fight but, as Bryan noted, the Speaker's managers were "working like beavers for Judge Parker."²⁷

The dramatic conflict between Bryan and Parker was a fitting introduction to the struggles at the Baltimore convention. In the first place, it convinced thousands of progressive Democrats that the fight was on between Wilson and Bryan on the one hand, and Clark, Wall Street, and Tammany

²² *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 3-7.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

²⁴ *Dallas Morning News*, June 26, 1912.

²⁵ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

²⁷ William J. Bryan, *A Tale of Two Conventions* (New York and London, 1912), p. 192.

on the other. It furthermore convinced Bryan that his old friend Champ Clark would without hesitation desert him for the support of New York.

But the victory of the Tammany-Clark alliance was a Pyrrhic one. A move by the Murphy organization to retain Parker as permanent chairman was quickly detected and blocked by former Governor Thomas M. Campbell of Texas. At the insistence of the Wilson men, Ollie M. James was chosen permanent chairman by the committee on arrangements, and Bryan was delighted.²⁸ Urey Woodson was ousted as secretary of the convention and Edward E. Britton, city editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, was chosen in his stead.²⁹

Progressive sentiment was rising in the convention; and the first important progressive victory occurred in the abrogation of the ironclad unit rule in the voting of certain state delegations. The occasion for the fight arose when the committee on rules decreed that nineteen Wilson delegates from Ohio had to vote for Governor Harmon because the state Democratic convention had thus instructed. The chairman of the rules committee, J. Harry Covington of Maryland, argued that the traditional Democratic usage should not be changed, that the national convention had no right to interfere in the internal party affairs of the states.³⁰

Robert L. Henry presented the minority report of the committee,³¹ but the foremost champion of the abrogation of the unit rule was Newton D. Baker, mayor of Cleveland. In an impassioned appeal to the convention, Baker declared that the law of Ohio had taken from the state convention the authority to select delegates to a national convention and had vested it in the people. He had given a sacred pledge to his constituents that he would vote for Wilson. Would the convention force him to betray the trust the people had confided in him?³² Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi lost his temper. If the convention adopted the majority report, he declared, it would do "the most dangerous and most damnable thing" in its power. And "when you get through with it you can quit your talk about 'popular government,'" he shouted.³³

When John W. Peck of Ohio attempted to defend the majority report he mentioned Wilson's name and set off a wild demonstration by the Wilson delegates.³⁴ Robert L. Henry, Wilson floor leader, sensed the rising Wilson enthusiasm and after the demonstration had subsided announced that Vir-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁹ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 120; *Dallas Morning News*, June 27, 1912.

³⁰ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 59-60.

³¹ *Ibid.* ³² *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68. ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁴ *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 27, 1912.

ginia, "the mother of the doctrine of state sovereignty," had signed the minority report.³⁵ Largely because of the support the Wilson men received from Mississippi, Virginia, Florida, and Alabama—the Underwood delegations—they succeeded in turning the tables on the Clark men. The convention, by a vote of 565½ to 492½, adopted the minority report.³⁶ This decided Wilson victory was an effective antidote to the growing belief that Clark was certain to be nominated. It demonstrated to the convention and to the country at large that the Wilson delegates, although in a decided minority, were united and fired with something like an evangelical zeal for the Wilson cause.

A minor episode in the struggle at Baltimore concerned the disposition of the South Dakota delegation. Two delegations from that state, one representing Wilson, the other Clark, presented their claims as the rightful delegation to the credentials committee on June 26. Clark supporters, who controlled the committee, voted to seat the Clark delegation. In the meantime another contest had come before the credentials committee. Two delegations from Cook County, Illinois—one group representing Roger Sullivan, the Illinois Democratic boss, the other representing the Hearst-Carter Harrison Chicago organization—claimed to be the lawful representatives from Chicago. Luke Lea, spokesman for the Wilson forces in the committee, made a bargain with Sullivan whereby the Wilson delegates would support Sullivan and the Illinois boss would vote to seat the Wilson delegation from South Dakota.³⁷ Consequently the Sullivan delegates were seated by the credentials committee and when the South Dakota issue was considered by the convention, Sullivan threw the weight of Illinois's fifty-eight votes to the Wilson men and they were seated.³⁸

As a result of the Wilson successes in the struggle for the abrogation of the unit rule and for the South Dakota delegation, there followed a decided reaction in the convention against the Clark-Tammany alliance. It was apparent that the progressives had taken on a new lease of life. But Bryan suspected that the conservatives were only biding their time and waiting for the propitious moment to strike. "I found that the representatives of Morgan, Belmont, and Ryan were at work," he later recorded.³⁹

The fact that Thomas Fortune Ryan, one of the financial czars of Wall

³⁵ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 75; see also *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 27, 1912.

³⁶ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 77.

³⁷ *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 27, 1912; *Houston Post*, June 28, 1912.

³⁸ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 93-94. The importance of the Sullivan-Lea bargain has not been generally recognized. First of all, it added ten votes to the growing number of Wilson delegates, but more important, it assured Sullivan's dominance in the Illinois delegation and enabled him later to cast the fifty-eight Illinois votes for Wilson at a very crucial moment in the balloting.

³⁹ Mary B. Bryan, p. 173.

Street, was sitting as a delegate from Virginia was a matter of severe embarrassment to Senator Claude A. Swanson and other leaders in the Virginia organization.⁴⁰ In the first place, Ryan had secured membership in the Virginia delegation through trickery.⁴¹ Moreover, Ryan's activities were of a suspicious character. One reporter charged that the Virginia financier was the "captain-general of the plutocrats" who were in Baltimore to depose Bryan as Democratic leader and to prevent Wilson's nomination.⁴²

At three o'clock on Thursday morning, June 27, Charles W. Bryan told his brother that Clark's managers had concluded an agreement with Tammany whereby New York's ninety votes would be delivered to Clark at some time early in the balloting. This agreement, Charles W. Bryan insisted, would place the party under obligation to Wall Street and would prevent Clark from carrying out a progressive program were he elected president. In order to see if the Clark organization would stand by Wall Street instead of the Commoner, he would have one of the progressive leaders introduce a resolution to expel Ryan and August Belmont from the convention. Charles W. Bryan told his brother that he would call together the Wilson leaders and endeavor to persuade one of them to introduce the resolution. William J. Bryan approved of the plan.⁴³

Charles W. Bryan soon afterward called together Thomas P. Gore, Luke Lea, Cone Johnson, Jerry B. Sullivan, Harvey Garber, and Henderson Martin. These Wilson leaders unanimously agreed that the proposed resolution demanding Ryan's and Belmont's expulsion from the convention was too harsh and furthermore unwise. None volunteered to introduce it.⁴⁴ Charles W. was consequently discouraged when he saw his brother at his hotel Thursday evening. At Charles W.'s suggestion, the Commoner wrote out a resolution which specifically named Belmont, Morgan, and Ryan as conspirators of Wall Street. W. J. Bryan was not certain that he would introduce the resolution when he started to the evening session of the convention, but on the way he decided to take the fateful step.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Richmond News Leader*, June 28, 1912.

⁴¹ At a meeting of the Tenth District committee at the Democratic state convention at Norfolk in May the anti-Wilson men, led by Hal D. Flood, greatly outnumbered the Wilson supporters. Flood, who was regarded as Ryan's chief lieutenant, made an agreement with the Wilson men to divide evenly between the two groups the district's delegates to the national convention. There would be no election, as the offer went, but each group would choose its own man. Astonished at this seeming liberality, the Wilson men gladly accepted the offer. The organization faction then announced that they had selected Ryan to represent them. At the time, Ryan's son was present, and the Wilson men supposed it was he who had been chosen as delegate. The secret was well kept and it was no little surprise to the Wilson delegates from Virginia to discover that the financier was a member of their delegation. Carter W. Wormley in *Richmond News Leader*, June 27, 1912.

⁴² Samuel G. Blythe, in *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, June 27, 1912.

⁴³ Charles W. Bryan in *New York Times*, Mar. 6, 1921.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Mary B. Bryan, pp. 175-76.

In the convention on the evening of June 27, therefore, Bryan arose and asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. When there was no objection, Bryan read the following words:

Resolved, That in this crisis in our party's career and in our country's history this convention sends greeting to the people of the United States, and assures them that the party of Jefferson and of Jackson is still the champion of popular government and equality before the law. As proof of our fidelity to the people, we hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for president who is the representative of or under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class.

Be it further resolved, That we demand the withdrawal from this convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above-named interests.⁴⁶

It seemed as if all the furies of hell had broken loose on the convention floor. Scores of delegates leaped to their feet, demanding recognition.⁴⁷ When the uproar finally subsided, Bryan defended his resolution. "There is not a delegate in this convention who does not know that an effort is being made right now to sell the Democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of the nation," he shouted. "It is the most brazen, the most insolent, the most impudent attempt that has been made in the history of American politics . . . to make the nominee the bond-slave of the men who exploit the people of this country." Bryan was now quite red in the face. If the New York and Virginia delegates would take an "honest poll" of their delegations, and if a majority of both states did not ask for Ryan's and Belmont's withdrawal, Bryan promised that he would expunge the latter part of his resolution.⁴⁸

As Bryan concluded, Hal Flood of Virginia forced his way up to the speaker's platform. As he came up to Bryan's side the Commoner turned and held out his hand. Flood looked squarely at Bryan, made an angry rejoinder with a vigorous shake of his head, and rejected the proffered hand. He stepped nearer to Bryan and shouted that Virginia accepted "the insolent proposition made by the only man who wants to destroy the prospect of Democratic success."⁴⁹ Bryan then declared that Virginia had notified him that she wanted the expulsion resolution withdrawn. He asked that a delegate from New York speak for his delegation.⁵⁰ Former Governor W. A. McCorkle of West Virginia shouted from the platform, "This is a senseless and foolish resolution." Bryan tried to speak, but his voice was drowned in

⁴⁶ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 129.

⁴⁷ Josephus Daniels to the author, Jan. 24, 1942; McAdoo, p. 149; Mary B. Bryan, pp. 176-77.

⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 131-32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132; *New York World*, June 28, 1912.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 133.

a roar of hisses and catcalls. Flood was back on the platform. The Virginia delegation asked nothing of Bryan, he declared. If the Commoner withdrew the second part of his resolution, it was not at Virginia's request.⁵¹

Bryan was in a difficult position. Obviously he wished to withdraw the expulsion resolution, for if it remained, the entire resolution would probably be defeated, and when James K. Vardaman suggested that he withdraw the latter part, Bryan gladly did so.⁵² The Commoner hastily demanded a roll call. While the vote was being recorded, Vardaman hurried over to Boss Murphy and urged him to vote for the resolution. "If you do, Murphy, we will make Bryan look like a fool," he urged. After consulting with Sullivan and Thomas Taggart, Democratic boss of Indiana, Murphy cast New York's vote for the resolution.⁵³ The Tammany leader, with a sly grin on his face, turned to August Belmont and said, "August, listen and hear yourself vote yourself out of the convention."⁵⁴ The emasculated anti-Morgan-Belmont-Ryan resolution was overwhelmingly endorsed by the convention.⁵⁵

Back of the scenes at Baltimore the Wilson and Clark men were working furiously. The Wilson leaders realized that only by shrewd strategy could they overcome the power of the forces arrayed against them and nominate their candidate. The general outline of the strategy was clear. The Wilson men had to hold at least a loyal third of the delegates in order to block the first major threat—Champ Clark's nomination. Several weeks before the Baltimore convention assembled, Wilson had designated McCombs as leader of his forces at Baltimore and A. Mitchell Palmer and Albert S. Burleson as official floor leaders in the convention.⁵⁶ At a meeting of the "General Staff" in McCombs' apartment in the Emerson Hotel immediately preceding the balloting for the nomination, the Wilson managers counseled together and pledged to one another their loyalty. Immediately afterward Thomas Watts Gregory and Thomas B. Love of Texas went to the Hotel Stafford and sought out the members of the Pennsylvania delegation. The Texans and Pennsylvanians agreed that the two delegations should work hand in hand in the convention and that the individual delegates would immediately set to work to persuade the Clark delegates to swing over to Wilson.⁵⁷

During the night and early morning of June 27 and 28 the nominations for president were made. It was nearly midnight and the teeming auditorium

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *New York World*, June 28, 1912.

⁵⁴ Mary B. Bryan, p. 178.

⁵⁵ By a vote of 883 to 201½. *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 137-38.

⁵⁶ R. S. Baker, "Memorandum of a Conversation with Albert S. Burleson, March 17-19, 1927," in the Ray Stannard Baker Papers (manuscripts in the Library of Congress); hereinafter cited as Baker Papers.

⁵⁷ Thomas W. Gregory to Edward M. House, July 9, 1912, pp. 768-75 below.

was sultry and hot; the riotous disturbance over Bryan's inflammable anti-Morgan-Belmont-Ryan resolution had scarcely been quieted when Chairman Ollie M. James called for nominations for president. Alabama was the first state to be called and made the first nomination. William B. Bankhead presented Alabama's "favorite son" and the Deep South's representative, Oscar W. Underwood, as the chief exponent of tariff reform and attempted to convince the convention that since there was no North, no South, the Alabamian was ideally available as a presidential candidate.⁵⁸ When Arkansas was called she yielded to Missouri. Senator James A. Reed, in a flamboyant nominating speech, presented Champ Clark's claims to the Democratic nomination.⁵⁹ The Clark forces, at the end of Reed's address, staged an enthusiastic demonstration which lasted for one hour and five minutes.⁶⁰ After the nomination of Governor Simeon E. Baldwin of Connecticut by Henry Wade Rogers, dean of the Yale Law School, the call of the states was resumed. At eight minutes after two Delaware yielded to New Jersey and Judge John Wescott came forward to nominate Woodrow Wilson. The lateness of the hour and the weariness of the delegates did not dampen the enthusiasm of the Wilson men. In fact, they did not give Wescott a chance to speak before they began a wild, uncontrolled demonstration which lasted at least one hour and fifteen minutes.⁶¹ Wescott, in a magnificent tribute to Wilson, nominated the New Jersey governor for president as "the ultimate Democrat, the genius of liberty and the very incarnation of progress."⁶² There was quite a volley of seconding speeches and day was breaking when Governor Marshall of Indiana and Governor Harmon of Ohio were nominated. It was about seven o'clock in the morning when the first ballot was taken. The ballot stood:⁶³

Clark	440½	Marshall	31
Wilson	324	Baldwin	22
Underwood	117½	Sulzer	2
Harmon	148	Bryan	1

The convention, having set the stage for the great struggle, then adjourned.

When the delegates assembled in the afternoon, the lines were tightly drawn for the coming battle. McCombs, nervous and excited, was in charge of the Wilson forces. On the speaker's platform A. Mitchell Palmer stood by the chairman's side and bespoke Wilson's interests. On the convention floor

⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 143. See also *Birmingham Age-Herald*, June 28, 1912.

⁵⁹ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 144-51.

⁶⁰ *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 28, 1912; *New York Times*, June 28, 1912.

⁶¹ *Trenton True American*, June 28, 1912; *Trenton Evening Times*, June 28, 1912.

⁶² *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 157-61.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Burleson was in command of the Wilson delegates. Blind Senator Gore and McAdoo were constantly at Burleson's side, while Representative William Hughes of New Jersey and Thomas J. Pence of North Carolina gave aid to Palmer.⁶⁴

During the first nine ballots little change in the voting occurred. Clark gained some fourteen votes and Wilson's strength increased by twenty-eight votes, but the managers were only sparring. The Wilson men knew that the knockout blow was yet to come. They expected that New York's ninety votes would be delivered to Clark on the third or fourth ballot but were forewarned by their friends in the New York delegation when Murphy decided to transfer the votes to the Missourian at a later time.⁶⁵ The expected transfer came on the tenth ballot when the Tammany leader electrified the convention by casting his state's ninety votes for the Speaker.⁶⁶ It was the signal for a Clark landslide, for New York's vote gave Clark 556 votes—well over a majority of the convention. It was now or never for Clark. Not since 1844 had a Democrat obtained a majority in a national convention and not been nominated by the then necessary two thirds.

Clark's managers fully expected that this powerful tradition, in addition to the irresistible momentum generated by New York's action, would bring about the Speaker's nomination on the tenth or eleventh ballot and the Clark delegates naturally were beside themselves with joy. They shouted, sang, and marched for almost an hour. It was a discouraging hour for Woodrow Wilson. His managers scurried over the convention hall, pleading with the Underwood delegations not to go over to Clark. What would the states following New York do? As soon as the Clark demonstration had subsided, North Dakota was called. An expectant silence fell over the great crowd. When the steady response, "Ten for Wilson," followed, the Wilson delegates let out a wild yell. Chairman James then called Oklahoma. One Oklahoman was on his feet. He had voted for Wilson, he declared, but since it seemed that Clark was the convention's choice he demanded a poll of his delegation. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray—collarless and wiping his face with a red bandana handkerchief—roared out that he did not object to a poll of the delegation,

⁶⁴ Otto Praeger, "How Winning Fight for Wilson Was Made," *Dallas Morning News*, July 3, 1912.

⁶⁵ W. G. McAdoo to R. S. Baker, Oct. 15, 1928, Baker Papers. One of the leaders of the New York delegation afterward wrote that "New York, after the ninth ballot, turned to Clark in preference to Wilson because many of the friends of the Missouri statesman had given their support to New York's candidate for temporary chairman in the meeting of the subcommittee, again in the National Committee and on the floor of the convention, and had put the New York delegation under an obligation to him which New York—in full recognition of the highest party welfare—could honorably repay." Mack in *National Monthly Magazine*, IV, 65.

⁶⁶ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 221. New York voted for Harmon on the first nine ballots.

but, he declared, "we do insist that we shall not join Tammany in making the nomination!"⁶⁷ Oklahoma stood firm and the Wilson men began a wild counterdemonstration that lasted fully fifty-five minutes.

The tenth ballot continued without any further material change in the voting. When, on the eleventh ballot, the Underwood delegations stood firm, it became suddenly apparent that Clark's expected landslide had signally failed to materialize. Manifestly, the Underwood delegates, by standing firm against the Clark onslaught, prevented the nomination of the Missourian. It was true that the one hundred and odd votes Manager John H. Bankhead might have added to Clark's majority would not have given the Speaker the requisite two thirds. But it would have made his nomination inevitable. Why, then, if the Underwood men had the power to decide the contest, did they not effect Clark's nomination? Why did they not accept the vice-presidential nomination for Underwood that the Clark managers probably offered them? In the first place, Wilson, not Clark, was the second choice of a good majority of the Underwood delegates; and in the second place, Underwood and his managers were after nothing less than the presidential nomination. Under no circumstances would Underwood have accepted the vice-presidential nomination.⁶⁸ The Underwood delegates still expected that both Clark and Wilson would fail to win the nomination and that it would eventually fall to the Alabamian.

The skillful bargaining of Wilson's managers, moreover, was probably the decisive factor in deciding Clark's defeat. They decided early in the balloting that since the Underwood delegations constituted the balance of power in the convention, it was "absolutely essential that some arrangement should be made with his forces by which we could supplement the Wilson forces with enough votes to block the convention."⁶⁹ Gregory, McCombs, and other Wilson managers had long conferences with leaders in the Underwood delegations and promised that if "Wilson should be put out of the race at any stage of the game" they would use their influence to throw the weight of the Wilson forces to the Alabamian. In return, the Underwood men agreed to remain loyal to their candidate.⁷⁰ Thus a vote for Underwood was as good as a vote for Wilson and his managers were able to prevent the nomination of Champ Clark.

There yet remained the danger that McCombs, oftentimes nervous and

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁶⁸ This fact is attested to by Underwood's absolute refusal to accept the vice-presidential nomination when Wilson later offered it to him.

⁶⁹ Gregory to House, pp. 768-75 below.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; Thomas P. Gore to the author, Aug. 15, 1942.

panic-stricken, might take a fatal step that would ruin Wilson's chances for the nomination. Senator William J. Stone, Clark's manager, had sent a telegram to Wilson, urging him to withdraw and insisting that party tradition demanded that Clark be nominated. Wilson had previously declared his opposition to the two thirds rule on the ground that it was undemocratic,⁷¹ but that was at a time when it appeared that it would militate against his chances for the nomination. Early Saturday morning, June 29, McCombs called Wilson on the telephone. He was very discouraged and suggested that Wilson give him an authorization to withdraw his name from the balloting. Wilson accordingly sent a telegram to that effect and even considered sending Clark a message of congratulations.⁷² Later in the morning, when McAdoo discovered what McCombs had done, he immediately telephoned Wilson and urged him by no means to consider withdrawing from the contest because he was steadily gaining in strength and would eventually be nominated. Wilson authorized McAdoo to countermand the withdrawal authorization he had given McCombs and the danger was averted.⁷³

The convention assembled on Saturday—the fifth day—to take up again the laborious and monotonous task of balloting for the nomination. The air was even yet charged with the excitement of the preceding day. Had Clark's managers secured the two hundred votes the Missourian needed for the nomination? The succeeding ballots revealed that they had not. On the twelfth ballot Clark lost seven votes; Wilson lost half a vote. On the thirteenth the Missourian gained seven and a half; Wilson gained two.⁷⁴

Bryan had been profoundly disturbed when Murphy threw New York's strength to Clark on the tenth ballot. Did not this confirm the charge made by his brother that there had been a bargain between Clark's managers and Tammany?⁷⁵ A number of the Nebraska delegates demanded that their delegation cease supporting Clark and go to Wilson's aid. Bryan, spokesman of the Nebraskans, hesitated; he thought New York would go to Underwood and Clark would then be nominated by the progressives. But he had promised the Nebraskans that he would not support a Tammany candidate. Consequently he prepared a written statement explaining his change from

⁷¹ Wilson to E. M. House, Oct. 24, 1911, House Papers.

⁷² Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, 1921), p. 121.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 121–22; McAdoo, pp. 153–54; Josephus Daniels to the author, Jan. 24, 1942; Robert S. Hudspeth to R. S. Baker, Nov. 11, 1927, Baker Papers. The evidence to support this position is simply overwhelming. McCombs in his completely unvarnished memoir, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, 1921), pp. 143–44, relates that he prevented Wilson from withdrawing.

⁷⁴ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 226–27, 230–31.

⁷⁵ Bryan states that he "never heard anything other than circumstantial evidence to support this charge," and, he says, he never made it himself. Mary B. Bryan, p. 179.

Clark to Wilson which he planned to use when it became necessary for him to desert the Speaker.⁷⁶

On the fourteenth ballot Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock went to the speaker's platform and demanded that Chairman James take an official poll of the Nebraska delegation. When Bryan's name was called, he rose and asked the convention's permission to explain his reason for casting his vote as he was about to cast it. Bryan declared that Nebraska was a progressive state and would not participate in the nomination "of any man whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation." He declared that he would withhold his vote from Clark so long as New York's vote was recorded for him. Although he cast his vote for Wilson, Bryan declared that he stood ready to withdraw his support from him should New York give him its support.⁷⁷

Bryan's desertion of Clark infuriated the Speaker's supporters. They joined in a terrific onslaught of boos, hisses, and jeers against the Commoner. John B. Stanchfield of New York severely arraigned Bryan and said what many delegates were thinking but not publicly declaring. He shouted that "no man can go forth from this Convention stigmatized and branded with Bryanism, and come within half a million votes of carrying the state of New York."⁷⁸ In Washington, Champ Clark was furious. After a conference with his managers and William R. Hearst he gave out a statement declaring that Bryan's charge was "an outrageous aspersion" and demanded immediate "proof or retraction" of Bryan's charges.⁷⁹ Clark went in haste to Baltimore to meet Bryan's challenge. Perhaps he might have started a stampede in his favor had he reached the convention in time. But he never got the chance, for the convention adjourned just as he was arriving.⁸⁰

The balloting continued throughout Saturday, June 29. Bryan's conversion to Wilson on the fourteenth ballot did the governor slight immediate good. Although he gained twelve votes from Nebraska, he lost several votes from various delegations. Clark's lines held firmly; he lost only one and a half votes. On the twentieth ballot Kansas cast its twenty votes, which had hitherto been given to Clark, to Wilson.⁸¹ The balloting was tedious and monotonous, but slowly Wilson gained new strength. His gains were so slight as to appear

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷⁷ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 233-37.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.

⁷⁹ *Baltimore Sun*, June 30, 1912.

⁸⁰ Clark never forgave Bryan for his action on the fourteenth ballot. Years later he wrote that the Nebraskan, dishonestly and hypocritically, had endeavored to cause a deadlock "and grab off the nomination for himself." *My Quarter Century of American Politics* (New York and London, 1920), II, 424.

⁸¹ The change in the Kansas vote can hardly be ascribed to Bryan's influence. Wilson was the definite second-choice of the Kansas delegation which had instructions to vote for him when Clark's nomination appeared impossible.

imperceptible; but when the convention adjourned on Saturday at the end of a hectic and exhausting week, Wilson had gained some sixty votes and Clark had lost Massachusetts to Governor Foss and Kansas to Wilson.⁸²

June 30 was Sunday and, although the rank and file of the delegates enjoyed a much-needed rest, the political managers redoubled their efforts at the manipulation of bargains and trades. Wilson's opponents charged that his managers were making promises of patronage in order to secure blocs of delegates. Only once during the convention, according to Tumulty, did Wilson betray feelings of irritation. It was when he read these charges in the press.⁸³ Wilson wanted it understood that he would not be bound by any agreements. "There cannot by any possibility be any trading done in my name; not a single vote can or will be obtained by means of any promise," he declared.⁸⁴ His protests were undoubtedly well-meant, but McCombs, Burleson, and the other Wilson managers were on the ground at Baltimore and knew a great deal more about the necessities of the situation than he did. Already they had concluded very important agreements with Roger Sullivan and the Underwood delegations, and other important bargains and "promises" would follow.

Several of Wilson's managers dreaded lest Bryan might, at some dramatic moment, rally the progressives and capture the nomination for himself. His very actions throughout the length of the prenomination campaign led to such suspicions. Many observers thought that his policy of neutrality as between Clark and Wilson was an ill-disguised attempt to prevent either from securing a decisive majority of the convention vote.⁸⁵ On June 30, at a time when Wilson was gaining steadily in strength, the Commoner angered Wilson's managers by declaring that there was no reason why the delegates should not conclude their work the following day by nominating a president and vice-president. "There is every reason why the progressives should get together and select a ticket," he declared, adding that either Senator Kern, Ollie James, Senator O'Gorman, Senator Culberson, or Senator Isidor Rayner of Maryland would be an acceptable candidate.⁸⁶ Bryan's selection of such

⁸² The vote at the end of the twenty-fifth ballot stood: Clark 469, Wilson 405, Underwood 108, Harmon 29, Marshall 30. *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 272.

⁸³ Tumulty, p. 117.

⁸⁴ *New York World*, July 1, 1912.

⁸⁵ Carter Glass later wrote that several weeks before the convention Bryan endeavored to persuade him that Wilson's nomination would mean suicide for the Democratic party. By the facility with which the Nebraskan eliminated all other Democratic candidates but himself, Glass concluded that he wanted the nomination for himself. Carter Glass to Maurice F. Lyons, Oct. 27, 1925, copy in Baker Papers. Colonel George Harvey was at the convention and wrote a friend that Bryan was greatly disappointed because he did not think he could be nominated. E. S. Martin to E. M. House, July 24, 1912, House Papers.

⁸⁶ *New York Times*, July 1, 1912.

political "light-weights" infuriated the Wilson men who were sure that the Commoner meant, by implication, to put his name at the head of the list. The Wilson leaders, furthermore, resented the fact that not once during the convention did Bryan publicly or privately advocate Wilson's nomination. They remembered that Bryan had voted for Wilson, not because he thought him the best candidate, but simply because New York had voted for Clark. And it is still a moot question whether Bryan had his eye on the nomination.⁸⁷

In the meantime, the Tammany bosses and other conservative leaders, seeing that they could not defeat Wilson by direct assault, endeavored to undermine his strength by drawing away from him his supporters. John J. Fitzgerald and Murphy of Tammany, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, and Thomas Taggart of Indiana attempted to persuade Burleson and Palmer to withdraw Wilson's name from the contest. If they could persuade Wilson to withdraw, Murphy promised, "we will nominate [A. Mitchell] Palmer for President."⁸⁸ When this suggestion was instantly rejected by Palmer himself, the Tammany group turned next to the Texas delegation. They thought that if they could draw the Texans from the Wilson ranks the governor's candidacy would collapse. The Tammany men promised to support Culberson for president if the Texas delegation would lead the way by voting for him; but the entire delegation, including Culberson himself, indignantly rejected the suggestion.⁸⁹

On Monday, July 1, the balloting for the presidential nomination was resumed. On the second ballot of the day, Taggart startled the convention by casting Indiana's twenty-nine votes, hitherto given to Marshall, to Wilson. When Iowa took fourteen votes from Clark and cast them for Wilson, he for the first time had a greater vote than Clark.⁹⁰ In quick succession the delegations from Vermont, Wyoming, and Michigan left the Clark ranks and joined the growing Wilson forces. Despite the gains made during the day, the Wilson leaders were still uncertain of success. True it was that Wilson had almost five hundred votes and was definitely in the lead. But his managers knew perfectly well that they had come to the end of their rope, that they had corralled practically every vote they could possibly hope to secure, and that unless either Roger Sullivan of Illinois or John H. Bankhead

⁸⁷ On the other hand, we have Mary B. Bryan's word that, although she tried to persuade her husband to endeavor to secure the nomination, he refused. M. B. Bryan, pp. 334-35.

⁸⁸ R. S. Baker, "Memorandum of Conversation with A. S. Burleson, March 17-19, 1927," Baker Papers.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; San Antonio Express, July 1, 1912.

⁹⁰ The vote on this, the thirtieth ballot, was: Wilson 460, Clark 455, Underwood 121½, Harmon 19. *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 302.

of Alabama committed their delegations to him, the Wilson movement would collapse as surely as had Clark's.

Sullivan had probably looked with favor upon the prospect of Wilson's nomination from the beginning. His son, a Princeton alumnus and an ardent Wilson supporter, had argued Wilson's cause consistently with his father.⁹¹ The Illinois boss promised McCombs that when the Wilson men had secured sufficient strength to make Wilson's nomination appear probable he would come to their aid.⁹² Something more than simple altruism motivated this veteran politician. In the first place, the Hearst-Harrison faction of the Illinois Democracy, Sullivan's archenemies, had first claims on Champ Clark, and Sullivan knew that if the Speaker were elected President he would receive few favors from the White House. It was better to support Wilson who was not particularly his friend, Sullivan may have reasoned, than to give aid and comfort to his enemies. Moreover, the Illinois boss had not forgotten that the aid he received from the Wilson men in the contest over the Chicago delegation had enabled him to secure complete control of that delegation. And Roger Sullivan was not a man who forgot his "friends." On the first ballot taken in the convention on Tuesday, July 2, Sullivan accordingly fulfilled the promise he had made to the Wilson men on the preceding day and cast Illinois's fifty-eight votes for Wilson and gave the governor a majority of the convention vote.⁹³

In the meantime Willard Saulsbury of Delaware had been assiduously pleading with the Democratic leaders from Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Virginia to cast in their lot with Wilson. McCombs, Saulsbury, and Senator John W. Smith of Maryland met on the evening of June 30 with representatives from these states who agreed that when the most favorable opportunity to nominate Wilson arose they would transfer their delegations to him.⁹⁴ Senator Clarence E. Watson of West Virginia decided to deliver his state's votes to Wilson,⁹⁵ while Senator Thomas S. Martin startled the Virginia delegation by suggesting that they vote as a unit for Wilson. The Virginia Wilson men, who had consistently fought the application of the unit rule when it would have been a disadvantage to them, objected, but Martin was adamant and insisted that the state give its unanimous support to its native son.⁹⁶

⁹¹ The Trenton *True American*, July 6, 1912, has an interesting discussion of this point.

⁹² Thomas P. Gore to the author, Aug. 15, 1942.

⁹³ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 337.

⁹⁴ Lyons, pp. 98-100.

⁹⁵ Memorandum of Charles H. Grasty in Baker Papers. Watson agreed to support Wilson if Grasty would give him full credit in the Baltimore *Sun* for his action. Grasty was happy to publicize Watson's swing-over to Wilson.

⁹⁶ Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, July 3, 1912.

The dramatic swing-over of Illinois to Wilson on the forty-third ballot was the signal for Watson and Martin to act. When Virginia was called Martin arose and delivered Virginia's twenty-four votes to Wilson. Immediately afterward, Watson, one of the original anti-Wilson men, made his peace with the progressives and cast West Virginia's sixteen votes for the New Jersey governor. Although Wilson now had over six hundred votes his chances of securing the nomination were not entirely certain. The loyal Clark and Underwood delegates, together with New York's ninety votes, proscribed by Bryan, could easily maintain a deadlock and block forever Wilson's nomination.

The Underwood leaders were even yet hopeful that the Alabamian would be nominated. Sullivan, according to several accounts, promised Bankhead that he would deliver the Illinois delegation to Underwood sometime during July 2. But when the forty-fifth ballot passed and Sullivan did not fulfill his promise, Bankhead, J. Thomas Heflin, and Henry D. Clayton decided that it was time to call his hand. When they asked Sullivan what he intended to do, the old veteran replied that he was going to swing Illinois back to Clark on the forty-sixth ballot.⁹⁷

The forty-fifth ballot marked the major crisis for Wilson at Baltimore. Burleson and McCombs were convinced that if he could not gain the support of the Underwood delegations, Wilson would surely be defeated. Burleson was greatly excited and pleaded with Bankhead to release the Underwood delegates.⁹⁸ Bankhead, Heflin, and Clayton immediately decided to withdraw Underwood's name. This, they believed, would break the deadlock and result in Wilson's nomination.⁹⁹ When Alabama was called on the forty-sixth ballot, Senator Bankhead went quickly to the platform and withdrew Underwood's name. The convention was by this time in wild confusion. Senator Stone released the Clark delegates but announced that Missouri would cast her last vote for "old Champ Clark." John J. Fitzgerald of New York moved that Wilson be nominated by acclamation. Senator Reed objected; Missouri had no resentment toward Governor Wilson, but she must insist on casting her last ballot for Clark. The Harmon delegates were released and Wilson received 990 votes on the forty-sixth ballot. Amid the wildest confusion and

⁹⁷ Birmingham *Age-Herald*, July 4, 5, 7, 1912. Clark, who was following the events of the convention in Washington, made a hurried visit to Baltimore when he learned that Sullivan had deserted him. Seated in a cab outside the convention hall, Clark pleaded with Sullivan to return to his standard. Sullivan declared that he had promised the Wilson leaders to vote for Wilson, but that he would bring Illinois back to the Clark fold on the forty-sixth ballot. T. P. Gore to the author, Aug. 15, 1942. Clark had probably agreed to recognize Sullivan as leader of the Illinois Democracy in the distribution of the patronage.

⁹⁸ New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, July 3, 1912.

⁹⁹ C. E. Stewart in Birmingham *Age-Herald*, July 4, 1912.

tumult the governor of New Jersey, at 3:30 in the afternoon of July 2, was made the Democratic nominee for President of the United States.¹⁰⁰

The delegates were completely exhausted and wanted to go home as quickly as possible. The Wilson managers were almost physical wrecks; McCombs had had hardly an hour's sound sleep for more than a week.¹⁰¹ But two important tasks had yet to be completed: the nomination of a vice-president and the adoption of a platform. Wilson did not know that McCombs had traded the vice-presidential nomination to Indiana in return for her votes and insisted that Burleson go to Washington and sound out Underwood whom he desired as a running mate.¹⁰² Fortunately for McCombs, Underwood refused to accept the nomination and it was consequently given to Governor Thomas R. Marshall.¹⁰³ After adopting a progressive platform,¹⁰⁴ the convention adjourned.

Historians have for some reason or another written that Bryan's decision to vote for Wilson caused the latter's nomination,¹⁰⁵ and now a motion picture has given popularity to this interpretation. Certainly no person acquainted with the history of the Baltimore convention would underestimate the important work done by Bryan during the first struggles in the convention, during which time he became the acknowledged leader of the progressives. His fight against Parker undoubtedly forced a more or less clear-cut alignment between conservatives and progressives before the balloting had begun. It is not the present writer's intention or purpose to imply that Bryan did not have a considerable share in achieving Wilson's nomination; he desires, how-

¹⁰⁰ *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 345-53.

¹⁰¹ Gregory to House, pp. 768-75 below.

¹⁰² R. S. Baker, "Memorandum of Conversation with A. S. Burleson, March 17-19, 1927," Baker Papers.

¹⁰³ *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 388.

¹⁰⁴ The platform attacked the Republican protective tariff policy and promised that the Democrats would enact laws to destroy the trusts and regulate business; it commended the proposed amendments for the adoption of the income tax and direct election of senators; it pledged the Democratic candidate to the principle of a single term; and it voiced Democratic opposition to the Aldrich plan or the establishment of a centralized banking system. With the blessing of Samuel Gompers, the Democrats adopted a plank which demanded jury trial in cases of criminal contempt of court and declared that labor organizations should be exempted from the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The platform further declared that it was Democratic policy to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government might be established, and commended to the nation numerous other reforms. *Ibid.*, pp. 365-76.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston and New York, 1926-28), I, 66-67; Arthur D. Howden Smith, *Mr. House of Texas* (New York and London, 1940), pp. 52-53; Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1937), II, 422-23; Matthew Josephson, *The President Makers* (New York, 1940), pp. 445-46; Gerald Johnson, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York and London, 1944), p. 66; Dwight L. Dumond, *Roosevelt to Roosevelt* (New York, 1937), p. 100; Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States since 1865* (New York, 1940), p. 452; Jeanette P. Nichols, *Twentieth Century United States* (New York and London, 1943), pp. 161-62.

ever, to emphasize the fact that there were other influences and persons at work which were perhaps just as important. It should be remembered, for example, that by voting for Wilson, Bryan did not deal the deathblow to the Clark candidacy, for by the fourteenth ballot Clark's candidacy was a great deal less menacing than it had been on the tenth. He had already shown that he could not, under the best possible circumstances, win two thirds of the convention. Clark's boom was headed off, then, not by Bryan's belated action, but by virtue of the fact that the Wilson and Underwood delegates co-operated and held their ground. Consequently the threat of Clark's nomination had passed when Bryan announced his vote for Wilson. If Bryan had been intent upon destroying Clark's chances for the nomination, it does appear logical that he would have come out against him on the eleventh, not the fourteenth ballot. In the second place, the balloting which followed Bryan's shift to Wilson further revealed that the Commoner's action had only an inconsequential effect on the voting. The reason for this is quite clear: Bryan's influence among the various delegations from the Underwood states and from the Northeast was practically nonexistent; his influence was strongest among the Clark delegations of the West whom he alienated by his desertion of the Speaker. As a result of Bryan's voting for Wilson, the governor eventually gained—by a liberal estimate—thirteen from Nebraska, fourteen from Iowa, and six from Wyoming—in all only thirty-three votes and certainly not of sufficient importance to warrant the statement of a distinguished historian that "Bryan gave the word at last and Wilson was nominated."¹⁰⁶ As a matter of fact, Bryan was really on the periphery during the convention as far as the Wilson managers were concerned. He never once identified himself with the Wilson leaders and never participated in their deliberations. The truth of the matter was that after his action on the fourteenth ballot, Bryan played a role of inconsequential importance in the convention.

It is a part of the general irony of history that the nomination of Woodrow Wilson was made possible by the very men who had been his bitterest antagonists and who represented the forces against which he was struggling. Assuredly it must be indelibly clear that without the support of the master politicians and political bosses—Roger Sullivan, Tom Taggart, Clarence E. Watson, Thomas S. Martin, and John H. Bankhead—Woodrow Wilson would not have received the Democratic nomination in 1912. It can be said with certainty that Wilson's nomination was not due to the work or influence

¹⁰⁶ William E. Dodd, "The Social and Economic Background of Wilson," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXV (Mar., 1917), 279.

of any single man or group of men. It is a long story from George Harvey's Lotos Club speech in 1906, suggesting Wilson for the presidency, to the Baltimore convention. Wilson's own political activities brought him first into the public consciousness; the labors of the little group of men in the national organization at 42 Broadway in New York City furthered his presidential movement; the important work of state politicians and editors won him support among the people; Bryan's fight at Baltimore emphasized the progressive character of Wilson's leadership and generated a widespread popular agitation for his nomination; the Underwood delegates helped prevent Clark's nomination at a critical time and, later during the balloting, definitely turned the tide in Wilson's favor; and, finally, the support of machine politicians brought over the votes without which Wilson could never have been nominated.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbinger of Fascism

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO*

AN original thinker, like a prophet, is without honor not only in his own country but also in his own time. This is especially true when the original thinker is an inharmonious genius at odds both with the orthodox upholders of the established order and with the other heretics who repudiate it. Only rarely, very rarely, does such a genius arise to confound the orthodox and to confuse the heterodox. He becomes the great misunderstood of his generation; and for this reason the true importance and real contribution of the inharmonious genius are not seen until future events reveal them. There is no better example in history of such a man than that of Rousseau, the great heretic of the eighteenth century, who was persecuted by the authorities and spurned by his fellow heretics, the philosophes. Proudhon, like Rousseau, was an inharmonious genius. In his day Proudhon was persecuted by the government as a revolutionist and was denounced by his fellow revolutionists, the liberals and socialists, who uneasily felt that, though he was with them, he was not of them. They were puzzled and disconcerted by "*ce socialiste original, mal compris de ses contemporains, fantastique, plein d'idées souvent d'une perspicacité incroyable.*"¹

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born in 1809, in Besançon, France. His father was a humble artisan, a cooper by trade, who could do little to educate his son. Even as a child Proudhon was obliged to help his family, which he did by working sometimes on a farm, sometimes in the local inn. An opportunity to get an education came to him when he was given a scholarship in the local college at Besançon. Despite his marked inclination for study, family needs compelled Proudhon to leave college before graduating. He learned the printer's trade which, for a time, was his regular vocation. Proudhon's passionate interest, however, was study, and the interruption of his education by poverty incensed the ardent young student. "Poverty is no crime; it is something worse," was his resentful thought. He began to question the social

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¹ Hendrik N. Boon, *Rêve et réalité dans l'oeuvre économique et sociale de Napoléon III* (La Haye, 1936), p. 54.

order which put so many difficulties in the way of a poor boy seeking an education. Paris beckoned the ambitious young provincial as, in the eighteenth century, it had beckoned that other ambitious young provincial, Diderot. At the age of thirty Proudhon came to Paris, where he began his career as a writer, supported in part by a small stipend granted to him by the college in Besançon. Poverty, however, drove him back to his native city, where he set himself up in the printing business. But the enterprise did not prosper, and he gave it up. In 1847 Proudhon returned to Paris to resume his career as a writer, which he followed all the rest of his life.

Proudhon was almost entirely a self-educated man. He sought to give himself the necessary preparation for becoming a writer on social subjects by omnivorous reading. As in the case of many another self-educated man Proudhon's reading was wide but unsystematic. It lacked the disciplined concentration and definite direction that characterizes scholarly study. Curiously enough he drew his inspiration not from the rich intellectual treasury of France but, as he said, from "the Bible first of all, then Adam Smith, and finally Hegel,"² an odd assortment of masters for anyone, especially for a French revolutionist.

In 1840 appeared Proudhon's first book, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété*, with its sensational answer, *La propriété, c'est le vol*. Both question and answer almost immediately gained for the author an audience in the France of his day that was seething with revolutionary theories of all kinds. So deep was the discontent with the regime of Louis Philippe that anyone who attacked the social order, from any angle or for any reason, was sure to get a hearing. Proudhon's reputation as a social philosopher was assured by the appearance, in 1846, of his *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère*, in which he sought to find a solution of the social problem other than that presented by the socialists or by the classical economists.

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in February, Proudhon threw himself into the movement with great ardor. He became the editor of a radical journal, *Le Représentant du peuple*, in which he wrote articles that attracted considerable attention.³ Proudhon became a popular figure in Paris and was elected to the National Assembly as a radical deputy. Because of his famous catchword, "property is theft," he was expected to be on the socialist left, along with Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. Instead, he astonished his associates by voting against the famous resolution proclaiming the "right to work." He

² *Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1875), I, xxii; hereinafter cited as *Correspondance*.

³ Arthur Desjardins, *P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1896), I, 120; Proudhon, *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du deux décembre* (Paris, 1936), p. 12.

also voted against the adoption of the constitution establishing the democratic Second Republic on the ground that he did not believe in constitutions.⁴ His chief activity as a member of the assembly was the introduction of a bill to establish a system of free credit through a people's bank which was to supersede the Bank of France. In the debate that followed, Proudhon proved no match for his opponent, Adolphe Thiers, who ridiculed both the scheme and its author. The bill received only two votes, and Proudhon was howled down amid jeers and catcalls.

Proudhon's greatest activity was as a journalist and pamphleteer, not as a politician. He became notorious as a dissenter from the dissenters of his day: liberals, democrats, republicans, and socialists, especially the last. The socialists, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Leroux, and Considérant, received the full measure of Proudhon's virulent invective. In 1849 he was arrested on the charge of writing violent articles against President Louis Napoleon and sentenced to prison for three years.⁵ His prison cell served Proudhon as an opportunity for leisure of which he made good use by studying and by writing. It was while in prison that Proudhon, at the age of forty, was married. His wife was a simple working woman to whom he was deeply attached all his life.

A number of books, as well as a wife, emerged from Proudhon's prison cell. A volume appeared in 1852, *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du deux décembre*, that created a sensation. In this volume Proudhon hailed the overthrow of the Second Republic as a great step of progress and extolled Louis Napoleon as the hope of revolutionary France. The book roused a storm of bewildered criticism, consternation, and bafflement among the democrats and socialists of the day. During the period of the Second Empire, Proudhon was actively engaged in writing. Book after book and pamphlet after pamphlet poured from his busy pen. He attracted the hostile attention of the government when, in 1858, he attacked the church in his book, *De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l'église*. His arrest was ordered but he fled to Brussels, where he lived for three years. In 1862 Proudhon returned to France, where he died in 1865.

Proudhon wrote voluminously and has been written about voluminously.⁶

⁴ Desjardins, I, 210; Edouard Droz, *P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1909), p. 163.

⁵ Proudhon, *Idée générale de la révolution au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1923), p. 5; Droz, p. 165.

⁶ The latest edition of his complete works is *Oeuvres complètes de P.-J. Proudhon* (14 vols., Paris, 1923-38), ed. by Célestin C. A. Bouglé and Henri Moysset. An older edition, and the one used in the present article unless otherwise indicated, is P. J. Proudhon, *Oeuvres complètes* (37 vols., Paris, 1866-83). A collection of miscellaneous notes, "Carnets de Proudhon," was published in *Grande Revue*, L-LI. Proudhon's correspondence, which is as interesting as it is voluminous, is to be found in *Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon* (14 vols., Paris, 1875). The biographies of

His books had a wide audience and greatly influenced the labor movement in France.⁷ Not a little of Proudhon's influence came from the polemical character of his writings, which appealed to the mood and spirit of social criticism, traditional in France. He developed a manner of writing that was vehemently critical in tone, vivid in language, trenchant in style, and devastating in character. Systems of thought, public policies, and famous reputations were demolished in a torrential verbal fury that left not a rack behind. Proudhon was profoundly convinced that he, and he alone of the many revolutionists of his day, was the complete and legitimate expression of the revolutionary movement in France.⁸ In his own time, and since, he has been regarded by many as the uncompromising champion of human liberty in every aspect and under all circumstances.

However, neither Proudhon's undoubted sincerity nor his great courage are of themselves sufficient to accept him on his own valuation as the complete revolutionist of his nation and of his age. The reader of Proudhon is frequently baffled by a curious and strange contradiction: lucidity in language and obscurity in thought. The language that he uses in analyzing social forces and political ideas is clear to the point of sharpness, and yet the reader fails to get a comprehensive idea of Proudhonian principles and remedies. The one outstanding exception is Proudhon's proposal for a bank of exchange to promote his favorite scheme of free credit, which is clearly outlined. Was then Proudhon merely a destructive critic of other men's ideas with no ideas of his own? It would seem so were it not for sinister overtones that haunt

Proudhon are: Karl Diehl, *P. J. Proudhon, Seine Lehre und sein Leben* (3 vols., Jena, 1888-96); Desjardins, *Proudhon* (2 vols., Paris, 1896); and Droz, *P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1909). Books dealing with the various ideas of Proudhon are: Herbert Bourgin, *Proudhon* (Paris, 1901); Gaëtan Pirou, *Proudhonisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1910); Aimé Berthod, *P.-J. Proudhon et la propriété* (Paris, 1910); Bouglé, *La Sociologie de Proudhon* (Paris, 1911); Bouglé, ed., *Proudhon et notre temps* (Paris, 1920) and *Proudhon* (Paris, 1930); Alfred G. Boulén, *Les Idées solidaristes de Proudhon* (Paris, 1912); Laurent Labrusse, *Conception proudhonienne du crédit gratuit* (Paris, 1919); Shi Yung Lu, *The Political Theories of P. J. Proudhon* (New York, 1922); Nicolas Bourgeois, *Proudhon, le fédéralisme et la paix* (Paris, 1926); Henry Cohen, ed., *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem* (New York, 1927); Jeanne Duprat, *Proudhon, sociologue et moraliste* (Paris, 1929); Pierre Bourgeau, *P. J. Proudhon et la critique de la démocratie* (Strasbourg, 1933); Denis W. Brogan, *Proudhon* (London, 1934); Jacques Chabrier, *L'idée de la révolution d'après Proudhon* (Paris, 1935). Chapters and articles on Proudhon are to be found in Emile Faguet, *Politicians and Moralists of the Nineteenth Century*, tr. by Dorothy Galton (London, 1928); Max Nettlau, *Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin* (Berlin, 1927); Georges Gurvitch, *L'idée du droit social* (Paris, 1932); Silvio Gesell, *The Natural Economic Order, Money Part*, tr. by Philip Pye (San Antonio, Tex., 1934); Louis Dimier, *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution* (Paris, 1917); Dorothy W. Douglass, "P. J. Proudhon: A Prophet of 1848," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV-XXXV (1929); Dudley Dillard, "Keynes and Proudhon," *Journal of Economic History*, II (May, 1942).

⁷ Bouglé, "La Résurrection de Proudhon," *Revue de Paris*, Sept. 15, 1910; W. Pickles, "Les Tendances proudhoniennes dans la France d'après guerre," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, XXIII (1936-37).

⁸ *Correspondance*, VII, 36.

his pages of which the present-day reader soon becomes aware. Sometimes these overtones are heard faintly, sometimes with a loudness that is startling. It is these overtones that so puzzled his republican and socialist contemporaries and caused them to see in Proudhon a powerful destructive force which launched missiles at the citadel of privilege, but from an angle and in a direction different from their own. As a consequence they shied away from him as from a strange animal. Proudhon was himself conscious that he was out of harmony with his age. "My body is in the midst of the people," he declared, "but my thought is elsewhere. Owing to the trend of my ideas I have almost nothing in common with those of my contemporaries."⁹ Proudhon's attitude toward the Revolution of 1848, which saw a confluence of so many revolutionary streams, strikingly illustrated his enigmatic position of being both a product and an opponent of the revolutionary thought of his time. "And then the Revolution, the Republic, and socialism, one supporting the other," he declared, "came with a bound. I saw them; I felt them; and I fled before this democratic and social monster. . . . An inexpressible terror froze my soul, obliterating my very thoughts. I denounced the conservatives who ridiculed the fury of their opponents. I denounced still more the revolutionists whom I beheld pulling up the foundations of society with incredible fury. . . . No one understood me."¹⁰

Proudhon was not the intellectual leader of a revolutionary party, as was Louis Blanc; nor was he the founder of a school, as was Saint-Simon. Yet ardent disciples came to him, attracted more by the violence of his attacks on the social order than by the clarity of his social thought. They heard their master's word but did not see his vision, for he himself saw it but darkly. In truth Proudhon was a revolutionist, not of his time but of ours; hence he deserves a re-evaluation in the light of the present.

Even an inharmonious genius does not arise in a vacuum. As a consequence of the industrial development in France, an aristocracy of money came into power with the Revolution of 1830. During the reign of Louis Philippe the wealthy bourgeois, factory owners and bankers, were in control of the government. Both the aristocrats and the workers were all but eliminated from the political scene through a propertied suffrage that was sufficiently extended to overwhelm the former and sufficiently restricted to exclude the latter. In the opinion of that profound observer and keen analyst, Alexis de Tocqueville, the triumph of the bourgeoisie in France "had been definite and so complete that all political power, every franchise, every prerogative and the whole government was confined and, as it were, heaped up

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 284.

¹⁰ *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XVIII, 6.

within narrow limits of this one class, to the statutory exclusion of all beneath them and the actual exclusion of all above. Not only did it thus alone rule society but it may be said to have formed it."¹¹

Opposition to the aristocracy of money came from the lower ranks of the bourgeoisie and from the working class. The great lower middle class of France, chiefly shopkeepers and artisans, regarded with increasing uneasiness the organization of joint stock companies that established large factories and consolidated transportation facilities. Big property was looming up as a threat to the existence of small property. The worker-owners, so numerous in France, felt the pressure of competition from the machine industries that could easily and readily get capital from the banks to finance their expansion. Many worker-owners went to the wall or were reduced to the ranks of the workers in the factories.¹²

Even more bitter in its opposition to the rule of the aristocracy of money was the attitude of the working class. Post-Revolutionary France exhibited economic inequalities almost as glaring as those under the Old Regime.¹³ The new revolutionary movement, known as socialism, aimed to destroy the bourgeois ruling class in the only way that it could be destroyed as a class, namely by abolishing property altogether.

There is an aspect of the social situation in France during the July Monarchy that is significant in the light of the present. The great mass of worker-owners, the petty bourgeois, were confronted by enemies on two fronts: consolidated capitalism that would preserve property rights by driving them out of business and revolutionary socialism that would establish economic equality by confiscating their property. The strong property sense of the petty bourgeois, nowhere so strong as in France, led him to regard the capitalist with dislike as a competitor and with envy as a rich member of his class. But his dislike and envy were tempered by a keen regard for the security of property rights which, in case of a crisis, would drive him to the side of the capitalist. Far different was the attitude of the petty bourgeois toward the worker. An overwhelming majority of the French workingmen were then employed in shops and in small factories; hence it was the small employer who was under constant pressure to make concessions to the workers' demands for better conditions. Behind demands for better wages and shorter hours the terrified bourgeois saw the specter of universal con-

¹¹ *The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville*, tr. by Alexander T. de Mattos (New York, 1896), p. 5.

¹² Pierre Quentin-Bauchart, *La Crise sociale de 1848* (Paris, 1920), pp. 36 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.; Charles Rist, "Durée du travail dans l'industrie française de 1820 à 1870," *Revue d'économie politique*, XI (1897).

fiscation, proclaimed by the revolutionary proletariat. From this inharmonious historic background emerged the much misunderstood, fantastic Proudhon, "*pleins d'idées souvent d'une perspicacité incroyable.*"

How to preserve property rights and, at the same time, abolish capitalism? How to safeguard the small property owner against his economic enemies: big business and revolutionary socialism? These were the questions that agitated Proudhon. Sometimes his answers were plain, even blunt, at other times they seemed hazy and far afield, but at all times they were suffused by a strange kind of revolutionary fervor that was both puzzling and exasperating.

La propriété c'est le vol. Nothing could be clearer, sharper, and more definite in its repudiation of the established social order than this famous dictum of Proudhon. Property had been declared a natural right by the French Revolution, and every regime in France since 1789 had maintained it unswervingly. With the rise of socialism after 1830, property had become the real issue between the contending forces in France, an issue that de Tocqueville had clearly foreseen and had acutely analyzed.¹⁴ When Proudhon repudiated property so violently as to call it "theft," he was hailed then, as he is regarded today, as an extreme revolutionist. It is only by reading Proudhon carefully—and fully—that it is possible to understand what he meant by "property" and why he regarded it as "theft." A false impression of Proudhon's views on this, as well as on the other matters, is derived from such dicta.

According to Proudhon property was, in essence, a privilege to obtain rent, profit, and interest without any labor whatsoever. It reaped without sowing, consumed without producing, and enjoyed without exertion. It was the "worst usurer as well as the worst master and worst debtor."¹⁵ There could be no justification for property on any ground—natural right, law, or occupation—because it created and maintained social inequality, the prime source of all human woe.¹⁶ All efforts to abolish it had been in vain. The greatest of all changes in history, the French Revolution, did not abolish the rule of propertied classes; all that it did was to substitute the rule of bourgeois for that of aristocratic property owners. Therefore the revolution must go on until property is abolished altogether. Then, and then only, will mankind enjoy equality.

But the "satanic" institution of property, in origin vicious and antisocial, could be made into a powerful instrument with which to establish a free and

¹⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1864-67), IX, 516-17.

¹⁵ Proudhon, *Théorie de la propriété* (Paris, 1866), p. 169.

¹⁶ *Qu'est-ce que la propriété*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 34-35.

equal social order "by changing this angel of darkness into an angel of light."¹⁷ How? By substituting *possession populaire* for *propriété aristocratique*. Under the property system a man received an unearned income *sans main mettre*, because of his ownership of a wealth-producing estate or business. An unearned income, according to Proudhon, was the essence of privilege. Under a system of "possession" a man would earn his livelihood by actual labor on his farm or in his shop; he would, therefore, be entitled to what he had produced because it had been the product of his own labor.¹⁸ To labor then should go the full product of its exertions. "Possession" was the private ownership of the instruments of production without the unearned property income received by the functionless *rentier*. By abolishing the abuses that had grown up around property, the essentials of the system of property rights could be maintained more firmly, more clearly, and more strongly.¹⁹ It becomes plain that in his distinction between "property" and "possession" Proudhon aimed to justify property rights by universalizing property.

Proudhon denounced the property system as a *féodalité industrielle*, established by capitalism, that brought new injustices in the economic life of the world. Not even Marx was more bitter in his criticism of capitalism than was Proudhon, who asserted that the time was ripe for a new revolution which would overthrow the property system with its injustices and inequalities and establish an egalitarian system of possession. Since Proudhon was a native of France, the land of revolutionary traditions, and since he lived during the revolutionary period of 1848, it is important to note that, over and over again, he used the term "revolution" to mean a peaceful, though rapid, establishment of a new social order. He strongly opposed the revolutionary activities of the socialists, whom he ridiculed and denounced in unmeasured terms. There was no greater crime, in the opinion of Proudhon, than to incite class war at any and at all times.²⁰ Violent language, habitual with Proudhon, was, in a sense, used by him as a substitute for violent action to conceal the realities of his own program.

How was the peaceful revolution to take place whereby "the present system of oppression and of misery" would give way to a "system based on general well-being and liberty"? Proudhon's answer was surprisingly definite. It was to be by means of a change in the financial system that would give

¹⁷ *Théorie de la propriété*, pp. 208-10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 15 ff.

¹⁹ The best analysis of Proudhon's view of property is to be found in Berthold, *P.-J. Proudhon et la propriété*.

²⁰ *Correspondance*, II, 200, 291; VI, 381. In a letter to Marx, Proudhon repudiated violent methods as no longer necessary to accomplish social changes. See *Les Confessions d'un révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1929), p. 435.

credit to anyone who asked for it. To grasp the significance of Proudhon's solution, it is essential to keep in mind that his anticapitalism was not the same as that of the socialists who attacked capitalism primarily as a system of production. He launched his attack on capitalism as a system of exchange which functioned through the gold standard, the Bank of France, and the stock exchange. In his book *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*, Proudhon singled out the stock exchange as capitalism at its peak and at its worst. Finance was the quintessence of privileged, monopolistic capitalism because it controlled the life blood of the entire economic system, namely credit. The close and vital connection of finance with industry and with land enabled the capitalist to exact profit and the landlord to exact rent. The entire system of capitalist exploitation, established through this connection, would topple over through what Proudhon called, a *révolution par le crédit*.

This revolution, the greatest in history, was to be accomplished by the establishment of free credit, *crédit gratuit*.²¹ A People's Bank (*Banque du Peuple*) was to be organized to take the place of the Bank of France. Unlike the latter, the former was to have no subscribed capital, no stockholders, no gold reserve. It was neither to pay nor to charge interest, except a nominal charge to cover overhead. All business transactions in the nation were to be centralized in the People's Bank, which was to be a bank of exchange and a market for all the products of the nation. It was to issue notes based neither on specie nor on land but on actual business values. The chief function of the bank would be to universalize the bill of exchange by facilitating the exchange of goods between producers and consumers through exchange notes instead of money.²²

The dominating virtue of this scheme, according to Proudhon, was free credit in the form of exchange notes, universally accepted. With free credit a new economic order would arise, more free, more enterprising, more productive than capitalism. Private enterprise would remain, and competition, the vital force that animated all society, would continue to regulate market prices.²³ This greatest of all revolutions in history would be put through, according to Proudhon, "without confiscation, without bankruptcy, without an agrarian law, without common ownership, without state intervention, and without the abolition of inheritance."²⁴

²¹ References to this scheme are to be found in most of Proudhon's writings. The best exposition is contained in his *Organisation du crédit* in *Oeuvres complètes*, VI, and in his *Résumé de la question sociale* (Paris, 1849). See also Cohen, ed., *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem*.

²² *Organisation du crédit*, p. 115.

²³ *Système des contradictions économiques* (Paris, 1923), I, 249.

²⁴ Speech of Proudhon to the National Assembly, July 31, 1848, *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris, 1849), II, 772.

It is now clearly evident that the classless society of Proudhon's vision was entirely different from that of the socialists. Instead of the triumphant proletariat of the socialists it would be the triumphant middle class that would usher in the new order of economic equality. His method of bringing the classless society into existence was also strikingly different from that of the socialists of his time. It was through the socialization of finance by the peaceful *révolution par le crédit* in contrast to the socialist method of the socialization of the means of production and exchange by class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. To renounce the principle of class war and to hold up the middle class as the hope of mankind roused all the furies in Marx, who had confidently condemned this class to utter extinction, to be ground out of existence by the upper and nether millstones of capital and labor. Nothing appeared more preposterous to Marx than the notion that the revolution of the future would be in the interest of the middle class. He poured a stream of ridicule on Proudhon as a philosopher who "wished to soar as a man of science above the bourgeoisie and the proletarians; he is only the petty bourgeois, tossed about constantly between capital and labor between political economy and communism."²⁵

All working class movements of the day, such as trade unionism, universal suffrage, and socialism, encountered the uncompromising hostility of Proudhon. There was a menacing tone of bitterness in his vitriolic denunciation of these movements, not present in his attacks on capitalism. In his view the aspirations of the workingmen were a diversion from the real issue in France and a perversion of his vision of a classless society. He denounced trade unionism as a subversive movement directed against the public interest. The right to strike, asserted Proudhon, was a sinister power, wielded by the workers, that acted as a stimulus to their egoistic demand to rule the nation. It legalized class warfare to which he was unalterably opposed. He unleashed a furious, almost obscene, assault on what he contemptuously called the "political poverties," namely popular sovereignty, natural rights, constitutions, parliaments, universal manhood suffrage, and majority rule. Democracy was the most unstable of governments, continually oscillating between the absurd and the impossible. Its consequences were "the strangling of the public conscience, the suicide of popular sovereignty, and the apostasy of the Revolution."²⁶ Universal suffrage created the worst of all governments because it was "the idea of the state infinitely extended."²⁷ He, Proudhon, would under no circumstances devote any of his labor, of his time, or of his

²⁵ Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, tr. by Harry Quelch (London, 1900), p. 166.

²⁶ Desjardins, II, 214 ff.

²⁷ *Les Confessions d'un révolutionnaire*, p. 185.

substance to defend such *enfantillage* as democratic government. As a theory popular sovereignty was just plain nonsense, and its application to government in the form of universal suffrage was "worn out childishness."²⁸ Proudhon's contempt and hatred of democracy overflowed all decent bounds, and he descended to a degree of disgusting vilification, reached only by the fascists of our day. "All this democracy disgusts me," he wrote. "It wishes to be scratched where vermin causes itching, but it does not at all wish to be combed or to be deloused. What would I not give to sail into this mob with my clenched fists!"²⁹

Proudhon's opposition to democracy arose from his contempt of the common man. The great mass of people, in his opinion, consisted of puffed up bourgeois, miserable peasants, and stupid proletarians. He loved to embroider this theme with many verbal designs. The bourgeois were "greedy, cowardly, as much without generosity as without principles," and they stole through speculation because they hated to work for a living. The peasant never felt the "beat of national honor in his heart. He believes that tyranny is good provided it keeps down the city folks. Instinctively he hates science, philosophy, art, and industry . . . and is ever ready to respond to the appeals of the clericals against liberty." All that the worker desired was better wages, fewer hours of work, low cost of living, and high taxes for the rich. He had no vision of a new and better social order. "Corrupt, envious, and slanderous the worker mistakes hatred of employers for patriotism. He gets his greatest pleasure in witnessing the massacre of those who champion his cause." His contempt for his fellow worker, his hatred of his employer, his love of pomp and show "always drive him to the side of authority."³⁰

All true progress, according to Proudhon, was accomplished, not directly by the masses, but by *des esprits d'élite*, who, openly or secretly, drove them in the right direction.³¹ The masses were predisposed to autocratic rule, not to self-government. They needed a ruler as they needed a god. "For me," Proudhon declared, "it is an economic truism that the class which is the most numerous and the most poor is by that very fact the most envious, the most immoral, and the most cowardly."³² Humanity did not consist of the mass of brutalized "bipeds" but of the small group of elite which had always been the ferment in history. He questioned whether humanity ever consisted of more than ten thousand persons.³³

Proudhon's diatribes against democracy arose from his repudiation of

²⁸ For Proudhon's views on democracy, see Bourgeau, P. J. *Proudhon et la critique de la démocratie*, pp. 41-42.

²⁹ *Correspondance*, XI, 197.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 138-39; *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XI, 404.

³¹ *Correspondance*, V, 57-58.

³² *Ibid.*, IV, 267.

³³ *Ibid.*, IV, 154-55.

what he called "political" government, whether absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, or democratic republic. Authority and subordination, so destructive of human individuality and personal freedom, were the fundamental principles of every state, "the unpaid prostitute of knaves, monks, and old soldiers."³⁴ The state, under whatever form, was a conservative force; it could not, therefore, ameliorate social conditions just because it was the state. Proudhon went so far as openly to avow himself an anarchist and to praise anarchy as the condition of a mature society.³⁵

What was "economic" government that, according to Proudhon, was to supplant the "political" government which he condemned so loudly, so persistently, and so profusely? He devoted a volume, *Du Principe fédératif*, to the explanation of the scheme; and references to it are to be found scattered through Proudhon's writings. Nevertheless, it is difficult, very difficult, to get a clear idea of the scheme of economic government that Proudhon called "mutualism." Generalizations, keen and brilliant, there are aplenty but nowhere a ground plan. Under mutualism there would be organized, in each industry, voluntary autonomous associations of producers with the object of exchanging commodities. Production was to be individual, not collective. Relations between individuals and associations would be based on voluntary contracts, not on coercive laws.³⁶ Competition between the voluntary, autonomous, economic associations, under mutualism, would function in a healthful manner, whereas, under capitalism, competition between individuals was destructive and chaotic. In these ways mutualism would prove superior to the individualism of the capitalists and to the collectivism of socialists.

There was to be a political aspect to mutualism, namely federalism. The various associations would form a hierarchy of federations, at the top of which would be two national federations, one of producers and another of consumers. Supreme authority would be vested in a council, chosen by the various associations, with power to regulate their common affairs, such as transportation, credit, insurance, defense, security, etc. The centralized, sovereign state, exercising coercive power over the people, would be replaced by a "cluster of sovereignties," consisting of federations of autonomous economic associations. This new system would inaugurate what Proudhon called *le troisième monde*, the first truly classless society in history, which would succeed capitalism as the latter had succeeded feudalism. *Le troisième monde* would arise from the soil of capitalism, yet without any capitalistic evils, like the "lily which repudiates the onion from which it stems."³⁷ Like

³⁴ *Idée générale de la révolution*, p. 344.

³⁵ *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XIX, 19; *Idée générale de la révolution*, p. 199.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

³⁷ *La Guerre et la paix* (Paris, 1927), p. 191.

capitalism, the new order would maintain private enterprise, freedom of contract, competition, and private property. Unlike capitalism, it would not tolerate financial and industrial overlords with the attendant economic inequalities, class conflicts, and political tyrannies. All classes would fuse into one, *la classe moyenne*, and the great dream of a society of equals would at last be realized.

The unique aspect of Proudhon's blurred blueprint of *le troisième monde* was his outlawing of government from the social order. It caught the attention of those revolutionists in France, who, in the four short years from 1848 to 1852, had seen rapid and violent changes of government. When the Second Empire gave evidence of its ability to maintain itself against all opposition, whether royalist, republican, or socialist, certain elements among the revolutionists became convinced that stable government was synonymous with despotism. On the sudden collapse of the seemingly all-powerful empire at Sedan these revolutionists saw their opportunity of destroying despotism forever by abolishing government altogether. The voice of Proudhon rang loudly in the ears of the revolutionists of the Paris Commune, who aimed to destroy the central government of France and to establish, in its place, a federation of autonomous communes.³⁸

However, nothing would have astounded and infuriated Proudhon more than being hailed as the inspiration of a bloody uprising by the revolutionary proletariat. This contemner of all government, this "anarchist" hailed the dictatorial Second Empire as the long promised, passionately hoped for, historical event that would usher in *le troisième monde*. After the *coup d'état* of December 2, Proudhon addressed Louis Napoleon in the following manner: "You are the revolution of the nineteenth century; you can not be anything else. Apart from this, Deux-Décembre would be only an historic accident without principle and without significance."³⁹ The true object of Deux-Décembre, according to Proudhon, was to inaugurate the social revolution which had proved too great a task for every government in France since the First Empire. There was only one possible program for Louis Napoleon to follow, and that was a revolutionary one.⁴⁰ In the light of his great mission the suppression of the socialists during the June Days and the overthrow of the Second Republic were not reactionary acts. On the contrary they prepared the way for the advent of the true revolution of which Louis Napoleon was

³⁸ Concerning the influence of Proudhon's ideas on the Paris Commune, see Bourgin, *Proudhon*, pp. 81 ff.; and Brogan, *Proudhon*, p. 85.

³⁹ *La Révolution sociale*, p. 108.

⁴⁰ *Correspondance*, IV, 281.

the leader.⁴¹ "Let Deux-Décembre proclaim, frankly and loudly, that the reason for its advent was that it represented social revolution."⁴²

Proudhon offered to collaborate with Louis Napoleon and to guide him in the new revolutionary course "for the glory of the country, for the well-being of the masses, and for the progress of mankind."⁴³ He counselled the republicans and the socialists to rally to the banner of Louis Napoleon, who was the champion of the masses despite the fact that he was regarded by the reactionaries as an agent of counterrevolution.⁴⁴ By supporting Louis Napoleon, republicans and socialists would become the leaders and moderators of the true revolution demanded by the proletariat, who desired not political slogans but economic renovation.⁴⁵

Forcefully and repeatedly Proudhon drove home the idea that a social revolution could be accomplished only through the dictatorship of one man. Because of party divisions the revolution, so necessary to France, could not come from the deliberations of a popular assembly but from the dictatorship of one man, supported by the people.⁴⁶ The Revolution of 1848, Proudhon asserted, exposed the incompetence of the babblers and visionaries, and its suppression by the *coup d'état* cleared the way for the efficient, practical revolution of Louis Napoleon. He, not the socialists, was the true revolutionist. Did he not question all institutions: property, interest, income, privilege, constitutionalism, dynasty, church, army, school? Not by theories but by acts did Louis Napoleon show how fragile was the social structure and how weak were the principles that supported it.⁴⁷ The "anarchist" Proudhon, who so hated political government that he voted against the adoption of the democratic constitution of the Second Republic, now welcomed the constitution of the Second Empire that established the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon.

Like every other French thinker during the nineteenth century Proudhon was keenly aware of the problem of the two Frances, between which yawned the chasm of the French Revolution. His solution of the problem was the establishment of one party based on *la classe moyenne*. He poured scorn, wrathful, withering, and inexhaustible, on the many political parties during the Second Republic. Was this the product of the united, centralized France of which everyone was so proud?⁴⁸ Napoleon had sought to unite France by means of the poetry of war, but Louis Napoleon would improve on this method by using the "prose of economics." How? Proudhon's answer had a

⁴¹ *La Révolution sociale*, p. 177.

⁴⁴ *La Révolution sociale*, pp. 284 ff.

⁴⁶ *La Révolution sociale*, p. 215.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴⁵ *Idée générale de la révolution*, p. 121.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁴³ *Correspondance*, V, 154.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68.

sinister significance. It was possible and desirable, he argued, that one party should swallow all the other parties. This one party must represent the interests of *la classe moyenne* and those of the proletariat, fused into a national interest. Deux-Décembre alone could do it because it represented social revolution. To Louis Napoleon had come the great opportunity to take this great step.⁴⁹

Proudhon was doomed to suffer great disappointment in his ardent hopes of Deux-Décembre. In an interview with Louis Napoleon in 1848, he had proposed to the latter his scheme of free credit to inaugurate peacefully the great social revolution. After Louis Napoleon became emperor, Proudhon insistently urged him to adopt his scheme in order to fulfill the great revolutionary promise of Deux-Décembre. But the emperor paid no heed whatever to Proudhon's exaltation of him as the greatest revolutionist of all times, or to his scheme of *révolution par le crédit*. Chagrined at his failure to convert Louis Napoleon, Proudhon became very hostile to the Second Empire. Had the emperor betrayed the social revolution? Had he, instead, headed the industrial revolution of the capitalists and the bankers? Proudhon's passionate resentment at what he considered a betrayal of the greatest mission in history led him to conclude bitterly, yet correctly, that the Second Empire was a bourgeois government with a romantic, Napoleonic façade.⁵⁰ The great advance of industry and finance that was taking place with the active encouragement of the government was, in Proudhon's view, a retrograde movement to exploit the French people. What was the government doing for the masses and for his favorite class, *la classe moyenne*? Nothing, he replied. As the Second Empire became more liberal in its political and more capitalistic in its economic policies, Proudhon became more bitter in his hostility to Louis Napoleon. "After handing over our souls to the Jesuits," he complained, "the Emperor hands over our patrimony to the Jews."⁵¹ Public opinion under the Second Empire, Proudhon asserted, was dominated by Jews, Saint-Simonians, liberals, Jesuits, and bohemians. Especially influential were the Jews, "who dominated the press and controlled the government."⁵²

More than once was the note of anti-Semitism sounded by Proudhon. During the supreme hour of European liberalism, the Revolution of 1848, he had denounced the Jews as the bulwark of *la féodalité capitaliste*, hence the enemies of the people at all times. "The Jews, again the Jews, always the Jews!" he exclaimed. "Under the Republic, as under Louis Philippe, and as under Louis XIV we have always been at the mercy of the Jews."⁵³ Proudhon

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

⁵² *Ibid.*, XI, 354; XII, 65.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82; *Correspondance*, V, 55.

⁵³ *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XVII, 31.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, V, 242.

identified capitalists with bankers, and the latter with Jews, and he regarded all three as an unholy trinity indissolubly united in exploiting *la classe moyenne* and in defending reaction in France. "One group of counterrevolutionists," he declared, "consists of the monied elements, industrialists, merchants, and bankers, who are responsible for all the tyrannies perpetrated by reaction. These elements recognize the Jews as their leaders."⁵⁴ Proudhon had the tendency, inevitable in the anti-Semite, to see in the Jews the prime source of the nation's misfortunes, and to associate them with persons and groups that he hated. He denounced Jews along with "Saint-Simonians, pimps, brutal drunkards, and contemptible pedants."⁵⁵

Anti-Semitism, always and everywhere, the acid test of racialism, with its division of mankind into creative and sterile races, led Proudhon to regard the Negro as the lowest in the racial hierarchy. During the American Civil War he favored the South, which, he insisted, was not entirely wrong in maintaining slavery. The Negroes, according to Proudhon, were an inferior race, an example of the existence of inequality among the races of mankind. Not those who desired to emancipate them were the true friends of the Negroes but those "who wish to keep them in servitude, yea to exploit them, but nevertheless to assure them of a livelihood, to raise their standard gradually through labor, and to increase their numbers through marriage."⁵⁶

What astounded Proudhon's contemporaries, even more than his support of the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon or his anti-Semitic outbursts or his defense of Negro slavery, was his glorification of war. Hatred of war and longing for universal peace has been an almost universal characteristic of all modern revolutionary thinkers—the philosophes in the eighteenth, the democrats in the nineteenth, and the socialists in the twentieth century. The contradictions between the revolutionist Proudhon and the revolutionary thought of his day became even more puzzling, even more strange, when Proudhon appeared as a glorifier of war for its own sake. His book *La Guerre et la paix*, which appeared in 1861, was a hymn to war, intoned in a more passionate key than anything produced by the fascists of our time. "This book," remarks Henri Moyssset, editor of the volume, "arises from the very well-spring of Proudhonism; ordered and fully completed by the pressure of events, it is truly the product of the intellectual soil and moral climate in which the spirit of Proudhon grew and matured."⁵⁷

"Hail to war!" exclaimed Proudhon. "It is only through war that man was able to rise from the lowest depths to his present dignity and worth. Over

⁵⁴ *Résumé de la question sociale*, p. 36.

⁵⁶ *La Guerre et la paix*, p. 179.

⁵⁵ *Correspondance*, XII, 55.

⁵⁷ Moyssset, intro. to *ibid.*, p. lvi.

the body of a fallen foe he has the first vision of glory and immortality. . . . Death is the crowning of life, and how can an intelligent, free, moral creature like man end his life more nobly than on the battlefield?"⁵⁸ War was the revelation of religion, of justice, and of the ideal in human relations. Man was "above all else a warrior animal. . . . It is through war that his sublime nature becomes manifest. It is war alone that makes heroes and demigods."⁵⁹

In the view of Proudhon war was not a social evil that would be eradicated in the course of human progress. He was convinced that war was an instinct inherent in the very nature of man and was itself the prime source of human progress. Therefore it would last as long as man existed and as long as moral and social values prevailed in human society.⁶⁰ Universal and perpetual peace would mean the end of all progress. What would become of literature, of poetry, and of art if what was inconceivable actually happened, namely the abolition of war? What would become of justice, of freedom? Of the independent, free, autonomous nations? Everything would degenerate in a world at peace, and life would become a *siesta éternelle*.⁶¹ As war was the beneficent, though terrible, cause of human progress, its very origin was divine. The conscience that produced religion and justice also produced war. The fervor and enthusiasm that inspired lawgivers and prophets also inspired the warrior heroes.⁶² War was the only possible method of establishing justice on earth. As every nation sincerely believed that its cause was just, war was the only way of settling disputes between nations. And the victor always represented the justice of mankind. The profoundest sentiment, felt by the masses of mankind, was that there were "mysterious bonds" that united might and right. Because of this sentiment a nation, no matter how low she fell, would never perish as long as she kept burning in her heart "the just and regenerating flame of the right to make war."⁶³

Almost every page of *La Guerre et la paix* contains a glorification of war as an ideal and as an institution. Repetition reaches almost the point of hysteria. To dismiss Proudhon as an irresponsible writer with an irrepressible gift for polemics would hardly do justice to one of the most influential social philosophers of the nineteenth century. His hysterical praise of war, like his ardent championship of the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon, like his unwavering support of the middle class, was an integral part of his social philosophy.

Almost always the militarist has been hostile to the emancipation of women. Women could not be warriors but they could be wives and mothers of warriors. Hence to relegate women to domestic duties was the best way

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁹ *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XIX, 65.

⁶⁰ *La Guerre et la paix*, pp. 55 ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 91.

of insuring a strong, virile nation. Moreover, woman's subordination to man and her inferior status in government and in society was the militarist pattern of command and obedience, applied to the very foundation of the social order, namely the family. In Proudhon's day George Sand, in France, and John Stuart Mill, in England, sounded the faint beginnings of the movement to emancipate women by granting them equal rights with men. Woman's rights encountered the furious opposition of Proudhon. "I regard as baneful and stupid," he declared, "all our dreams of emancipating woman. I deny her every political right and every initiative. For woman liberty and well-being lie solely in marriage, in motherhood, in domestic duties, in the fidelity of her spouse, in chastity, and in seclusion."⁶⁴

What can be the explanation of the astonishing phenomena of the "complete revolutionist" being, at the same time, the complete militarist, the defender of slavery, the passionate hater of democracy and of socialism, and the bitter opponent of working class movements and of the emancipation of woman? The search for intellectual paternity sometimes leads to strange and disconcerting discoveries. Both by his disciples and by his detractors Proudhon has been given a high place as the father of anarchosyndicalism. To assert that both groups are mistaken involves a drastic re-evaluation of the ideas of this enigmatic thinker and of their significance in modern history.

According to authoritative syndicalist writers, notably Hubert Lagardelle, Proudhon was the inspirer of the anarchosyndicalist movement that came prominently to the fore in France during the quarter century before the first World War.⁶⁵ Proudhon's repudiation of both capitalism and socialism, his flouting of political government, and his scheme of free, autonomous economic groups became the fundamental theories of anarchosyndicalism. A resolution, adopted by the great federation of French trade unions, the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, incorporated in its famous charter of Amiens, sounded a distinctively Proudhonian note in its espousal of syndicalist policies. It demanded the establishment of a new social order, "based not on authority but on exchange, not on domination but on reciprocity, not on sovereignty but on freedom of contract."⁶⁶

It is true that Proudhon's vague ideas concerning the future "mutualist" society influenced the equally vague ideas of the syndicalists concerning the future organization of society. Concretely and definitely, however, syndicalism was a revolutionary labor movement that depended on trade unions, general strikes, and class violence to bring about a social revolution. Proudhon was

⁶⁴ *Correspondance*, IV, 377.

⁶⁵ Pirou, *Proudhonisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ See Bouglé, ed., *Proudhon et notre temps*, p. 3.

certainly not a champion of organized labor. Concretely and definitely he opposed trade unions, strikes, and violent class conflicts.

There still persists the legend of the "anarchist" Proudhon. He did, it is true, repudiate the state and all political government whatsoever, which gave him the specious reputation of being the "father" of anarchy. In discussing the social and political issues of his day Proudhon did not at all apply his anarchist views. They seemed to form no part of his vigorous attacks on the ideas of his opponents, whether left or right. His hatred of socialism, which Proudhon regarded as the worst of all social poisons, drove him to advocate anarchy as its very opposite. What he really saw in anarchy was not a solution of social problems but an antidote to socialism. It is important to note that the historically important contribution of Proudhon to social thought was not his repudiation of the state but his new version of the class struggle in western Europe. As the champion of the cause of the middle class, in opposition both to capitalists and to workingmen, Proudhon's anarchism evaporates with furious abruptness. His advocacy of personal dictatorship and his laudation of militarism can hardly be equalled in the reactionary writings of his or of our day.

It is equally surprising that the royalists in France have claimed Proudhon as one of the "masters of counterrevolution." What especially attracted them to Proudhon was his vitriolic denunciation of Jacobinism and of socialism. In the office of the royalist journal, *Action française*, there hung on the wall a picture of the "complete revolutionist."⁶⁷ In his book *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution*, the royalist writer, Louis Dimier, declared that Proudhon had a comprehensive philosophy of counterrevolution only in outline; in parts it was fully completed.⁶⁸ Though Proudhon gave to himself and to his contemporaries the impression of being a revolutionist, in reality, asserted Dimier, his ideas had the essence of conservatism. Therefore, the "revolution" of Proudhon could be more correctly described as "reaction." Proudhon was truly himself as a counterrevolutionist in those of his observations that were most striking and most penetrating.⁶⁹ The well-known anti-Semite, Edouard Drumont, hailed Proudhon as one who had a clear understanding, in his day, of the nature of masonic and cosmopolitan, *i.e.*, Jewish, conspiracies. By his sense of what was politically useful to France and "by his instinctive horror of cosmopolitanism, he was the first of the nationalists."⁷⁰ The Nestor of French royalism, Charles Maurras, praised Proudhon for his

⁶⁷ Bouglé, *La Sociologie de Proudhon*, intro., p. viii.

⁶⁸ Dimier, *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution*, p. 282.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 241-51.

⁷⁰ "Le Centenaire de Proudhon," *La Grande revue*, LIII (1909), 140.

pitiless exposure of democracy and democrats and of liberalism and liberals. As a nationalist, he asserted, Proudhon wrote in the spirit of the ancient monarchy that had done so much to advance the interest of France.⁷¹

However, Proudhon was not a reactionary, despite the claims of the royalists. Nothing in his writings or in his life indicates that he desired to re-establish the Old Regime in France or that he had any sympathy with the reactionary ideas of de Maistre and de Bonald. The royalists, like the syndicalists, mistook their man. Before the first World War anyone in France who opposed democratic ideas, parliamentary government, trade unions, and socialism was rated as a counterrevolutionist. That may have been true of others but not of Proudhon.

It was indeed an inharmonious age that produced Proudhon. The period in French history, 1830-1852, saw the revival of an old hope, that of fulfilling the democratic promise of the French Revolution, and the appearance of a new hope, that of creating a socialist commonwealth. Ideological conflicts had a great importance in France because of the tendency of radical ideas, in that land, to jump from the pages of a book into the melee of a barricade. Proudhon was a product of this revolutionary period in that he was one of those who voiced its discontents. In this sense he was a minor revolutionary figure, much less important than his fellow revolutionists, Louis Blanc, Blanqui, and Lamartine. Far more significant, however, was the fact that Proudhon was a prophet of future discontents, which gives him a greater position in history than that of his revolutionary contemporaries. The true significance of his writings can be seen only in the light of the political and social movement of our day known as fascism. It would be a great error to regard fascism as a counterrevolutionary movement, directed against the communists, as was that of the reactionaries against the liberals during the first half of the nineteenth century. Fascism is something unique in modern history in that it is a *revolutionary* movement of the middle class, directed, on the one hand, against the great banks and the consolidations of big business and, on the other hand, against the socialist demands of the working class. It repudiates democracy as a political system in which bankers, capitalists, and socialists find free scope for their activities and favors a dictatorship that will eliminate these elements from the life of the nation. Fascism proclaims a body of doctrines which are not entirely new; there are no "revelations" in history. With what ideas in Europe's past could they be related? With what great thinkers could they be associated?

It is the thesis of this article that the great French polemist, Proudhon,

⁷¹ Charles Maurras, *Dictionnaire politique et critique* (Paris, 1933), IV, 220 ff.

was a harbinger of fascist ideas. Otherwise his views would be as bewildering to us as they were to his contemporaries. To them his writings had a revolutionary trend but in an unfamiliar direction and a violence of language that yet clothed an anxious conservatism. They baffled reactionaries, liberals, and socialists alike. Proudhon was a revolutionist in that he repudiated established political and economic institutions and in that he proclaimed a new social order, inspired by a new ideology. Yet his bent of mind was conservative. His intense devotion to the institution of the family, his never-failing championship of the interests of the middle class, and his advocacy of the inheritance of property reveal his essentially conservative outlook. The mental configuration of Proudhon, with its strange contrasts, produced an attitude toward social and political problems that is understandable only in the light of present discontents. His attacks on the capitalist system were similar in manner, in direction, and in objective to those made familiar today by fascist writings. He it was who first sounded the fascist note of a *revolutionary* repudiation of democracy and of socialism. These were the overtones of fascism so frequently heard in Proudhon's writings.

Proudhon was the intellectual spokesman of the French middle class, so numerous and yet so timorous. Like the fascists of our time, and unlike the Marxists of any time, he realized that there was a powerful class interest, apart from capitalists and workingmen and hostile to both. With the upswing of modern industry and with the growth of socialism the middle classes were in constant fear of losing their little farms, their little shops, their little savings, either through confiscation by the revolutionary proletariat or through competition of powerful capitalists who would grind them into poverty or out of existence. Fear, especially, of socialist confiscation continued in France all during the nineteenth century, and even later, down to the second World War. The taunt that Marx threw at Proudhon that he was a champion of the petty bourgeois, interested in the survival of this class, was true. But the contemptuous tone that Marx used showed that he had no understanding of the power and revolutionary possibilities of the middle class. This error of Marx became an article of faith to his disciples. The contemptuous disregard of the middle class by the Marxist Social Democrats and Communists, during the period between the two World Wars, was to have fatal consequences in the triumph of fascism, the revolutionary creed of the middle class.

In stressing banking and Jewish bankers for his line of attack against the established order, Proudhon betrayed an almost unerring sign of fascist anti-

capitalism. That banking was "predatory," not productive, capitalism, and that it characterized the economic activity of the Jews were the emphatic appeals of the Nazis to the impoverished middle class in their crusade to abolish "interest slavery." "In singling out predatory capital national socialism treads in the footsteps of Proudhon, who, in his *Idée générale de la révolution au 19^e siècle* demanded the liquidation of the Banque de France and its transformation into an institution of public utility."⁷² In Proudhon's day his scheme of free credit was regarded by revolutionists as a tiny and sickly mouse that emerged from the enormous mountain of his devastating attacks on the capitalist system. In the light of fascism it was an important and significant weapon with which to attack capitalism in the interest of the middle class.

Proudhon's hostility to labor, whether organized industrially in trade unions or politically in socialist parties, had a fascist edge. The vehemence of his denunciation of working-class movements arose from his bitter hostility to labor *as a separate class interest*. During the middle of the nineteenth century most French workers were employed in small shops; hence class consciousness on their part was less a challenge to the capitalists than to *la classe moyenne*, whose interests Proudhon had so much at heart. He was indeed concerned with the welfare of the workers but only when they were willing to merge their interests with those of the middle class in the war against capitalism.

It was again Proudhon who proclaimed the novel idea that a dictatorship, to be successful under modern conditions, must have a popular basis and a revolutionary social program. This conception of dictatorship became distinctively fascist. Proudhon's was the only revolutionary voice that hailed the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon as a continuation of the French Revolution in the economic sphere. It caught the attention of many anxious minds in France who were seeking a stable, united France without resorting to Legitimist reaction, bourgeois class rule, or socialist terrorism. The new class conflict, that between bourgeois and workingmen, which culminated in the June Days of 1848 created a social crisis in France similar to that in Italy and in Germany after the first World War. The emergence of a "savior of society" in the person of Louis Napoleon may be compared to the emergence of Mussolini and Hitler, who also claimed to have saved society from the revolutionary onslaught of the communists. The significance of Proudhon, in the crisis of 1848, was his self-appointed role of intellectual cicerone to Louis Napoleon, a role difficult to play a century before it could be appreciated.

⁷² Franz Neumann, *Behemoth* (New York, 1942), p. 320.

That explains why he was rejected, both by those whom he sought to guide and by those who had regarded him as a fellow revolutionist.

There is no hint of the totalitarian corporative state in Proudhon's writings. The economic condition of France, in his day, was such that a totalitarian state of the fascist type was inconceivable, even by the bold social imagination of Proudhon. There existed no large working class, no concentrated industries that could be organized into state controlled "corporations." What was conceivable was a dictatorship, based on a mass of small property owners who desired a strong state to protect them against their class enemies and to make their interests those of the nation. That is why Proudhon, the spokesman of this class, supported the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. That is why he proclaimed the latter to be chosen of history and implored him to carry out his mission as a social revolutionist. That is why he supported dictatorial government against *toute la gente candidate*.

Fascist writers both in Germany and in France have not been slow to recognize Proudhon as the intellectual forerunner of fascism. One of these writers, Willibald Schulze, hailed him as the *Wegweiser* of the Third Reich because he repudiated democracy, capitalism, and socialism. Of all the social philosophers of former times, he asserted, Proudhon was nearest to National Socialism in that he upheld the principle of private enterprise and was, at the same time, opposed to profit and to interest.⁷³ Proudhon, asserted another Nazi writer, Karl Heinz Bremer, saw the necessity of popularizing a social idea that was antiliberal in order to give a social significance to the Second Empire. What Louis Napoleon needed was an ideology that expressed the relationship of the workers to the Second Empire, which only Proudhon could supply. But the emperor rejected him because he desired the rapid success of his regime. Instead, he catered to the banking interests and to the Jews, as a consequence of which Louis Napoleon failed to solve the social problem within the framework of national and *völkisch* ideas.⁷⁴

A significant article, contrasting Marx and Proudhon appeared in a Paris fascist journal, devoted to French collaboration with Nazi Germany. "Marx, the revolutionary disciple of Hegel," it declared, "placed a violent contradiction at the basis of society, a contradiction which could be dissolved only by levelling and by violence. Proudhon, being infinitely more conformable to the spirit of France, was well aware of individual values. He, therefore, found a way to resolve the economic contradictions of society. According to Marx it is the individual who is rotten; but, according to

⁷³ Willibald Schulze, "Was Proudhon Anarchist," *Deutschlands Erneuerung*, XXIII (1939).

⁷⁴ Karl Heinz Bremer, "Der sozialistische Kaiser," *Die Tat*, XXX (1938), 160 ff.

Proudhon, it is wealth. Proudhon welcomed into his fraternal 'people,' the middle class, who are the brains of the body social, a class that Marx would have stood up against a wall to be shot down."⁷⁵

In the powerful polemist of the mid-nineteenth century it is now possible to discern a harbinger of the great world evil of fascism. An irritating enigma to his own generation, his teachings misunderstood as anarchy by his disciples, Proudhon's place in intellectual history is destined to have a new and greater importance. It will come with the re-evaluation of the nineteenth century, as the prelude to the world revolution that is now called the second World War.

⁷⁵ *Les nouveaux temps* (Paris, May 2-3, 1943).

Great Britain and the Belgian Railways Dispute of 1869

GORDON A. CRAIG*

IN the year 1864, Great Britain's Continental policy underwent one of those abrupt changes which, on so many occasions, have caused misunderstanding and bewilderment in Europe. After five years of spirited meddling in Continental affairs, Britain withdrew to a position of almost complete isolation, and for the next seven years, years of revolutionary importance in Europe, her influence was almost negligible.

Ever since the Crimean War, the desire for abstention from Continental troubles had been growing in Great Britain. The Radicals, led by Cobden and Bright, had long urged the application of the laissez-faire principle to foreign as well as commercial policy; and the Derby wing of the Tory party was already beginning to argue that the national interest lay not in Europe but overseas.¹ But the growing desire for isolation was given a great stimulus in the years 1863-1864 as a result of the anger and humiliation caused by the policy pursued by Palmerston and Russell in the Polish and Danish crises. The swashbuckling manner in which the two elder statesmen had rushed to the aid of the Poles and the Danes, only to abandon them in the face of Russian and Prussian resistance, was galling to Englishmen of both parties. Irritated at the weakening of British prestige, they criticized the policy which had been followed since 1859 as lacking in consistency and basic principle and demanded a thorough reform.

In the great debate on foreign policy which was held in the House of Commons in July, 1864, it was made apparent that the days of Palmerstonian diplomacy were past and those of isolation were at hand. The keynote was struck by one of the Radicals when he announced that it was time "for replacing that muddling, dishonest system of apparent intervention . . . by an honest, dignified and plainspoken system of non-intervention";² and repeatedly, as the debate went on, speakers on both sides of the House returned to that phrase, describing nonintervention as the traditional policy of Great Britain and the one to which the nation must now return. By the fourth night of the debate it was clear that Britain was about to enter a period in

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¹ Robert W. Seton-Watson, *Britain in Europe, 1789-1914* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 465.

² *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVI, 859.

which nonintervention would be the shibboleth of both parties. What did not emerge from the discussion, however, was either an exact definition of the word nonintervention or an explanation of the manner in which a policy of nonintervention would affect England's treaty obligations and her interest in the European balance of power. And it was precisely this lack of definition which was to cause confusion in the years 1864-1871, and thus to effect a further diminution of Britain's Continental prestige.

In its original interpretation, nonintervention was the rule which forbade the intervention, forcible or supported by force, of one independent state in the internal affairs of another.³ It was in this sense that Castlereagh had used the term, when, in his state paper of May 5, 1820, he had announced that Britain would not support the Holy Alliance's policy of interference in the affairs of small states.⁴ It was in this sense, also, that Canning had used the term, and the principle of nonintervention formed the basis of what his secretary called Canning's "system of policy."⁵ But neither Castlereagh nor Canning had ever interpreted nonintervention as a policy of complete withdrawal from European affairs. Castlereagh, in the same note in which he announced the principle, had proclaimed Britain's cardinal interest in the European balance of power; and his successor, while opposing "restless and meddling activity in the concerns of the nations which surround us," had added that Britain's position forbade "an exclusive selfishness."⁶ Indeed, Canning made the principle of nonintervention a positive affirmation of British interests, maintaining always that abstention from needless activity would strengthen Britain's hand on those occasions when she was called upon to mediate between powers which threatened the general peace. He argued further that Britain's constant duty must be "to keep treaties, whatever the cost, for thus alone could confidence in their sanctity or in the public law of Europe be justified";⁷ and he did not hesitate to depart from nonintervention when Britain's treaty obligations required that he do so.⁸

In the debate of July, 1864, the principle of nonintervention was given a much narrower interpretation than it had been by its early advocates. Certainly the followers of Cobden and Bright were not thinking in terms of Canningite doctrine. Cobden wished England, in a very real sense, to with-

³ Mountague Bernard, *On the Principle of Non-Intervention* (Oxford, 1860), p. 1.

⁴ Harold W. V. Temperley and Lillian M. Penson, eds., *Foundations of British Foreign Policy, 1792-1902* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 61.

⁵ Augustus G. Stapleton, *George Canning and His Times* (London, 1859), p. 368.

⁶ Seton-Watson, p. 119.

⁷ Harold W. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning* (London, 1925), p. 466.

⁸ Thus Canning departed from a strict policy of nonintervention in Spanish affairs in 1823 and in Portuguese affairs in 1825. See Temperley, p. 459.

draw from the Continent and its troubles, for he had no faith in diplomatic correspondence, concerts of Europe, or theories of the balance of power. By nonintervention, he and his followers meant "no foreign politics."⁹ Nor were many of the Tories far removed from these opinions. Although Conservative speakers quoted Canning in their speeches, there was a strong feeling in their ranks that Britain had "scarcely any geographical interests on the Continent which might not be covered by Lord Russell's capacious hat."¹⁰ Canning had never forgotten the importance of the balance of power; but Disraeli himself, in the debate of 1864, struck out at the theory of the balance of power as being "founded on the obsolete traditions of an antiquated system."¹¹ Canning had always insisted upon Britain's respect for treaty obligations; but, in one of the most warmly received speeches of the debate, General Peel stated that he was "opposed to all treaties and guarantees which render it necessary to interfere with the affairs of others."¹² These were, of course, mere random assertions in a very long debate, but they were important, for in the next seven years the governments which ruled England were, in their pursuit of nonintervention, to neglect both the balance of power and their treaty obligations.

The change in Britain's Continental policy after the debate of 1864 was immediate and complete. For the remainder of their term in office, the Liberals pursued a policy of extreme caution with regard to Europe. When Lord Clarendon became foreign secretary after Palmerston's death in 1865, he not only abstained from the partisan tactics of the past but he regarded with almost complete indifference the growing threat of war on the Continent. To the queen, who insisted that England should intervene between Austria and Prussia to preserve the general peace, Clarendon wrote that such intervention was inadvisable, since "neither English honour nor English interests are involved" in the dispute between those powers.¹³ The possibility of England's mediating in the German conflict was removed when the Liberal ministry fell from office in June, 1866, and, by the time the Conservative government had been formed, the Seven Weeks' War had been fought and won by Prussia. But even if there had been no cabinet crisis, it is doubtful whether Britain would have intervened effectively. Clarendon had already set the tone of Britain's new policy. As Eugène Forcade said of the English, "*Il y a eu des temps où ils se mêlaient de tout, et ils sont fini par ne plus vouloir mêler de rien.*"¹⁴

⁹ Richard Cobden, *Political Writings* (London, 1878), I, 22, 43.

¹⁰ *Saturday Review*, XIX (Jan. 28, 1865), 96 f.

¹¹ *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVI, 731.

¹² *Ibid.*, CLXXVI, 800.

¹³ Seton-Watson, p. 468.

¹⁴ *Revue des deux mondes*, LXIV (July 1, 1866), 248.

The Derby-Disraeli ministry came to office in 1866 committed, both by their criticism of Palmerston's diplomacy and by the declarations of their leaders, to the policy of nonintervention. The foreign office was assigned to Lord Stanley, the eldest son of the prime minister. Shortly after the latter's accession to power, the Austrian ambassador wrote:

[Lord Stanley] belongs to that school of statesmen who make a dogma of the most complete non-intervention and the most absolute abstention of Great Britain from the affairs and quarrels of Europe. According to Lord Stanley, the only great interest of this country consists in the pacific development of its prosperity and its colonial and commercial power, and, as England could not attain this goal and at the same time interfere actively and influentially in the affairs of Europe, she ought not to hesitate between the two courses.¹⁵

In his three years of office, Stanley showed that this was an accurate forecast. His one adventure in foreign politics came in 1867 when the complicated question of the grand duchy of Luxemburg threatened to precipitate a Franco-Prussian war. On that occasion Stanley did intervene to find a peaceful solution, and Britain joined in that collective guarantee of Luxemburg's neutrality which was designed to prevent similar disputes in the future. But what credit Britain gained on the Continent by her intervention in this affair was offset by the extreme reluctance with which Stanley had moved and by his subsequent declaration that Britain was not called upon to protect the neutrality of Luxemburg by force of arms if any of the other guarantors should violate their pledge.¹⁶ To the House of Commons Stanley made it clear that the Luxemburg adventure was an exception to his general line of policy and that England was not going to be drawn into new European complications. Indeed, in April, 1868, the government emphasized its withdrawal from Europe even further, when, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill, it acquiesced in the deletion of that part of the preamble of the bill which referred to England's traditional interest in the preservation of the European balance of power.¹⁷

¹⁵ Temperley and Penson, p. 306.

¹⁶ The best monograph on the Luxemburg affair is Gaspard Wampach, *Le Luxembourg neutre. Etude d'histoire diplomatique* (Paris, 1900), although the literature on the subject is voluminous. The parliamentary debates on the Luxemburg guarantee and the interpretations made by Stanley and Lord Derby are to be found in *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXXVII, 148 ff., 1910 ff.; CLXXXVIII, 967 ff. Discussions of their interpretation are found in Temperley and Penson, pp. 309-12; Horst Michael, *Bismarck, England und Europa (vorwiegend von 1866-70)* (Munich, 1930), p. 66; and Charles P. Sanger and Henry T. Norton, *England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg* (London, 1915).

¹⁷ *Great Britain: Statutes*, 31 Victoria chap. xiv (Apr. 3, 1868). Robert C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871* (New York and London, 1935), pp. 283 f., mentions the change in the preamble of the act but ascribes it erroneously to the Gladstone ministry in 1869. It is true that the Gladstone government accepted the change, and in the Mutiny Acts the offending phrase was omitted. For the circumstances of the revision, see *Hansard*, 3d series, CXCI, 326, 556 f.

The policy of nonintervention was applied not only in western Europe but in Near Eastern affairs as well. Since 1866 the island of Crete had been in revolt against its Turkish overlord, and as the revolt continued, unrest and disorder spread through Turkey's European provinces.¹⁸ Yet, although these disturbances were a source of constant preoccupation for three years, Stanley steadily refused to join in any collective action of the Powers to restore peace in the Near East. This application of the nonintervention principle was, in the light of the ambitions of some of the other powers, not entirely unjustifiable. But Britain's adherence to what Gortchakov called a policy of "political nihilism"¹⁹ could not help having unfortunate effects. It not only prolonged the dangerous situation in the Near East but it very effectively destroyed the settlement of 1856. The Treaty of Paris had attempted to substitute collective action in the Near East for the separate action of single powers. English nonintervention destroyed the organic reality of such collective action and removed the one check upon the ambitions of the separate states.²⁰ When, however, Stanley was warned of this probable result of his attitude, and when he was reminded of Britain's guarantee of Turkey, he bluntly stated that "it seemed certain to him, in the light of his knowledge of the feelings animating England at present that the Government of the Queen will not take it upon themselves to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by force, as they would have done in another time, except perhaps in the case of the possessor of Constantinople itself being put in question."²¹ This was an implied repudiation of the guarantee of April 15, 1856, and its inevitable consequence, as Rheindorf has suggested, was Russia's violation of the Black Sea clauses in 1871.²²

¹⁸ The most complete account of the Cretan situation is Edouard Driault and Michel Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce* (Paris, 1925), III, livre 2. For British policy throughout the revolt, see "Correspondence respecting the Disturbances in Crete," *Great Britain: Accounts and Papers* (1867), LXXIV (3771), L/C, Feb. 7, 1867; "Further Correspondence," *Accounts and Papers* (1867-68), LXXIII (3965-11), L/C, Dec. 2, 1867-May 21, 1868; "Correspondence respecting the Rupture of Diplomatic Relations between Turkey and Greece," *Accounts and Papers* (1868-69), LXIV (4116), L/C, Mar. 2, 1869.

¹⁹ E. Charles Roux, *Alexandre II, Gortchakoff, et Napoleon III* (Paris, 1913), p. 453.

²⁰ The return to separate action on the part of the powers was clearly forecast when the Russian government, supported by Prussia, France, and Italy, announced that, in view of the failure of the Turkish government to liquidate the disorders in Crete and in view of its failure to follow the advice of the powers, the Porte must accept responsibility for all future consequences of its policy. See Driault and Lhéritier, III, 219; *Great Britain: Accounts and Papers* (1867-68), LXXIII, nos. 282, 283; *Les Origines diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-71*, XVIII, nos. 5770, 5771; hereinafter cited as *Origines*.

²¹ Kurt Rheindorf, *Die Schwarze-Meer-(Pontus-) Frage* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 62 ff.

²² In this connection it is interesting to note that, as early as January, 1868, there was a feeling in the Russian foreign office that Britain, at least as long as Lord Stanley was in office, would accept a *fait accompli* in the Near East. See Reuss to Bismarck, Jan. 17, 1868, in *Die Auswärtige Politik Preussens, 1858-1871; Diplomatische Aktenstücke*, hrsgb. von der Historischen Reichskommission unter Leitung von Erich Brandenburg, Otto Hoetzsch, Hermann Oncken (Oldenburg, 1932—), IX, no. 515; and Rheindorf, p. 63.

By the end of 1868 when the Derby-Disraeli ministry fell from office, the systematic application of nonintervention had led to an almost complete withdrawal from European affairs. In the revision of the Mutiny Act, Britain had disclaimed any interest in alterations of the balance of power. In the Luxemburg affair, the government had shown an extreme reluctance to assume new treaty obligations and a more extreme reluctance to honor them when assumed. In its conduct of eastern affairs, it had cast grave doubt upon its willingness to uphold obligations already undertaken. All of this could not but damage Britain's prestige in Europe. But it remained for the new Liberal ministry to carry this policy of retreat even farther, by showing that not even Britain's long-standing guarantee of Belgium was safe in the new age of nonintervention. England's desire to escape from the Continent was never more clearly illustrated than in an incident which has never been fully treated from English sources, namely, the curious episode of the Belgian railways in 1869.

The affair which Emile Ollivier later called "*l'hallucination des chemins de fer belges*" was, like the crisis over Luxemburg in 1867, a tempest in a teapot caused by the desire of France to strengthen her eastern frontiers. Unlike the earlier crisis, however, it was not initiated by the French but had its inception in certain financial plans of Belgian railway speculators.

The Belgian railway system in 1868 represented a curious mixture of private and state ownership. The government had built many of the lines and operated them as state enterprises. There were, however, other lines which had been ceded to private companies. This was especially true of the eastern part of the country, the chief railroads of which were owned by two companies. The first of these, the Compagnie du Grand Luxemburg, operated the line which ran from Luxemburg north to Marloie and there split into two branches, one of which went to Brussels, the other to Liège. A second private corporation, the Compagnie du Liègeois-Limbourgeois, controlled the railway which ran from Liège, by way of Limburg, to the border of the Netherlands.

In 1868, both these private companies were heavily in debt. Because of financial mismanagement, unwise speculation, and excessive jobbing, their income barely exceeded their operating costs. In the case of the Grand Luxemburg line, it was estimated that thirty per cent of the original capital had been squandered. The company had no funds to make necessary improvements, and since 1866 its dividend payments had been highly irregular.²³

²³ "Memorandum on the Attempted Transfer to the French Société de l'Est of the Belgian Grand Luxemburg and Liège-Limburg Railways. Printed solely for the use of the Cabinet, 12 March 1869." FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 274, confidential, Mar. 16, 1869, enc.

The financial status of the company was so bad that, in March, 1868, its board of directors had urged the Belgian government to repurchase the line.²⁴ They had received no encouragement and were forced to turn elsewhere in their search for financial salvation. In October, 1868, company representatives arrived in Paris to propose that their road be taken over by the French Compagnie de l'Est.²⁵ At the same time, a certain Baron Hirsch, leading stockholder in the Liège-Limburg Company, opened negotiations with the Compagnie de l'Est for the purchase of his line.²⁶

The interest shown by the French company in these proposals is easily explained. In January, 1868, the Compagnie de l'Est had concluded a railway convention with a private corporation operating in the grand duchy of Luxemburg. By this agreement, the French company had taken over the operation of all lines controlled by the Compagnie Guillaume-Luxemburg for a period of forty-five years and agreed to pay a fixed annuity for this privilege. The Compagnie Guillaume-Luxemburg ceded to the French society the railway running from the Swiss border to the city of Luxemburg and, in addition, a line which crossed the Belgian frontier and ran to the environs of Liège. It was apparent that, if new arrangements were made with the two Belgian companies, their railways would serve as an extension of this system, and the Compagnie de l'Est would dominate the stretch of territory which flanked the Rhine from Switzerland to the Dutch frontier.²⁷

The French company did not possess the resources to enable it to take over the Belgian railways unassisted. But behind the Compagnie de l'Est stood the French government. It had already promised to indemnify the company for any losses sustained in the operation of the Guillaume-Luxemburg lines. In view of the economic and strategic advantages promised from the possession of the Belgian roads,²⁸ it could be expected to do the same again.

The Belgian government was well informed as to the course of the negotiations in Paris. The chief representative of the Compagnie du Grand Luxem-

²⁴ The best account of the financial difficulties of the companies and their plans to escape them is in Paul Hymans, *Frère-Orban* (Brussels, 1905), II, 155 ff.

²⁵ FO Belgium/293; from Lumley, no. 100, Mar. 12, 1869.

²⁶ Hymans, II, 163 ff.

²⁷ The British minister in Brussels reported that "by means of an apparently simple Railway speculation, the French Govt., without appearing in the matter, would for all strategic purposes have held within its grasp the Kingdoms of Belgium and the Netherlands." FO Belgium/294; from Lumley, no. 120, confidential, Mar. 21, 1869.

²⁸ The economic advantages of the system planned were as important as the strategic. Belgian iron works at Liège and Charleroi depended to a large extent on ore shipments from Luxemburg. Once the French company controlled the sole system of transportation, rates could be manipulated in such a way as to benefit the iron works in northeastern France which were competing with the Belgian firms. FO Belgium/298; from Lumley, no. 1, commercial, Jan. 1, 1869; no. 2, commercial, Jan. 2, 1869; no. 6, commercial, Jan. 10, 1869.

burg was M. Tesch, former Belgian minister of justice. It is interesting to note that, in advising the government of the company's intentions, he pointed out that several of the company directors were Englishmen, and he intimated that the British government would frown upon any governmental interference with the excellent bargain which was being arranged.²⁹ It is doubtful whether the Belgian government was convinced of the truth of this argument, but it is strange that it should have done nothing to block the negotiations in their early stages. It was not until December 12 that M. Jamar, the minister of public works, announced publicly that the proposed cession could not take place without the consent of the government and that such consent would never be given.³⁰ By that time, the preliminary arrangements for the cession of the two Belgian roads to the Compagnie de l'Est had been made in Paris.

The Belgian government had assumed that Jamar's proclamation would end all talk of cession. In this, it was mistaken. The company representatives in Paris assured the French that their government would give way as soon as the agreements were ratified. This view was echoed by La Guéronnière, the French minister in Brussels, an ardent advocate of French absorption of Belgium. La Guéronnière informed the Quai d'Orsay that Belgian consent was inevitable, first, because the Belgian government had no legal right to block the cession and, second, because "men of affairs" in Belgium would not suffer interference with their material interests.³¹ In Paris, the Belgian minister, Baron de Beyens, worked hard to convince the directors of the Compagnie de l'Est of the resoluteness of his government's opposition but found all of his efforts unavailing.

Beyens discovered also that, whenever the French company showed the slightest hesitation, it was prodded on by officials of the French government, especially by Rouher, the "vice-emperor," and Gressier, the imperial minister of works.³² Indeed, thanks to La Guéronnière's enthusiastic reports from Brussels, the French government had decided to make the railway cession

²⁹ The foreign office papers show that the English directors of the Compagnie du Grand-Luxembourg did attempt to persuade Lord Clarendon, the British foreign secretary, to intercede in their behalf. On March 11, 1869, they sent a report to the foreign office, arguing their legal right to cede their line to the Compagnie de l'Est. In the event that the Belgian government should persist in its opposition, they requested that Clarendon should persuade that government to purchase the line in question. In the accompanying letter, Mr. W. Fenton, the chairman of the board of directors, wrote, "I feel confident that my own interests and the interests of my company are safe in your Lordship's hands and that you will not willingly see a great injustice committed upon British subjects. I would not for the world that France should touch Belgium with its little finger; but I *do* object to our property being offered up on the altar of Belgian patriotism." Clarendon politely refused to intercede. FO France/1384; to Lyons, no. 298, Mar. 23, 1869, enc.

³⁰ Emile Banning, *Les Origines et les phases de la neutralité belge* (Brussels, 1927), p. 225.

³¹ *Origines*, XXII, no. 7072; from La Guéronnière, Dec. 17, 1868.

³² Hyman, II, 175-78.

an objective of official policy. Despite Beyens' remonstrances, the Compagnie de l'Est, on January 30, 1869, concluded agreements with both the Grand Luxemburg and the Liège-Limburg companies, assuming the exploitation of their lines for a period of forty-three years. The agreements were to be submitted for the approval of the French and Belgian governments "*en tant que de besoin*."³³

The forcing play in Paris strengthened, rather than weakened, Belgium's resistance to the railway project and led the government to translate its feeling into legal terms. At the beginning of February, Frère-Orban, the leader of the government, summoned a ministerial council and proceeded to draw up a *projet du loi* for submission to the chambers. The *projet* stated simply that private railroad societies in Belgium could cede the lines for which they were concessionaires only with the consent of the government. In cases of infraction of this rule, the government would take over the lines, although the companies would be allowed recourse to the courts for the recovery of losses.

This law, at once a warning to the *actionnaires* in Paris and a measure of security for the future, was introduced in the lower chamber on February 6. In his argument for passage, on February 13, Frère-Orban was careful to avoid making any allusions to the political significance of the pending action of the Belgian railway companies. He stressed only the economic issues involved, and his case was stated so clearly that the bill passed with little debate.³⁴ A week later, the *projet* was passed by the senate, and became the law of the land.

With the passage of the law, this petty dispute over railway rights, like so many relatively insignificant questions in this period, was transported to the higher ground of diplomatic controversy. The French government could no longer hide behind the Compagnie de l'Est. Indeed, before the *projet* had moved up to the senate, La Guéronnière had warned Frère-Orban that France found Belgium's conduct inexplicable and insulting. To Frère's insistence that he had no intention of insulting France, and that newspaper reports had given the *projet* "*une apparence trompeuse*," the French minister replied that that in itself was sufficient cause for complaint. "A great nation like France," he said, "must not be wounded. Not only that, but people must not be given the impression that she can be wounded."³⁵ In Paris, the semi-official press was unleashed, and, with one accord, these journals announced that there was but one possible explanation for the Belgian position, namely,

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 177.

³⁴ A full discussion of the debate is given in Hymans, II, 185 ff.

³⁵ *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7237; from La Guéronnière, Feb. 16, 1869.

that it was the result of a Prussian plot.³⁶ This theory, so readily adapted to all causes of French irritation in this period, was taken up by the emperor himself. On February 16 Napoleon told the Belgian minister that he must not underestimate the gravity of the railway question. "The truth is," he said, "that M. Frère-Orban has premeditated all of this, that he went expressly to Berlin, and that the matter was concerted with Bismarck. . . . I shall insist that the law be repealed."³⁷

Ollivier has printed a very interesting dispatch which leaves no doubt as to the emperor's intentions. Writing to Marshal Niel on February 19, Napoleon spoke plainly of the possibility of war and annexation.

A government, like a man, must accept the challenge when it is provoked and, when the occasion presents itself, must seize it in order to prove its virility. What is the question posed today? The Belgian Government is demonstrating its ill-will toward France, and public opinion is convinced, rightly or wrongly, that Belgium would not be so arrogant were not Prussia behind her. In these circumstances, to be conciliatory and to retreat in the face of a proceeding which injures us would be to surrender, before the face of Europe, all our legitimate influence. Must war arise out of this conflict? I do not know. But it is necessary to act as if it will arise.³⁸

The emperor then discussed the great advantages which would result from a war with Belgium at this time. He raised the question of Prussia's position in such an eventuality and concluded that, although Bismarck might interfere, he would probably adopt the more prudent course of using the occasion to annex the South German states. But the most interesting feature of the letter is to be found in its omissions rather than in its content. It contains not a single reference to England.

There can perhaps be found no better illustration of the complete disregard in which England was held at this time. For the neutrality and independence of Belgium was protected by an English guarantee, and the security of Belgium had long been regarded as a vital British interest. Since 1831, when Palmerston had threatened war "in a given number of days" unless French troops were withdrawn from the country,³⁹ no one had doubted England's willingness to stand by Belgium. There was good reason to doubt it in 1869. Though the railway question had been public property for over two months, the British foreign office had maintained an almost complete, even if uneasy, silence.

³⁶ See the report of the Paris correspondent in the *Times*, Feb. 22, 1869. It points out that the only independent newspaper which joined this campaign was *Liberté*, whose editor, Emile Girardin, was an ardent advocate of Belgian annexation. See also *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7245 and notes.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIII, no. 7249, note.

³⁸ Emile Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral* (Paris, 1895), XI, 375 f.

³⁹ Sir Henry Bulwer, *Life of Viscount Palmerston* (London, 1870-76), II, 108.

In England, Queen Victoria had been the first to see danger for Belgium in the railway cession. In January, 1869, aroused by a series of worried letters from King Leopold of Belgium, she had expressed her concern to the foreign office and insisted that the government make clear its willingness to uphold the Belgian guarantee.⁴⁰ Lord Clarendon, at the foreign office, had, however, no desire to make such a statement. Intervention in the railway dispute, he felt, might very well involve Great Britain in the slowly evolving duel between France and Prussia. Such involvement could be not only embarrassing but, in view of the tense relations between Britain and the United States at this time, actually dangerous. Despite the advice of the queen, therefore, Clarendon not only refused to act but, with an impulsive irritability, blamed the Brussels government for having allowed the railway question to become one of European interest. Gladstone, although the responsible head of the cabinet, seems not to have interfered directly. He defended Clarendon to the queen and in general left the matter in Clarendon's hands.

When the Belgian government first brought the railway question to his attention, Clarendon had urged it "to put a stop to the sale, not by a veto, but by a purchase of the railways."⁴¹ The Belgian government had answered that, for financial and political reasons, this was impossible, and that, among other things, such purchase would cause every bankrupt railway company in Belgium to demand the same treatment.⁴² The British foreign secretary showed a tendency to regard this decision as the root of the trouble which ensued.

Thus, when in February, 1869, the policy of the French government led people to expect English intervention, Clarendon was fully as critical of Belgian policy as he was of French, and this fact prevented his advice from having any deterrent effect in Paris. On February 18, he instructed Lyons to point out at the Quai d'Orsay that Belgium had every right to pass legislation affecting her own railway system and that he had reason to believe that there was no justification for the claims that the Belgian actions were inspired in Berlin.⁴³ But in communicating these opinions to the French ambassador in London, Clarendon moderated his tone considerably and spent a good part of the interview expressing regret at the *maladresse* of the Belgians. Prince La Tour d'Auvergne placed considerable emphasis upon this fact in his report,⁴⁴ which naturally weakened the effect of Lyons' communication. For

⁴⁰ Lord Newton, *Lord Lyons, a Record of British Diplomacy* (London, 1913), I, 212.

⁴¹ FO Belgium/133; to Lumley, no. 6, Jan. 16, 1869.

⁴² FO Belgium/292; from Lumley, no. 36, confidential, Jan. 30, 1869.

⁴³ FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 195, confidential, Feb. 18, 1869.

⁴⁴ *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7248; from La Tour d'Auvergne, confidential, Feb. 18, 1869.

the French government was not contesting Belgium's right to pass railway legislation but was accusing the Brussels government of insulting France without warning before the eyes of Europe.⁴⁵

The French government must have been equally encouraged by the attitude taken by the *Times*. The erstwhile *Thunderer* confessed that its sympathies were "in favor of unrestricted commercial enterprise, and particularly of such amalgamations or working conventions between the Continental railroad lines as shall facilitate traffic and give the greatest advantages to the public."⁴⁶ It absolved the French government from all suspicion and maintained that Belgium's caution was

in this instance overstrained. An agreement that the French "Est" should manage and work the Arlon line can no more threaten the independence of Belgium than an agreement that the French "Nord" should work the London, Chatham and Dover would facilitate the invasion of England.⁴⁷

It soon became apparent that Napoleon III did not deserve this confidence and was bent upon gaining satisfaction from Belgium. The British ambassador in Paris reported on March 4 that the irritation in Paris had not subsided. There was a prevalent notion, he added, that, if France attempted to annex Belgium, Prussia would raise no objections, and "it is doubted whether, if Prussia connived at the spoliation, England would be willing, or indeed able, to make any effectual resistance to it."⁴⁸ Two days later, Lumley, the minister in Brussels, reported that France was demanding the appointment of a mixed commission which would examine the question of the railway contracts and "the questions attached to it." In case of a Belgian refusal, La Guéronnière was to be recalled from Brussels.⁴⁹

Even after the receipt of this news, Clarendon was reluctant to exert any pressure in Paris. He sent a mild dispatch to Lord Lyons, the ambassador in Paris, suggesting that France should call in a third party to mediate in the dispute rather than break off diplomatic relations.⁵⁰ Lyons, who was quite as prudent as his chief, did not communicate even this suggestion. He reported,

⁴⁵ In his instructions to La Guéronnière, La Valette stressed the fact that the Belgian government had introduced the railway law without making any attempt to inform the French government officially of its opposition to the project. *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7242. La Tour indicated that Clarendon shared the opinion that this conduct had been ill-advised.

⁴⁶ *Times*, Feb. 19, 1869. The *Economist* went farther in stressing the economic issues involved and wrote (no. 1331, Feb. 27): "Whatever may be the result of the controversy, it is hoped that, the Great-Luxemburg line having been constructed in a great degree by means of English capital, the interests of the proprietors will not be sacrificed to political considerations."

⁴⁷ *Times*, Feb. 23, 1869. This attitude was strongly criticized by the *Pall Mall Budget* (Feb. 27, 1869), while the *Saturday Review* (XXVII [Feb. 20, 1869], 232) said of an earlier and similar leader that "such writing as this can only be characterized as a disgrace to the nation."

⁴⁸ FO France/1749; from Lyons, no. 249, very confidential, Mar. 4, 1869.

⁴⁹ FO Belgium/293; from Lumley, no. 87, Mar. 6, 1869.

⁵⁰ FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 241, confidential, Mar. 6.

on March 8, that he was confident that Napoleon's ambitions would be checked by the natural caution of La Valette, the foreign minister, and that, under the circumstances, it might be well to persuade Belgium to agree to the plan of a mixed commission.⁵¹

The Belgian government, which considered the railway question closed, had not the slightest inclination to give way to such a plan. It was, indeed, the extreme resistance of the government that made Clarendon amenable to Lyons' suggestion, for it revived his former belief that the railway incident was a plot to involve England in the Continent. He was, for instance, extremely startled by a telegram from Lumley which read, "The King is confident that Your Lordship will let him know whether and when you think he should commence military preparations."⁵² Clarendon telegraphed immediately that any military proceedings were out of the question and instructed his minister to urge the Belgian government to agree to the French plan.⁵³ After some hesitation the Belgians agreed to send a delegate to Paris, as "*un témoignage de déférence pour les conseils du gouvernement anglais.*"⁵⁴

Once the Belgian government had made this concession to France, it fully expected British support in the ensuing negotiations. In England, too, there was a strong feeling in influential quarters that the foreign office should make a declaration which would restrain France during the Paris talks, and this became so insistent that Clarendon was forced to make certain concessions to it.

He did so, however, in characteristic fashion. On March 16 he addressed a long dispatch to Lyons. He spoke of "the value and importance attached not only by Her Majesty's Government but by the people of England also to the alliance with France." The intimacy between the two governments made it possible for him to express, without fear of misunderstanding, "apprehensions respecting eventualities which appear to be possible." This clumsy phrase apparently referred to the Belgian difficulty, for the foreign secretary spoke at length of the great sympathy which the English people felt for Belgium and of England's position as one of the guarantors of that state. He then alluded cautiously to the possibility of a French attack on Belgium. This, he said, would have very grave consequences for the emperor, for Belgium was protected by the guarantee of 1839 and "an engagement so solemn and

⁵¹ FO France/1750; from Lyons, no. 268, very confidential, Mar. 8.

⁵² FO Belgium/293; from Lumley, telegram, Mar. 9.

⁵³ In an instruction to Lyons on March 17, Clarendon wrote that the Belgians were trying to make the English government "co-partners in any responsibility they may incur in dealing with the French proposals; but Her Majesty's Government can not allow this to be so assumed by the Belgian Government." FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 284.

⁵⁴ Baron Beyens, *Le Second Empire, vu par un diplomate belge* (Paris, 1924), II, 347.

for so many years religiously respected could hardly remain a dead letter now." Clarendon did not say directly that England would be prepared or willing to act. He contented himself with saying that "in view of the armaments and the rivalries in *Europe* [*italics mine*], Her Majesty's Government think that they cannot be taxed with exaggeration when they declare their apprehension that war would ensue." In such an event "the interruption of cordial relations with France" would be inevitable.⁵⁵

Although neither a menacing nor an unequivocal dispatch, this document did include a warning which could not be without effect in Paris. But the warning was never delivered. The foreign secretary, in his concluding paragraph, gave Lyons no instructions for its use, but indicated that the manner and the time of its delivery would be left to the discretion of the ambassador.

This expression of confidence was not entirely pleasing to Lord Lyons. On March 17, he wrote:

The language of the Despatch is very guarded and very friendly towards France; but without reference to the particular language used, the French Government will certainly consider the step taken—the "démarche" as they will term it—as equivalent to a serious warning or, to speak plainly, to a threat.

If England wished to threaten France, he pointed out, the dispatch would be most effective if it included a definite statement authorizing Lyons to read it to M. La Valette at a given time. He preferred, accordingly, to await such specific instructions. In his personal opinion, however, any such threat might have an effect contrary to that hoped. The emperor "may feel, or in all events declare, that the intervention of Her Majesty's Government has made it impossible for him to deal with the Belgian Question in the conciliatory manner he intended." In that case, war would ensue.⁵⁶

The responsibility for the *démarche*, if there was to be one, reverted to the foreign secretary, and, after reading Lyons' dispatch, he decided that silence was the more prudent counsel. Accordingly, he wrote on March 18 that he had decided to await the outcome of Frère-Orban's visit to Paris before taking the step suggested in his dispatch of March 16.⁵⁷

This was curious conduct for a nation supposed to be vitally interested in Belgian security. But Clarendon and Lyons were operating upon the assump-

⁵⁵ FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 266, very confidential, Mar. 16, 1869.

⁵⁶ FO France/1750; from Lyons, no. 297, Mar. 17, 1869.

⁵⁷ FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 287, Mar. 18. The writers of the two most complete discussions of the Belgian railways dispute, Rheindorf (*Deutsche Rundschau*, CXCV, 118) and Michael (*Bismarck, England und Europa*, p. 228), give the impression that the English *démarche* was made, despite Lyons' dispatch, "a few days later." This view is certainly mistaken and seems to be based upon an undated private letter, reproduced in Newton (*Lord Lyons*, I, 216), in which Clarendon expressed the belief that the warning *might* have to be sent to Paris. No English pressure, however, was brought to bear in Paris at this time.

tion that time and English silence would solve the dispute. In Belgium's agreement to enter discussion in Paris, they saw hope for a solution, and Lyons believed that this had removed the question "from the dangerous ground of international dignity on which it had been placed."⁵⁸

In Brussels, Frère-Orban hoped that this was true. He was quite willing, he told the English minister, to discuss in Paris means of improving the commercial relations between France and Belgium. He had little confidence, however, in the emperor's willingness to limit the talks to that subject. He suspected that the French "would try to extort from the Belgian Government its consent to the draft contracts," and he pointed out that "any minister who would consent to them would sign the death warrant of the independence of Belgium."⁵⁹ To safeguard Belgium's interests, the minister president decided to go to Paris himself.

Frère-Orban's fears were strengthened by the conduct of the French minister in Brussels. La Guéronnière had been delighted by the Belgian acceptance of a mixed commission, which he interpreted as a complete surrender to France.⁶⁰ Before Frère left for Paris, the French minister made it his duty to advise him to accept the railway conventions without hesitation. He pointed out that the position of Europe made Belgian neutrality impossible. Treaties, he said, had an ideal value, but they no longer protected small states. In the circumstances, "*la Belgique doit dorénavant pencher vers la France.*"⁶¹ Nor were the apprehensions aroused by this advice completely removed by Frère's first conversation with Napoleon III after reaching Paris. For the emperor, in a long and rambling conversation, expressed regret that Louis Philippe had not succeeded in uniting France and Belgium and said that, although such union was, perhaps, unnecessary now, it should be the task of today's statesmen to remove all barriers between the two countries.⁶²

The commissioners appointed to deal with Frère-Orban were La Valette, Rouher, and Gressier. They gave concrete expression to the emperor's hopes by demanding outright that Belgium assent to the conclusion of the conventions between the Compagnie de l'Est and the Belgian roads. Frère was able to delay his decision until April 12 by securing permission to make alternative proposals. He had determined, however, to concede to the French company only certain tariff adjustments and rights of way and to insist that the railways

⁵⁸ FO France/1751; from Lyons, no. 314, Mar. 23, 1869.

⁵⁹ FO Belgium/294; from Lumley, no. 125, confidential, Mar. 23, 1869.

⁶⁰ See his very interesting report of Mar. 28, *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7358.

⁶¹ This advice was not conveyed directly to Frère-Orban but to the secretary general of the foreign ministry. A memorandum, written by the latter, appears in Hymans, II, 232 f.

⁶² Hymans, II, 240. Lumley found the king of the Belgians extremely agitated by the news of this conversation. FO Belgium/294; from Lumley, no. 152, private and confidential, Apr. 11.

in question remain under Belgian control.⁶³ He embodied this decision in a memorandum which was submitted to the French representatives.

When discussions reopened on April 16, it became apparent that a rupture between the two parties was almost inevitable. The French commissioners declared flatly that the counterproposals were inadequate and used every argument in their power to make Frère give way. This he refused to do, insisting that "for Belgium to accept the treaties, even with some modifications, would be to admit that the independence of the country was an empty word."⁶⁴ There was a memorable incident on April 20, when Frère threatened to appeal to the powers who had guaranteed Belgian independence in 1839. At this suggestion, Rouher rose abruptly from the conference table and, striding into the anteroom, cried, "It is evident that Prussia is behind all this. But—sooner war than surrender! In any event, sooner or later, that war is inevitable. The Prince Imperial will never reign unless Sadowa is wiped out. *Eh bien!* If they want it, let there be war!"⁶⁵

The threatening attitude of the French made some action on the part of England imperative. Clarendon was still reluctant to apply pressure to France and he had used his influence in newspaper circles to restrict public discussion of the railway dispute as much as possible.⁶⁶ He had no such means, however, of restraining his sovereign. In a letter to her foreign secretary on April 15, Queen Victoria raised once more the question of England's guarantee to Belgium, insisting that "if it were to be generally understood that we could not any longer be relied upon, except for moral support, England would soon lose her position in Europe."⁶⁷

The foreign secretary's answer to this letter showed not only that he was still irritated at Belgium but that his conception of England's obligation to that country was far different from that of the queen. He accused Belgium of holding out England's material force as a menace to her "real or supposed enemies," and added:

it is the duty, as Lord Clarendon humbly conceives, of your Majesty's Government to consider the interests of England, and not to disguise from themselves the many difficulties of our position and the exceeding delicacy of calling upon Parliament to give effect to Treaties which, if public opinion years ago had been what it now is, would not have been sanctioned. It seems to be the duty of your Majesty's Government to bear in mind how widely different are the circumstances of this country now to when those Treaties were concluded and that, if their execution were to lead us into war in Europe, we should find ourselves immediately called upon to defend Canada from American invasion.⁶⁸

⁶³ Banning, p. 228.

⁶⁴ Hymans, II, 261.

⁶⁵ Ollivier, XI, 384. Beyens, II, 350 f.

⁶⁶ *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7339; from La Tour d'Auvergne, confidential, Mar. 19, 1869.

⁶⁷ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2d series, I, 589.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 590.

The foreign secretary tried to gild this pill by adding that he hoped England would always fulfill her obligations when "rightfully called upon" to do so. The queen, however, was deeply distressed. There was, she pointed out, a disposition on the Continent to believe that England is not to be moved, either by interest, or the obligations of Treaties, into giving more than *moral* support in any complications that may arise, and that the aggressive Power may dismiss all fears of finding "England across its path."⁶⁹

This feeling endangered the cause of peace. England must make clear her willingness to stand by her pledges on the Continent. An expression of the queen's concern was also transmitted to Mr. Gladstone, with the remark that Clarendon's conduct was "so *very* curiously guarded, as to be hardly *straightforward*."⁷⁰

The queen's demand for more vigorous action coincided with the reports of increasing friction in Paris. Clarendon was losing what confidence he had had in the French government, and he wrote sadly to Lyons, "I did not think they would have exposed the cloven foot so soon and completely as they have done."⁷¹ On April 21, he made the *démarche* which he had withdrawn a month earlier. His language was still not wholly straightforward, nor did he make England's position entirely clear. But he indicated that the English government saw no reason for France's demand for the ratification of the railway contracts. Persistence in this course would cause the public opinion of Europe to "lean to the belief that the independence of Belgium was menaced by France." If this were true, the cordial relations between England and France would, of necessity, be interrupted, an eventuality which could not appear desirable to the French government.⁷²

The reaction of the French foreign minister to this communication was primarily one of surprise. His rejoinder, sent to La Tour d'Auvergne in London on April 25, is a curious blend of injured innocence and incredulity. He insisted, and this was perhaps only natural, that France had not the slightest intention of violating the neutrality and independence of Belgium. But implicit in La Valette's dispatch is an admission that the French government had expected no English intervention. After all, the foreign minister seemed to say, England had known about the dispute from the beginning; she had actually supported the French demand for a mixed commission; and it was surely illogical for her now to make scarcely veiled accusations against France.⁷³

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 592.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 593.

⁷¹ Newton, I, 217.

⁷² FO France/1386; to Lyons, no. 428, Apr. 22, 1869. *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7404; from La Tour d'Auvergne, confidential, Apr. 22.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, XXIV, no. 7415; La Valette to La Tour d'Auvergne, minute, Apr. 25.

Nevertheless, the French gave way very soon after the communication of Clarendon's dispatch. On April 27 the French commissioners surrendered completely to Frère-Orban's terms. In the protocol signed on that date, they admitted that they would forego the execution of the railway contracts which had been concluded with the Compagnie de l'Est. They saved face by appointing a new commission to draw up service conventions between the French and Belgian roads, but they guaranteed the incontestable right of Belgium to control and regulate the lines within her borders.⁷⁴

On the surface, this withdrawal on the part of France represented a diplomatic victory for England. There is reason to doubt, however, whether Clarendon's dispatch of April 22 had exercised, in itself, a decisive influence in Paris. The French government was fully cognizant of England's reluctance to become involved in Continental struggles, and it was well aware of England's transatlantic difficulties.⁷⁵ Lyons had reported that there was a feeling in Paris that England would do nothing to prevent an attack on Belgium, especially if Prussia remained neutral.⁷⁶ But in April, the French government had begun to suspect not only that Prussia would no longer remain indifferent but that she was urging England to act and promising support if she should do so. This suspicion was borne out, at the very moment when La Valette was pondering Clarendon's note, by a dispatch from the French ambassador in London. La Tour reported a confidential conversation with Clarendon on April 23 in which the latter had intimated that Bismarck "was in entire agreement with the views of England and was ready, if it were possible, to enter into *pourparlers* with her on the subject of this affair."⁷⁷

Reviewing the railways dispute at a later date, Bismarck claimed that Great Britain had prevented French absorption of Belgium in 1869, not by making manifest her own determination to prevent such an event but rather by bringing Prussia into the dispute without specific authorization from Berlin.⁷⁸ A brief consideration of the relations between England and Prussia during the railway dispute will show perhaps what justification there was for that charge.

The Prussian government had maintained a very reserved attitude

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIV, no. 7424, note.

⁷⁵ Michael, p. 249, n. 43.

⁷⁶ FO France/1749; from Lyons, no. 249, very confidential, Mar. 4, 1869.

⁷⁷ *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7412. According to Newton (*Lord Lyons*, I, 218), Clarendon advised Lyons on April 19 that "we might tomorrow, if we pleased, enter into a coalition with Prussia against France for the protection of Belgian independence." There is nothing in the foreign office documents to prove that Lyons ever used that information in his conversations with the French foreign minister, although it has been assumed that he did. (See, for instance, Michael, p. 248.) The dispatch, quoted above, proves beyond doubt that Clarendon himself warned the French of the possibility of an Anglo-Prussian understanding.

⁷⁸ Bismarck, *Gesammelte Werke*, VIb, no. 1383, intro.

throughout the early stages of the affair. At the beginning of the French agitation against Belgium there had been considerable expression of sympathy for Belgium in the press, and an occasional hint that Prussia should protect her.⁷⁹ Bismarck, however, who had been extremely irritated by the hesitant policy followed by England during the eastern crisis, was determined to take no initiative in the matter. Belgium, he maintained, was the special charge of Great Britain. If Britain was ever to abandon the sterile policy of nonintervention which had of late years ruled her counsels, she would do so in the present crisis. But she would have to take the first step herself.

Count Bernstorff, the Prussian ambassador in London, was instructed, then, to refrain from committing his government in any way but, at the same time, to discover, as quietly as possible, how far England was prepared to go in defense of Belgium. At the beginning of March, Bernstorff was forced to report that he could get nothing but commonplaces from government spokesmen and that not one of them was prepared to state whether England would honor her pledge to Belgium. When King Wilhelm had read Bernstorff's reports, he wrote to Bismarck, "It seems to me that we must go along with England in the Belgian affair; and yet, in doing so, let us not pull any chestnuts out of the fire, for I firmly refuse to believe that England will set a single man or a single dollar in motion if it comes to blows!"⁸⁰

Bismarck was apparently of the same opinion and, in a long conversation with Lord Loftus on March 12, he made the Prussian position clear. On the basis of Bismarck's declaration, the British ambassador formed the opinion that the Question of the Independence of Belgium was especially one of importance and interest to Great Britain: that if that Independence were to be attacked, Prussia could not be expected to defend it alone and that consequently the course which Prussia might eventually take would depend entirely on the Policy of Great Britain.

Everything rested, in short, on "whether the Policy of non-intervention would still be maintained." If it were, Loftus received the impression that Bismarck would make the sacrifice of Belgium the basis of an understanding with France. If, on the other hand, England declared that she would resist any attack on Belgium by force, Loftus thought Bismarck would try to secure the alliance of Great Britain.⁸¹

⁷⁹ "The *Cross Gazette* [*Kreuzzeitung*, Berlin] of this evening, in a leading article headed 'The Future of Belgium,' declares that it is to the interest of all the Great Powers that the independence and neutrality of that country should be preserved, adding that if, contrary to expectation, she should be threatened from any other quarter, Allied Germany must vigorously undertake her defence." "Latest Intelligence," *Times*, Feb. 4, 1869.

⁸⁰ Bismarck, Vlb, no. 1344, intro.

⁸¹ FO Prussia/661; from Loftus, no. 131, most confidential, Mar. 13, 1869. This dispatch and that of April 17 are printed in the appendix to Veit Valentin, *Bismarck's Reichsgründung im Urteil englischer Diplomaten* (Amsterdam, 1937).

Bismarck intended to go even farther than this in his attempt to dislodge England from her position of abstention. On March 16 he prepared a long dispatch for communication to Bernstorff, which opened with a significant declaration.

The impossibility of being able to take into account England's influence in the political affairs of the continent is felt by us not only as a loss but indeed as a danger to peace, the more so because we are convinced that the weight of that influence will never fall into the scale on the side of wanton disturbances of European peace.

Bismarck recognized that England's close connection with Belgium had led her to entertain lively apprehensions as to the future security of that state. But what of the future security of Europe? The French agitations against Belgium were insignificant in comparison with France's constantly threatening attitude toward Germany. Prussia could not be expected to show an interest in Belgium until England became aware of the importance of the larger question. Specifically, England's willingness to assume some Continental obligations would best be expressed, and her interests would best be protected, by concluding "a firm and intimate alliance . . . with Germany for the preservation of the peace and for protection against every disturber of that peace and every act of aggression from without."⁸²

Before Bismarck could send off this dispatch, he received another note from King Wilhelm. The king had been reading the Belgian press and he had found indications there "that England was already *cooling off* in the Belgian question!" Wilhelm, always impressed by questions of military importance, did not relish the prospect of Belgium becoming a French sphere of occupation or influence. Bismarck's professed indifference for Belgium, he said, might hasten such an eventuality, for it might easily make England "cool off entirely." Rather than run the risk of frightening the British government, the king instructed Bismarck to withhold the dispatch.⁸³

The king, in this instance, seems to have had a better understanding of the position of the English government than his chief minister. Bernstorff reported on March 17 that Clarendon was becoming more cautious every day. The Prussian ambassador had asked him whether England would offer to "mediate" between France and Belgium in the event of a breakdown of the mixed commission in Paris. The foreign secretary had answered vaguely that he would be glad to "suggest" the mediation of a third power, but that he had to consider the delicate sensibilities of the emperor of the French. The

⁸² Bismarck, VIIb, no. 1344; Bismarck to Bernstorff, Mar. 16, 1869, *reserviert*.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, VIIb, no. 1345, intro.

emperor might be insulted, Clarendon said, if England should mediate between France and such a small state as Belgium.⁸⁴

More evidence of England's "cooling off" came from Florence. Arnim, the Prussian minister there, reported on April 1 that his English colleague, Lord Odo Russell, had, in an indiscreet moment, shown him some private letters which he had received from Clarendon. In one of these, the British foreign secretary had written, "Bismarck pretends that he will support Belgium in common with England, if England will determine to take the initiative. But I believe that he tries only to lurch us into a mess and that it is he who is supporting Napoleon in his *politique de brigandage*. . . . Above all, then, it is necessary to patch this business up in any way."⁸⁵ What sacrifices this patching-up process might entail for Belgium, the dispatch does not make clear; but it throws more light upon Clarendon's suspicion that everyone was trying to involve England in Continental difficulties. It was that feeling on his part which weakened his determination to make any declarations with regard to the Belgian guarantee.

It is interesting to note that the two persons most eager to support Belgium were the reigning sovereigns of England and Prussia. King Wilhelm was anxious to act with England in defense of Belgian independence, although he agreed with Bismarck that the first overtures must come from London. When Loftus came to the chancellery on April 12, it appeared that the long awaited news of England's position had come. To Bismarck's surprise, however, the English ambassador read a lengthy communication, the burden of which was that any Prussian move in the direction of Southern Germany would be unwise at present and would have a very bad effect on Franco-Prussian relations.

The Prussian minister, somewhat taken aback, pointed out that there had been no question of such a step and that, surely, the Belgian question was the one which should be occupying their attention. Loftus immediately indicated that he had no instructions on this matter. But Bismarck had now made up his mind to apply the pressure which he had withheld at the king's command. He repeated his arguments of March 12 and, using the king's phrase, said that if England was not ready to declare her willingness to support Belgium, "*ce n'est pas à nous de tirer les marrons du feu*." England professed to be worried about the South German question. She would have more reason for this fear if France were allowed to annex Belgium, for Prussia would look elsewhere for compensation. This startled the English ambassador, and he protested that this would be a "policy of robbers." But the policy of

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, VIIb, no. 1351, intro.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, VIIb, no. 1363, intro.

great states had always been governed by such considerations, Bismarck answered. If England disapproved of this tendency and wished to check it, she could easily do so. "If," said Count Bismarck, "you would only declare that whatever Power should wilfully break the Peace of Europe, would be looked upon by you as a common enemy—we will readily adhere to, and join you in that declaration—and such a course, if supported by the other Powers, would be the surest guarantee for the Peace of Europe."⁸⁶

The report of this conversation—Clarendon referred to it as "a curious despatch from Loftus"⁸⁷—arrived in London when the Paris talks were on the verge of breaking off and at a time when the queen's insistence upon English action had reached its height. Without making an official answer to the Prussian proposal,⁸⁸ Clarendon, as has already been indicated, intimated to the French ambassador that an agreement with Prussia was possible. The solution of the crisis was in part due to that declaration. Once the French had given way, the foreign secretary conveyed to Bismarck an expression of his gratitude for the conduct of Prussia throughout the dispute.⁸⁹ But he made no mention whatsoever of the Prussian plan for securing the peace of Europe.

King Wilhelm was delighted with this new check to French ambitions and expressed satisfaction at the *bonne entente* between England and Prussia.⁹⁰ Bismarck was not so well pleased. He had deliberately held Prussia aloof from the Belgian difficulty, making her potential intervention contingent upon either an English declaration of willingness to support Belgium by force, or an expression of her readiness to join Prussia in a common agreement against peacebreakers. The British government had satisfied neither condition, had pursued no straightforward and independent policy, and had finally projected Prussia into a conflict which, as Bismarck had insisted, was of no immediate concern to her. As a result, Bismarck felt, any irritation caused in France by this new disappointment would be directed, not against England, but against Prussia. After Loftus had expressed England's thanks for Prussia's aid, Bismarck wrote:

The Ambassador indicated that the knowledge of the existing *Fühlung* with Prussia made it possible for the English Cabinet to exercise a firm pressure in

⁸⁶ FO Prussia/662; from Loftus, no. 198, most confidential, Apr. 17, 1869. In his dispatch informing Bernstorff of this conversation, Bismarck used the words, "*eine gegenseitige Assekuranz aller Mächte gegen jeden Friedenstörer.*" Bismarck, Vlb, no. 1368.

⁸⁷ Newton, I, 218.

⁸⁸ In a private letter to Lyons on April 19, Clarendon referred to the Prussian proposal as "a ruse to detach us from France" and added, "I did not choose that Bernstorff should have to report the slightest encouragement to the suggestion, but it may come to that after all." Newton, I, 218.

⁸⁹ FO Prussia/663; from Loftus, no. 235, confidential, May 8, 1869.

⁹⁰ Bismarck, Vlb, no. 1383, intro.

Paris. In consequence, I am led to believe that, in Paris, they alluded more plainly to a coalition than can be to our interest. France's conduct in the future will certainly make clear to us to what extent England used her knowledge of our views in Paris, in order to impress the Emperor.⁹¹

To Bismarck, the conduct of the British government in the Belgian affair proved the stubbornness of its adhesion to the principle of nonintervention. England had been embarrassed by the threat to Belgian independence; she had been able to escape from that embarrassment by using the influence of Prussia.⁹² But Prussia would scarcely be justified in expecting reciprocal services if she herself were threatened.⁹³ England's statesmen were still bereft of what Gladstone was fond of referring to as a "sense of Europe,"⁹⁴ and abstention from Continental disputes was still their guiding principle.

In England, the conduct of the government during the railways dispute was attacked by a few isolated critics. The *Saturday Review*, for instance, was annoyed because Belgium, so clearly in the right, had been forced to negotiate in Paris. Why, it asked, had not government spokesmen in Parliament put an end to the dispute at the outset by declaring their readiness to act, if necessary alone, upon the treaty which guaranteed Belgian neutrality?⁹⁵ Did not Britain's appeal to the forbearance of the aggressive power give color to the notion that the efficacy of the guarantee had been impaired?⁹⁶

The answer to the latter question may be found in a letter which the prime minister wrote at the height of the crisis. Referring specifically to the Belgian guarantee, Mr. Gladstone had asserted that "England should keep entire in her own hands the means of estimating her own obligations upon the various states of facts as they arise . . . that it is dangerous for her to assume alone an advanced, and therefore an isolated position in regard to European controversies; that come what may, it is better for her to promise too little than too much."⁹⁷ Believing, as he did, that Britain must not be involved in Continental disputes, Gladstone was suspicious of all obligations undertaken by previous British governments. He feared that unequivocal recognition of such obligations might be the means of breaking down the isolation which he desired for England. Clarendon's refusal to admit that England would uphold the Belgian guarantee in 1869 therefore received the complete approval of the prime minister, who later declared that in any event,

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, VIIb, no. 1383; to Bernstorff, *ganz vertraulich*, May 4, 1869.

⁹² See p. 755 above and n. 77.

⁹³ Bismarck, VIIb, no. 1385; to Reuss, *vertraulich*, May 7, 1869.

⁹⁴ John Morley, *Life of Gladstone* (London, 1904), II, 337.

⁹⁵ *Saturday Review*, XXVII (Mar. 20, 1869), 371.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVII (Apr. 24, 1869), 539.

⁹⁷ Morley, II, 318.

"a guarantee gave the right of interference [but] it did not constitute of itself an obligation to interfere."⁹⁸

Such an interpretation could not but gravely weaken the legal validity of the Belgian guarantee of 1839. To the extent that it did so, it weakened also the whole body of European public law, the maintenance of which George Canning, an advocate of nonintervention in an earlier age, had declared to be the first responsibility of Great Britain.

⁹⁸ *Hansard*, 3d series, CCX, 1178.

The Origin of Seward's Plan to Purchase the Danish West Indies

HALVDAN KOHT*

THE purchase of the Danish West Indies, proposed by Secretary Seward in 1867 but rejected by the Senate, is generally represented as a part of Seward's expansionist policies, more particularly as a part of his so-called Caribbean policies. In any case there can be no doubt that these policies on his part were of a purely defensive character, a fact that appears perfectly clear when we trace the origin of his attempt to acquire the Danish West Indies.

The background of the attempt was the Civil War period, when, it has been pointed out, the Navy Department became interested in acquiring the harbor of St. Thomas as a coaling station. The Navy's plan, however, cannot be traced farther back than 1865, and the idea of acquiring both St. Thomas and the other Danish islands in the West Indies was certainly older than that. According to the authoritative work of Charles C. Tansill, *The Purchase of the Danish West Indies* (Baltimore, 1932), the negotiations about the purchase started only in January, 1865. But Mr. Tansill quoted (p. 7) a dispatch from the American minister in Copenhagen, Mr. Bradford R. Wood, dated July 15, 1864, in which is foreshadowed the possibility of the Danish islands being ceded to Austria or rather to the new Austrian emperor of Mexico. Mr. Wood expressed the hope that the Monroe Doctrine might be restored to life to prevent this danger. Mr. Tansill thinks that this information may have suggested to Mr. Seward the idea of acquiring the Danish islands for the United States.

The preserved documents do not give any positive support to this conclusion. Mr. Wood's dispatch, received by the State Department on August 8, 1864, together with several other dispatches, was acknowledged August 27 by a letter signed by the Secretary of State, declaring merely: "The information they communicate relative to the question at issue between Denmark and Germany is very interesting,"¹—it was the period of the Dano-German war. Not the slightest allusion is made to the West Indian problem.

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¹Instructions to Ministers, Denmark, XIV, 222-23. The Instructions, Letters, and Dispatches quoted in this article are in the Department of State Archives in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

As a matter of fact, the attention of Mr. Seward had been drawn to the question of the Danish West Indies at an even earlier date. This can be proved from documents hitherto unpublished, accessible in the archives of the State Department.

I have not seen any indication of immediate knowledge reaching the State Department of an attempt made by Spain early in the 1860's to buy the Danish West Indies. The news of these negotiations was made public in February, 1866, by the report of the Danish accountant-general for the financial period of 1860-1862, and was transmitted to the State Department by the American consul at Elsinore, George P. Hansen.² It appears that, in the course of negotiations regarding payment of the Spanish part of indemnities for the abolition of the Sound dues, Spain proposed to buy the islands at a low price and, at any event, wanted to be granted the preference in case Denmark should be willing to sell the islands. Evidently this proposal was motivated by the efforts of Spain to regain the control of Santo Domingo. Both alternatives, however, were refused by Denmark. But other powers might easily have the same idea, a possibility that would be an incitement to action on the part of the United States.

During the Civil War the attitude of the British government was decidedly hostile to the government at Washington, so much so that it was generally presumed that Great Britain looked only for an opportunity to declare war against the United States. In this situation it might be suspected that the British government would think it advantageous to get possession of the Danish West Indies. Denmark was more friendly to the Federal government at Washington than almost any other country in Europe; it assumed the unique position of not recognizing the Confederate States as a belligerent power and granted many favors to the United States Navy at St. Thomas. But Denmark was at the same time involved in a severe conflict with Germany over the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, a conflict in which Denmark had to rely for a successful outcome on the support of Great Britain and France, both of them more or less hostile to the United States (France over the Mexican question). Thus, the situation put up to the Danish government many possibilities.

Such was the background of the suggestions offered to Secretary Seward in a dispatch, dated October 17, 1863, from the recently (1862) appointed American consul at Altona in Holstein, William Marsh. An Englishman who had emigrated to Illinois only in 1855, Marsh had preserved many con-

² Despatch No. 5, dated Elsinore, Feb. 28, 1866, Consular Letters, Elsinore, V.

nections with English politicians, renewed by a visit to England in the summer of 1862 on his way to Altona. In the dispatch mentioned, he wrote:

I have heard it said that Great Britain has an eye upon the Islands of St Thomas, St Cruz and St Joan. Do they see the opportunity ripening of acquiring them, should Denmark be driven to the wall in this struggle? Are we in the way of making treaties offensive & defensive with European Governments? If so, would not such a treaty with Denmark secure inviolate these islands and effectually close their harbors against the piratical craft of the Southern Confederacy? These are suggestions not questions, which may or may not have any importance, but they occur to one when studying subjects of this character.³

This dispatch was received in the State Department on November 3, 1863, and acknowledged on November 10 by a letter signed by the assistant secretary of state, Frederick W. Seward, in these significant terms: "Your very interesting despatch, No. 79, of October 17th ult., relating to Holstein affairs, with its valuable enclosures, has been received. Your able suggestions will receive attentive consideration."⁴

Soon after the war between Denmark and Germany had broken out, Consul Marsh realized that the German powers planned to conquer the duchies for themselves and that the other great powers would leave Denmark at German mercy. On February 12, 1864, he wrote in another dispatch: "Denmark stands alone, unaided she must fall. I hope our Government will remember what I said some time ago about the Islands of St Thomas."⁵

This dispatch arrived on March 4, and the next day F. W. Seward acknowledged the receipt of the "very interesting despatch."⁶

When, in the next summer, the Dano-German war approached its inevitable result, the cession of Slesvig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia, which obviously would mean cession to Prussia in the end, the State Department received another dispatch, posing the question of the Danish West Indies from a new angle. It was a dispatch from the consul at Elsinore, the above-mentioned George P. Hansen, a born Dane, who had emigrated to Illinois in 1848 and was appointed consul at Elsinore in May, 1863. His dispatch of July 9, 1864, deserves to be printed in full:

The German newspapers received today bring a rumor that I think of great importance to the States, and I therefore take the liberty to inform you thereof.

The article states: "That Austria is considering the expediency of taking possession of the Danish West India Islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, as an important station in her transatlantic transactions with South America and more in particular on account of Mexico, with which country Austria will be in the

³ Consular Letters, Altona, II.

⁴ Despatches to Consuls, XXXV, 523.

⁵ Consular Letters, Altona, III.

⁶ Despatches to Consuls, XXXVII, 102.

closest connection. Besides, it is the only way in which she can expect to get her expenses of the Danish war repaid."

It is true, it is merely a newspaper report, but the German papers have shown that they generally are very correctly informed about such matters. It would be an easy task for Austria to conquer the islands. Denmark has no vessels there for their protection, very few troops and no fortifications.

Their possession would be of great value to Austria and greatly facilitate its intercourse with Mexico. In the event of war between Mexico and the United States they would be of still more importance if in the hands of Austria, and therefore I think it very likely that there is some strong foundation for the rumor.

The West India Islands, in the possession of Denmark, are of not much danger to us, but it seems to me we cannot very well afford to let a powerful European nation get possession of them. If they ever change ownership, the ownership should be in the U. States.⁷

This dispatch arrived in Washington July 29, and its receipt was acknowledged by F. W. Seward the next day.⁸

I think it almost indubitable that the information Hansen had gathered was the motive of the dispatch sent by the minister at Copenhagen, Bradford R. Wood, on July 15 next. Consul Hansen was constantly in touch with the minister and visited him often in Copenhagen; and Mr. Wood found the consul very useful because of his knowledge of Danish. At any rate, Hansen's dispatch proves that the conjecture of Wood was not picked out of the air or out of his own brain. And, Hansen's dispatch is the first that expresses the idea of acquiring the Danish West Indies for the United States. Neither Consul Marsh nor Minister Wood went so far; they warned only against allowing other powers to acquire the islands.

The negotiations that were initiated in Washington were, for several reasons (*i.e.*, the assassination of Lincoln and the attempts on the two Swards, father and son), taken up earnestly only from the close of the year 1865. In the meantime Consul Hansen did not lose sight of the matter which had roused his vivid interest, and, on July 6, 1865, he sent another dispatch, marked "Private," to the Secretary of State, informing him of new plans for transferring the Danish West Indies to Austria. He wrote:

In one of my despatches of last year I alluded to a plan of Austria to take possession of the Danish West India Islands. At the treaty of Vienna between Denmark and Prussia-Austria no allusion whatever was made to those islands. By that treaty Denmark was forced to cede to the two powers the duchies of Lauenburg, Holstein & Slesvig. Denmark was also forced to include the northern part of the duchy of Slesvig with a population of more than 200,000 bonafide Danes. It was a sore point to Denmark, and strong efforts have since been made by that power to

⁷ Consular Letters, Elsinore, V. (I have corrected some of the grammatical errors of the writer.)

⁸ Despatches to Consuls, XXXVII, 375.

regain possession of that part of Slesvig, and the plan now is, as I have good reason to believe, *to exchange the West India Islands for the northern part of Slesvig.*

Prussia-Austria, you are aware, are quite at loggerheads how and in what manner to dispose of the conquered Danish provinces. Prussia does not intend to relinquish her possession or control of these duchies, and the principal question with her is how to shake off her joint occupant, Austria.

The plan of exchanging the West India islands for North-Slesvig may therefore enable Prussia to settle with the two clamorous parties, Denmark and Austria, giving North-Slesvig back to Denmark and settle with Austria by turning the West India Islands over to that power and in this manner leaving Prussia sole possessor of the former Danish provinces which she thinks so indispensable for the purpose of creating her Prussian navy.

England and France may be interested in this exchange too, and as rumor has it that Prussia is to be a party to the lately spoken of treaty between those two powers against the U. S., it is not unlikely that they will look favorably upon letting the Danish West Indies pass into the hands of Austria, as that power, who also is deeply interested in the Mexican affair, may in the case of certain events become an active participant in the above spoken of treaty. With Canada, Mexico, and the West India Islands in the possession of these great powers, who are combined by a joint interest: "*the destruction of our republican institutions,*" they may be annoying neighbors.

At any rate I have considered this plan of exchanging the West India Islands one in which the United States may have some interest, and I have therefore taken the liberty to communicate my information to you at the earliest moment.

My information as to the exchange was derived from a gentleman in high position, who, I am sure, had no intention by his words to give me the key to the proposed plan of getting back North-Slesvig, which is so desirable for Denmark and which I sincerely hope may occur, provided it is not on the expense of the U. States.⁹

As to the rumors mentioned in this dispatch about a plan to exchange the Danish West Indies for the northern part of Slesvig, it seems certain that no such plan was contemplated at the time Mr. Hansen was writing. The rumors were given a semiofficial *dementi* in the Copenhagen newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, September 8, 1865.¹⁰ During the whole of the year 1865 and the following years the question of restoring northern Slesvig to Denmark was eagerly discussed between the German powers and Denmark and even played a part in general European politics. But in the very comprehensive publications regarding all these negotiations, there is, as far as I am able to see, no trace of the plan indicated by Hansen's dispatch.¹¹

The idea, however, had been considered during the final negotiations for the conclusion of peace between Denmark and the German powers in the fall of 1864. In the instructions to the Danish representatives, signed by

⁹ Consular Letters, Elsinore, V.

¹⁰ *Les origines diplomatiques de la guerre de 1870-1871*, VII (Paris, 1913), 50.

¹¹ Aage Friis, ed., *Det nordslaviske Spørgsmaal 1864-1879* (Copenhagen, 1921), I, and *Europa, Danmark og Nordslavien 1864-1879* (Copenhagen, 1939), I.

the king on August 18, 1864, they were ordered to use their utmost efforts to rescue for Denmark the Danish-speaking districts of Slesvig, and they were authorized, if no other arguments could prevail, to suggest the Danish West Indies as a compensation.¹² Whether this offer really was made by the negotiators, is perhaps uncertain; in any event, it led to no result. Certain it is that a secret Danish agent, a minor official in government service, Mr. Jules Hansen, came to see Bismarck at Biarritz, in France, on October 12 (or 13), 1864, before the treaty of peace was yet concluded, and presented him with the offer of an exchange of northern Slesvig for the Danish West Indies. Bismarck immediately refused the offer. He mentioned this approach by Hansen in the Prussian house of representatives on June 2, 1865.¹³ In this way the matter became public.

The fact that the Danish government in 1864 had authorized such an offer was mentioned publicly for the first time, as far as I am aware, by the Copenhagen newspaper *Dagens Nyheder*, April 29, 1870, when the United States Senate had rejected the treaty of purchase of St. Thomas, and the paper is certainly right in assuming that all later rumors of a similar plan originated from the suggestion of 1864.¹⁴

In spite of all its imaginary elements, Consul Hansen's dispatch of July 6, 1865, places the question of the Danish West Indies on a plane of world politics which fittingly illuminates the large background of the Caribbean policies of Secretary Seward. Evidently he was the actor in the affair, and he took the official initiative for the purchase of the islands. Writing about this affair he could justly link it with his new national policy.¹⁵ But, short of other information, George P. Hansen must be remembered as the man who first suggested the idea.

It is worth while to add that, according to the testimony of George H. Yeaman, the successor from November, 1865, of Mr. Wood in Copenhagen and the man who finally negotiated the treaty of purchase, October 24, 1867, Consul Hansen "offered several interesting suggestions" during the negotiations. Yeaman characterized him on the whole as "an active and efficient officer."¹⁶

¹² These instructions were published in the work of N. Neergaard, *Under Junigrundloven* (Copenhagen, 1916), II, 1469 ff.; quoted in abstract by the same author in the co-operative work *Danmarks Riges Historie* (Copenhagen, 1907), VI, pt. 2, 284.

¹³ *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck*, II (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1903), 386.

¹⁴ A copy of the paper was immediately sent to the Department of State from the American minister in Copenhagen and is now in its archives. Denmark, X.

¹⁵ Jan. 29, 1868, Instructions, Denmark, XIV, 315.

¹⁶ Despatches of Oct. 26, 1867, and Oct. 22, 1868, Denmark, IX, X.

A Letter from One of Wilson's Managers

ARTHUR S. LINK*

In preparing my article on "The Baltimore Convention of 1912" (see pp. 691-713 above), I came across the following letter from Thomas W. Gregory¹ to Edward M. House among the House Papers in the library of Yale University.² Probably the most important single personal document on the Baltimore convention, the letter presents an illuminating picture of the convention as the Wilson men saw it.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, July 9, 1912

*Colonel E. M. House
Brown, Shipley & Company
123 Pall Mall, London, England*

MY DEAR FRIEND:

... I have not enough stationery in the office to cover my views and observations in regard to the Baltimore Convention, and you have, of course, seen all the papers by this time and know the general lines of the fight and at least all that the general public and newspaper reporters saw. I reached Baltimore Monday morning³ and reported immediately at McComb's⁴ headquarters, where I met the principal leaders of the Wilson forces, and was immediately impressed with the

* See note p. 691 above.

¹ Born in Crawfordsville, Mississippi, on November 6, 1861, Thomas Watt Gregory was graduated in law from the University of Texas in 1885 and immediately opened a law office in Austin. His reputation as a lawyer grew rapidly and he later gained considerable publicity by his successful prosecution, on behalf of the state of Texas, of a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company which was convicted of violating the Texas antitrust laws. He was a loyal Democrat and, despite the fact that he had held only one minor public office, Gregory was prominent among progressives in the Texas Democracy. During 1911 and 1912 he joined the Wilson ranks and worked with other Texas progressives to carry the state for Wilson in the county primaries and conventions. See A. G. Mallison "Thomas Watt Gregory," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr, eds., *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), XXI, 358-60.

² The letter is printed by permission of Mr. Charles Seymour, president of Yale University and custodian of the House Papers, and Mr. James T. Babb, acting librarian of the university.

³ Probably June 24, 1912. The first session of the convention was held on Tuesday, June 25. Since he was not a member of the Democratic national committee, it is unlikely that the date referred to was June 17, 1912.

⁴ William Frank McCombs (1875-1921), a young New York lawyer, originally from Arkansas, had in the spring of 1911 voluntarily assumed control of the Wilson presidential campaign. In many respects McCombs' leadership was inept and his effectiveness as a political leader was seriously vitiated by his highly nervous temperament. Gregory frequently refers to him as "McComb." Maurice F. Lyons, *William F. McCombs, the President-Maker* (Cincinnati, 1922), is a fair appraisal of the man. McCombs' own story, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, 1921), is highly colored and often inaccurate.

belief that McAdoo,⁵ of New York, was the most efficient and thorough master of the situation of all others except Burleson⁶ (it would take me a long time to express to you my high regard for McAdoo and the work he did, and your view of the man was fully justified and sustained by every thing I saw of him from first to last); as far as McComb is concerned—I think he is entitled to an enormous amount of credit, and I freely conceded it to him, and my opinion of him is very high; when the fight was over, he looked like a skinned snipe, and I doubt if he slept soundly a single hour during the entire convention. He is almost too frail physically to withstand a long contest of this kind, but his political sagacity is very great, and his handling of the general outlines seemed to me to be first class; as an organizer, I think the job was entirely too large for one man, and I immediately discovered that the Wilson forces were not doing the organized work which they should do; I was called into the inner-conference at which Burleson, McAdoo, Lea, of Tennessee,⁷ McCombs, and perhaps five or six others were present, and I at once made the suggestion to McCombs that we organize a branch department at the Stafford Hotel in the headquarters of the Texas delegation and that we co-operate with Pennsylvania, whose headquarters were in the same hotel, in going after the individual delegations and individual delegates in every state. It was almost a mile from McCombs' headquarters at the Emerson Hotel to our headquarters at the Stafford, and perhaps two-thirds of the delegations were located in our end of the town; at the conference at the headquarters above referred to, it was made clear that Wilson had less than one-third,⁸ and we knew perfectly well that the ninety votes from New York would be thrown to Clark⁹ at some stage of the game and that the assault thereby made upon the Wilson forces would have to be met; we knew too that almost every delegation in the convention was honeycombed with Wilson sentiment, but that those instructed for Clark would have to satisfy their consciences and their instructions by voting for him a while until they could excuse themselves for changing on the ground that Clark's nomination was impossible; McComb and others at the conference admitted that the balance of power lay with Underwood,¹⁰ and that it was absolutely essential that some arrangement should

⁵ William Gibbs McAdoo (1863-1941) in 1912 was president of the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company. He had become prominent in the business world by directing the building of the first tunnels under the Hudson River. In 1911 he joined the Wilson presidential organization and during the subsequent year played an active role in the Democratic prenomination campaign. See his *Crowded Years* (Boston and New York, 1931) for the best account of his activities during this period.

⁶ Albert Sidney Burleson (1863-1937) of Austin, Texas. Burleson was a member of the House of Representatives from 1891 to 1913 and had been one of the leaders of the Wilson prenomination campaign in Texas. See my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," *South-western Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (Oct., 1944), 171, 179.

⁷ Luke Lea (1879-) of Nashville, Tennessee. Lea was a leader of the Independent Democrats, the Prohibitionist Democratic faction, in Tennessee, a champion of progressive causes, a follower of Bryan, publisher of the *Nashville Tennessean and American*, and a leader in the Wilson pre-convention campaign in his state. In 1911 he was elected to the United States Senate by the vote of the Fusionists (the Independent Democrats and Republicans) in the Tennessee legislature.

⁸ Actually Wilson had 248 out of 1,088 convention votes definitely pledged to him. His strength on the uninstructed delegations brought his vote on the first ballot up to 324 votes. See Urey Woodson, ed., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention of 1912* (Chicago, 1912), p. 196; hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of the Democratic Convention*.

⁹ Champ Clark (1850-1921) of Missouri, speaker of the House of Representatives from 1911 to 1921, was the leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912.

¹⁰ Oscar W. Underwood (1862-1929) of Birmingham, Alabama. Underwood had been a member of the House of Representatives since 1895 and in 1911 was elected chairman of the

be made with his forces by which we could supplement the Wilson forces with enough votes to block the convention; the Georgia delegation was instructed for Underwood with the unit rule and twenty-eight votes and almost solidly for Clark second choice; the Mississippi delegation with twenty votes was instructed for Underwood, had a unit rule, and, while John Sharp Williams¹¹ and three or four delegates were favorable to Wilson, the Vardaman¹² forces controlled a large majority of the delegation, and Vardaman was not friendly to Wilson. I told Mr. McComb that I would look after the Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama delegations and see what I could do to make a working agreement which would prevent any votes going to Clark from those delegations under any circumstances until we could meet the full force of the Clark onslaught and thoroughly block the convention.

Fortune was with me in the matter, as I found the Vice-chairman of the Georgia delegation was Randolph Anderson, a grandson of Thomas Jefferson and a classmate, societymate and Greek-letter club-mate of mine at the University of Virginia; I also found lifelong friends on the Mississippi delegation, who were strong followers of Vardaman (this being the dominating factor in the Mississippi situation); I first secured a poll of the Alabama delegation, and found that nineteen of its twenty-four votes would go to Wilson whenever Underwood was out of the race, with a chance for the other five. I had a long conference with Randolph Anderson, and made a hard and fast agreement with him that under no conceivable circumstances or conditions would a single vote from Georgia go to Clark at any time. As consideration for this agreement, I pledged the Texas delegation not to cast a single vote for Clark at any time, and promised personally that I would use every effort to throw our forty votes to Underwood, in case Wilson should be put out of the race at any stage of the game; in this way, and by a somewhat similar arrangement with a close friend of mine on the Mississippi delegation, I got enough additional votes absolutely tied as against Clark to supplement our 324 votes and give us a good margin over a one-third for all summer if necessary. It would take me a very long time to give you all the details of these conferences, and how they were worked, but I believe I can safely say that I accomplished results in this respect which were of the utmost importance, as events subsequently developed; these delegations lived up to their arrangements in every respect and stood with us in the breach when the Clark vote became dangerous, and against this rock he gradually beat himself to death.

After leaving the general conference above referred to at McComb's headquarters in the Emerson Hotel, I went back to the Stafford, and Tom Love¹³ and

important Ways and Means Committee of the House. He had campaigned in the Southern states for the Democratic presidential nomination and had won the support of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and part of the delegations from Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. See Burton J. Hendrick, "Oscar W. Underwood, a New Leader from the New South," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII (Feb., 1912), 494-20.

¹¹ John Sharp Williams (1854-1932), United States senator from Mississippi and a Wilson leader in that state. See George Coleman Osborn, *John Sharp Williams, Planter-Statesman of the Deep South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1943).

¹² James Kimble Vardaman (1861-1930), former governor of Mississippi, was representative of the class of spellbinders of the New South, part demagogue and part constructive statesman (see p. 695, n. 19, above). Vardaman had succeeded in carrying Mississippi for Underwood. The best sketch of Vardaman is in Rupert B. Vance, "Spell-Binders of the New South" (manuscript in possession of Professor Vance, Chapel Hill, North Carolina).

¹³ Thomas B. Love was a prominent lawyer of Dallas and one of the Prohibition leaders in Texas. He had represented Dallas in the legislature in 1903 and 1905, and was speaker of the

I immediately got in touch with the Pennsylvania delegation in the same hotel and started the work of first tying together the Wilson forces so that there would not be any break, and getting the individual delegates to work on all the Clark delegations in the convention, and this was systematically kept up to the very end of the fight. We first started out by sending a Texas man and Pennsylvania man out together to handle the different Wilson forces and cement their opposition and staying qualities, and we called upon each Wilson state to give us three or four of its best workers who would co-operate with us in extending this work to all other delegations in the Convention; as fast as states or delegates would come to us in the fight, we would draft them into the service and call them into our caucus at Texas headquarters, where we met after each adjournment of the Convention and where we sometimes worked until three o'clock in the morning. In this way, by putting them actually to work and keeping them busy, we were able to hold them and practically no man that ever came to us afterwards slipped back. As time went by, these caucuses in our headquarters were attended by representatives from as high as fifteen and twenty states, and all plans for individual work were there laid out and all necessary information furnished.

The Wilson headquarters had selected Albert Burleson, Palmer, of Pennsylvania,¹⁴ and a United States Senator from New Jersey¹⁵ as the floor managers, and these three men stood upon the floor all the time at the foot of the platform; McComb sat upon the platform where he could watch the general situation and quickly communicate with these three men, and also kept watch on the parliamentary questions raised and the rulings of the chair.

At the Texas-Pennsylvania caucus attended by delegates from various states, we selected five floor walkers, one for each of the five aisles of the convention hall, and after each ballot each floor walker would go down his aisle and see the Wilson spokesman of each delegation on that aisle and get all the information from him as to any prospective changes in his delegation, and the floor walker would then immediately report this information to one of the three men in question, and would immediately carry back to all the delegations on his aisle any and all information needed and dope [*sic*] deemed necessary in the local situation in each delegation; in this way we always knew of any prospective change in any delegation, and knew how to meet these changes and take advantage of them, and I think, when the system had been finally perfected, it was the most perfect organization I have ever seen; you will understand that this particular part of the work was handled from the Texas headquarters at the Stafford Hotel, and every now and then we would make reports to the general headquarters at the Emerson Hotel.

Speaking of individuals, it is my judgment that Burleson was perhaps entitled to more credit than any other one man, except McComb, for the result, and I think those on the inside will concede this fact. As to Mr. Bryan, I will say that he

House of Representatives in 1907. He became commissioner of insurance and banking for Texas in 1907 and held that position for several years. Love was the chief organizer of the Wilson preconvention campaign in Texas. See my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLVIII, 171-85.

¹⁴ Alexander Mitchell Palmer (1872-1936), member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Palmer, a leader of the progressive Democrats in Pennsylvania, had been instrumental in securing his state's support for Wilson's candidacy.

¹⁵ Gregory is in error here. He refers to William Hughes of Paterson, New Jersey, a member of the House of Representatives. Hughes was elected in 1913 to the Senate on a Wilson-Democratic ticket.

was the colossal figure of the occasion, and that his shadow fell across the Convention time and again and produced most astounding results. Mr. Bryan did not dictate the nomination of Mr. Wilson, but he certainly drove the last nails in the coffin of Mr. Clark, and put him out of the running; as a matter of fact, I do not know, and no one except Mr. Bryan will ever know, whether he still had his eye upon the nomination or not. I feel quite sure that Kern, of Indiana,¹⁶ was Mr. Bryan's personal preference for the nomination, and I will tell you more of the inside facts bearing on this when I see you; as late as Monday morning,¹⁷ when Wilson had five hundred votes and Clark was seventy-five votes behind him, and Wilson's chances were of the very brightest, Mr. Bryan came out in an interview stating that the Convention was badly tied up and that in case neither Clark nor Wilson could be nominated he would suggest five men who would make splendid presidents and who would be personally satisfactory to him—Kern, of Indiana; James, of Kentucky;¹⁸ Rayner, of Maryland;¹⁹ Culberson, of Texas;²⁰ and O'Gorman, of New York;²¹ when Mr. Bryan changed his vote from Clark to Wilson,²² he ruined Clark for all time and undoubtedly did a wonderful service for Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson is certainly under great obligations to him, and I sincerely hope that he will make him Secretary of State; at the same time I wish to say again that Mr. Bryan did not dictate the nomination of Wilson and that there were other forces more potent than Mr. Bryan in finally securing this nomination; those forces were public opinion and the wonderful enthusiasm and devotion of the Wilson delegates; there was never a time when we even discussed a second choice with anybody, and we gave the opposition to understand that we would spend the summer in Baltimore before we would permit the nomination of any one except Woodrow Wilson.

Never in my life have I seen the force of public opinion so illustrated as at this convention; when it became evident that Clark was throwing all the strength he could to Parker²³ for temporary chairman in order to secure the ninety votes from New York, and that Wilson was the only man who dared to openly oppose this selection, I was convinced that Mr. Clark had lost more than he had gained, and the result certainly justified this opinion; every day the New York Times, the New York World, and the New York Evening Post, the Baltimore Sun and other great independent papers published the most terrific editorials demanding that

¹⁶ John Worth Kern (1849-1917); see p. 695 above.

¹⁷ July 1, 1912.

¹⁸ Ollie M. James (1871-1919) of Kentucky. In 1912 James was a member of the House of Representatives and also senator-elect from his state. He was a militant Bryan Democrat and during the convention held the important post of permanent chairman.

¹⁹ Isidor Rayner (1850-1912) of Maryland. Formerly a member of the House of Representatives, Rayner was in 1912 in the United States Senate, a progressive Democrat, and a follower of Bryan.

²⁰ Charles Allen Culberson (1855-1925), former attorney general and governor of Texas. In 1912 Culberson was United States senator, a middle-of-the-road progressive, and a champion of Wilson's candidacy in the Texas pre-convention campaign. See J. W. Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson* (Austin, 1929) and my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLVIII, 179-80.

²¹ James Aloysius O'Gorman (1860-), formerly a justice of the supreme court of New York, elected United States senator from New York in 1911.

²² Bryan of course voted for Wilson on the fourteenth ballot. *Proceedings of the Democratic Convention*, pp. 233-37.

²³ Alton B. Parker (1852-1926) of New York, Democratic presidential nominee in 1904. Parker was the candidate of the conservative Democrats for temporary chairman at the Baltimore convention in 1912. Bryan waged a bitter fight against his election and the Commoner even entered the contest himself.

Wilson be selected as the only progressive who had not attempted to make terms with the beast, and as being the only real progressive before the Convention, and charging that the same forces which had dominated the Chicago Convention²⁴ were at work at Baltimore;²⁵ in the balloting for temporary chairman, you will observe that practically the solid Wilson vote was thrown to Bryan, and that about 150 of Clark's votes which he was unable to control also went to Bryan, and that the balance of his votes represented his personal followings scattered throughout the Convention. Mr. Wilson at once appeared against the skyline as the real foe of special interests and the only man who would make no terms with the Belmont²⁶-Ryan²⁷ crowd, and as the only man who dared to defy the powers of that organization; this was perfectly apparent before Mr. Bryan made his assault upon Murphy,²⁸ Belmont and Ryan,²⁹ and long before Nebraska changed twelve of its votes from Clark to Wilson; tens of thousands of telegrams were pouring in on the delegates from almost every town and hamlet of the United States, largely from those states which had instructed for Clark and from those men who had supported Clark in those states, stating that the senders had supported Clark under the belief that he was a genuine progressive, and that developments showed that he was combining with the powers of greed, and demanding that the delegates should cast their votes for Wilson; many of these telegrams from the far Western states told the delegates not to cross the Mississippi River on their way home unless they voted for Wilson; I, myself, gave to our representative on the Virginia delegation³⁰ one telegram from Staunton, Virginia, signed by seventy-two men and sent to Mr. Bryan personally, and turned over to me to be used where it would do the most good; another way in which public opinion made itself felt was in the tremendous demonstrations on the floor and in the galleries when changes to Wilson took place; the most wonderful outburst of spontaneous enthusiasm that has perhaps ever occurred in a National Convention took place when the State of Maryland broke its solid vote for Clark by casting one vote and a half for Wilson; the delegates and galleries went wild for twenty minutes, and thousands of Baltimore citizens stood in the galleries and sang "Maryland My Maryland", while five hundred Princeton students gave the locomotive yell, and the whole thing went perfectly crazy; this was the beginning of the break in Maryland, and was headed by Senator Rayner and several others having a fraction of a vote each.

The darkest hour for Wilson was Friday night of the first week³¹ when New York changed its ninety votes from Harmon³² to Clark on the tenth ballot; the

²⁴ That is, the Republican national convention which had met in Chicago two weeks prior to the meeting of the Baltimore convention.

²⁵ The support these newspapers gave the Wilson cause was altogether natural since they had for a considerable time been supporting Wilson's candidacy.

²⁶ August Belmont (1853-1919), of New York, one of the members in the New York delegation.

²⁷ Thomas Fortune Ryan (1851-1928) of Virginia and New York, a member of the Virginia delegation at Baltimore.

²⁸ Charles Francis Murphy (1858-1924), chief of the Tammany Hall Democratic organization and chairman of the New York delegation at Baltimore.

²⁹ See pp. 698-701 above.

³⁰ Probably Richard Evelyn Byrd, leader of the Wilson forces in Virginia. See *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 24, 1912, and *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, May 24, 1912.

³¹ Friday was June 28, 1912.

³² Judson Harmon, governor of Ohio. Harmon, elected governor in 1908 and reelected in 1910, had made a halfhearted campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1912. He definitely represented the conservative, anti-Bryan element of the party. See Burton J. Hendrick, "Judson Harmon: Progressive Candidate," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII (Apr., 1912), 619-24, for a good contemporary appraisal of the man.

Clark people gathered together every additional vote they could rake and scrape and added them to the assault in hopes that they could push Clark over the two-thirds; we knew perfectly well that this assault had to be ultimately met, though we had expected it to come on the third or fourth ballot; there was a terrific uproar, and Clark's vote shot up some 225 votes ahead of Wilson,³³ but the hard work and training of four days and nights told and the line held; then came the counter-stroke, arising from the realization by many delegates that this was proof conclusive of the deal between Tammany Hall, Ryan and Belmont, and the Clark people, and genuine progressives immediately began to drop from the Clark into the Wilson column, and we knew that the danger point had been passed and that Clark could not possibly win; before the first ballot was taken, I figured out 325 votes for Wilson, and he received 324 [on the first ballot], which shows how close my figures were; all during Friday we steadily gained one, two and three votes at a ballot until we had about 356 votes when the crucial tenth ballot was taken; then Bryan changed his vote with eleven others from Nebraska, and they adjourned the Convention over our protest;³⁴ on Saturday³⁵ we gained steadily until they adjourned again over our protest, on Saturday night, with Wilson about 500 and Clark about 424; we felt reasonably certain then that the fight was won, and on Monday Wilson's forces increased rapidly, and when the Convention adjourned Monday night,³⁶ it was almost certain that nothing could stay the advance; in the contest which the Hearst-Carter Harrison forces³⁷ made against the Sullivan³⁸ delegation from Illinois, we lined up with Sullivan, knowing that we could never hope for anything from Hearst and that he absolutely dominated the contesting delegation;³⁹ we knew for several days that Wilson would ultimately get this vote [from the Illinois delegation], and on Monday night we knew absolutely that these 58 votes would come to Wilson on the first ballot Tuesday;⁴⁰ early Tuesday morning I wired a friend in Austin that the Illinois vote would come to Wilson on the first ballot that day and that he would be nominated before sundown; you know Roger Sullivan is retiring from politics and from the National Committee, and he and his wife are going to Europe for a two years' trip, and I was reliably informed that his wife made a personal appeal to him and told him that he had been bitterly criticised for many things during his long political career, but that this man Wilson was an honest and clean man and she wanted him to retire from politics after having done a great and good thing and one which would be remembered to his credit as the last act of his political career, and that he must cast the Illinois delegation for Wilson.

As soon as Illinois broke,⁴¹ West Virginia on the same ballot changed its vote from Clark to Wilson; the Virginia delegation cast its full vote for Wilson, he gained over one hundred votes on that first ballot Tuesday morning, and was

³³ Actually Clark received 556 votes on the tenth ballot.

³⁴ It should be recalled that Bryan did not vote for Wilson until the fourteenth ballot. The greatest threat from the Clark forces came, of course, on the tenth ballot when the Missourian polled well over a majority of the votes. By the time Bryan voted for Wilson it was evident that the Clark landslide had signally failed to materialize.

³⁵ June 29, 1912.

³⁶ July 1, 1912.

³⁷ Gregory refers here to the Chicago Democratic organization dominated by William Randolph Hearst and Carter Harrison, mayor.

³⁸ Roger C. Sullivan (1861-1920) was regarded in 1912 as the Democratic boss of Illinois.

³⁹ See p. 698 above.

⁴⁰ July 2, 1912.

⁴¹ Illinois went over from Clark to Wilson on the forty-third ballot.

within some seventy-five votes of a nomination when the second roll call began; you know what happened then.⁴²

I went down to Sea Girt [New Jersey] Wednesday morning⁴³ and spent a most pleasant time with Mr. Wilson and told him, what is undoubtedly true, that he had secured this nomination without incurring any political liabilities whatever, that New York and the Underwood people and other hostile forces⁴⁴ had not given him a single vote until he was practically nominated, and that I was sure no friend of his in the Convention had directly or indirectly made him a debtor to any man or delegation.

I also told him what is unquestionably true—that while the Clark forces were intensely bitter against Mr. Bryan, they did not feel that way towards Governor Wilson, and that he had behind him the undivided democracy of the Nation; subsequent events have fully verified these statements.

... As far as the Texas delegation is concerned, they are given more credit for Mr. Wilson's victory than any one else, and undoubtedly they did splendid work, most of which did not get into the papers and was not known by the public at large and the newspaper men.

... I would have given anything in the world to have had you at Baltimore during the Convention, to have talked over the events with you after each session and had the benefit of your advice; it would have been hard to have improved upon the generalship of the Wilson forces, but I am satisfied that you could have done so.⁴⁵

I do sincerely hope that you will get back to this country as soon as possible and lend your advice on the many important questions which will immediately arise. . . .

Sincerely your friend,
T. W. GREGORY

⁴² Gregory gives the impression that Wilson was nominated almost immediately after the forty-third ballot. But see pp. 710-11 above.

⁴³ July 3, 1912.

⁴⁴ It is incongruous for Gregory to include the Underwood delegates among the "hostile forces." By remaining loyal to Underwood during the early phase of the balloting they had helped the Wilson men block Clark's nomination. And when the real crisis came for the Wilson managers—on the forty-sixth ballot—the Underwood managers broke the deadlock and went over almost unanimously to Wilson.

⁴⁵ Compare this with the account in Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (New York, 1925-27), I, 66-67.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General History

NATIONALITY IN HISTORY AND POLITICS: A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT AND CHARACTER. By *Frederick Hertz*. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, Editor, Karl Mannheim.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 417. \$6.50.)

In an epilogue to this book the author excuses himself for not having presented a summary of its contents and the generalizations it might lead to. In fact, having read the book, the reader will feel that he has learned many things, but certainly he will remain rather bewildered as to the views of the author regarding the broader aspects of all those things. It is small comfort to learn that the author intends to publish further studies on the subject of nationality. He has, however, offered more general views in a very able and substantial study on "*Wesen und Werden der Nation*," published in 1927 in a special volume of the *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, entitled *Nation und Nationalität*. He has published other works, too, regarding more special aspects of problems of nationality, one of them translated into English under the title *Race and Civilization* (1928). Thus we may know what we could not conclude from the present work: that the author is fully aware of the complex psychology of national consciousness, and that the statement in his epilogue—that this mentality may be "peaceable or pugnacious, progressive or reactionary, tolerant or fanatic"—is more than just a loose affirmation.

One of his chief efforts is to arrive at an exact definition of the meaning and use of terms employed in the discussion of nationality. In this respect he is on the whole successful. He encounters difficulties, however, because of the different sense of the same word in different languages. He himself is not, for instance, aware of the fact that "race" in French is used simply in the sense of nation. He wants to limit the term "nationalism" to the idea of aggressive nationalism, as it is used in the Continental languages. Such a connotation appeals to a non-English-speaking reader. But by so limiting the meaning of "nationalism," he would lack a general English term embracing all movements for realizing the purposes of national consciousness.

In this book the author occupies himself mostly with discussing the features of aggressive nationalism. Sometimes one would think that he virtually identifies this brand of nationalism with every "sense of nationality" (p. 353). He seems to imply that "any nationality having attained a certain level of civilization and political development" will claim to dominate others (p. 201). In fact, he finds nationalism, in his sense of the word, so general as to make it somewhat difficult

to understand why it should have grown so excessive only in Germany. It is no explanation to say that the ideas of Treitschke and Houston Chamberlain were "suited to capture the German mind" (p. 408). It may be highly doubtful, also, to assert that American and other discriminations against Japan were "one of the most potent factors" in bringing about the victory of Japanese nationalism (p. 77).

Sometimes the author's Austrian point of view seems to have colored his judgment, as, for example, in his unfriendly picture of Mazzini, and in his condemnation of the French idea of a world mission as nationalism (p. 376), an idea which, in Fichte and Hegel, he treats as antinationalistic (pp. 342, 351). Otherwise, his summary of the political thought of the German philosophers is judicious and instructive; the whole chapter, a full fourth of the book, on political thought and national ideology, is a highly illuminating and discriminating piece of work.

Most interesting, and partly original, is a chapter on the influence of religion on national sentiment and character, although it is an exaggeration to affirm that the Christian church "was the greatest organizing factor in history" (p. 104). Less satisfactory is the chapter on nationality and language: the statements about the language question in Norway are based on errors of fact, although the author had accessible to him in London a recent account of the question by Professor A. Sommerfelt. The author has not noticed the efforts for democratic reform of the Chinese script under the leadership of Dr. Hu Shih.

On the whole, the author has not gauged the strong forces inherent in democracy for the transformation of nationalistic ideas by weakening the militaristic tendencies and by strengthening the constructive elements. Apart from this limitation, he has done a useful work in describing the character and activities of aggressive nationalism. He is well posted on all kinds of literature regarding the different aspects of his study.

The fact that the preface of the book is dated April, 1943, explains the absence of reference to some important events and books of a more recent date.

Washington, D. C.

HALVDAN KOHT

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY: MILITARY THOUGHT FROM MACHIAVELLI TO HITLER. Edited by *Edward Mead Earle*, with the collaboration of *Gordon A. Craig* and *Felix Gilbert*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 553. \$3.75.)

STRATEGY has ceased long ago to be a purely military subject. In the twentieth century it has come to represent a combination of applied social and other sciences. It thus mirrors a social development which has led to total warfare and is simply reflected in the historical change of military ideas.

It is such strategy in a broad sense with which this book is concerned. It offers a survey of changing ideas about warfare since the beginnings of the capitalist

society. It would be unjust to expect, from any such undertaking, completeness in a bibliographical sense, and any criticism of omissions or jumps in the presentation is bound to miss the point. What matters is the fact that no writer who made a really significant contribution to the development of war concepts has been overlooked.

The book consists of five major sections. The first deals with the origins of modern war from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Felix Gilbert's chapter on "Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War" is a model of elaborating the socio-economic background of military ideas. This section also includes chapters on Vauban and the impact of science on war, and on the development from dynastic to national war as represented by Frederick the Great, Guibert, and Bülow.

The second section is concerned with two outstanding interpreters of Napoleon—Jomini and Clausewitz—rather than with Napoleon himself. The third section covers the period from the early nineteenth century to the first World War. It includes a masterly discussion by the editor of "Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power." A valuable chapter by Sigmund Neumann on the military concepts of Marx and Engels follows. Other chapters in this section discuss Moltke and Schlieffen, Du Picq and Foch, the development of French colonial warfare, and the contribution of Hans Delbrück to military history.

Section four brings us quite close to contemporary issues. In a chapter on Churchill, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau, H. A. DeWeerd describes the emergence of the civilian war leader. Ludendorff and the German concept of total war are discussed by Hans Speier and Soviet concepts of war by Edward Mead Earle. Maginot's and Liddell Hart's doctrine of defense, and Haushofer and the geopoliticians are the subjects of the other chapters. The fifth section is concerned with doctrines of sea and air war, ranging from Mahan to Japanese naval strategy and such theories of air warfare as those of Douhet, Mitchell, and Seversky. An epilogue by the editor on the Nazi concept of war concludes the book.

It is obviously impossible in a brief review to do each of these contributions justice. Every chapter is on a high level of scholarship, but there are inevitable differences in presentation and especially in the amount and depth of social analysis. The chapters on Machiavelli, on Smith, Hamilton, and List, on Churchill, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau, and on Ludendorff are of particular value for the social scientist, while those on Vauban, Jomini, and Moltke and Schlieffen are somewhat more technical in character. One or two chapters make wide use of secondary sources, but even there the presentation remains invariably on a high level. Why the final section on Hitler's war concepts is separated from the chapters on Ludendorff and Haushofer by an extensive section on sea and air war is not quite clear.

Edward Mead Earle and his associates deserve much credit for the excellent

piece of work which this volume represents. It offers a wealth of facts and ideas in a very readable form. It emphasizes the insoluble link of military questions today with economic, political, social, and technological developments. Last but not least, it is permeated with a spirit of militant democracy which is the deadly enemy of aggressive militarism. In the editor's own words (p. x), "We do not have and do not wish to have a military class to whom these matters will be delegated with plenary powers. Our armed forces, including our officer corps, are recruited on a democratic basis. This is as it should be, since there is only one safe repository of the national security of a democratic state: the whole people."

Sarah Lawrence College

ALBERT LAUTERBACH

WHEN THE FRENCH WERE HERE: A NARRATIVE OF THE SOJOURN OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN AMERICA, AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN DRAWN FROM UNPUBLISHED REPORTS AND LETTERS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF FRANCE AND THE MS. DIVISION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By *Stephen Bonsal*. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1945. Pp. xix, 263. \$3.00.)

THE subtitle of this book and the blurb on its jacket lead one to expect a new interpretation of military affairs in the United States during the War of American Independence. Such an interpretation is sadly needed—to keep pace with S. F. Bemis' re-examination of the diplomatic history (*Diplomacy of the American Revolution* [New York, 1935]). Bemis, borrowing from and improving upon the classic study of Henri Doniol (*Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* [5 vols.; Paris, 1886–90]) showed that the question of American independence was only a single aspect—and perhaps not the most important—of the world's diplomatic problems during that period. There was room for hope that Bonsal, adopting as a model Bemis' corrective of the usual ethnocentric account, would borrow from and improve upon not only Doniol but also E. M. Stone (*Our French Allies* [Providence, 1884]) and D. B. Keim (*Rochambeau* [Washington, 1907]), thus showing that military activities in the United States were only a single, and a relatively minor, phase of the world war of that period.

The hope is quickly dispelled. In a brief introduction Bonsal admits quite frankly that his purpose in writing was Franco-American propaganda. To be sure, the prologue which follows sounds a scholarly note. It was intended, the author tells us, "not only to present our War for Independence in its proper relation to the world war of the eighteenth century, but to indicate what a vital factor it has become in the protracted and universal struggle against the forces of darkness and savagery which the United Nations are now happily bringing to a victorious issue" (p. xiii). Unfortunately, however, neither the prologue nor the text carries

out this promise. Although the book mentions military activities in Europe, the West Indies, Africa, and India, their place in the global warfare of which the Yorktown campaign was only a part is never given the importance they deserve. Although there are a few generalities about the intellectual influence of the American Revolution upon the Frenchmen who participated, no effort is made to trace it systematically.

There is some internal evidence that this volume (except for the prologue and some footnotes) was prepared several years before its publication. Apparently Mr. Bonsal has not kept up with the more recent literature on the subject. R. G. Adams, for example, in an article entitled "A View of Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown" in this *Review* (XXXVII [Oct., 1931], 25-49) has shown that Cornwallis' "retreat" can be understood only as an effort to obey Clinton's orders to take up a post from which his men could easily be transported to other areas. The present reviewer's *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1942) confirms that thesis and also describes at considerable length the Franco-American negotiations which, beginning in 1779, led ultimately to Washington's decision to abandon the New York campaign and concentrate upon Virginia. John C. Fitzpatrick and his collaborators in the bicentennial edition of the *Writings of George Washington* (37 vols.; Washington, 1931-40) have published several scores of documents (many of them new) relating to these and similar matters. A passing acquaintance with such recent works would have cleared up some of Bonsal's perplexities. But he has apparently consulted no monograph later than the Vicomte de Noailles' *Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance* (Paris, 1903) nor any collection of documents more up-to-date than Worthington C. Ford's *Writings of George Washington* (14 vols.; New York, 1889-93). On the other hand, Mr. Bonsal deserves much credit for using some rare contemporary journals and some pertinent manuscripts in the French archives and the Library of Congress. Since, however, a larger proportion of those than he realizes had already been exploited, there is little in his story that is significantly new. What little there is is hardly enough to counterbalance what is presented either incorrectly or awry.

One part of the book will prove quite useful, though somewhat irrelevant to its major theme. It is the account (pp. 186-212) of the later careers of several officers in Rochambeau's expeditionary force. Yet even these pages give little not available in other works; and if Mr. Bonsal had consulted either A. Kuscinski (*Dictionnaire des conventionnels* [Paris, 1916-19]) or Ludovic de Contenson (*Société des Cincinnati de France et la guerre d'Amérique* [Paris, 1934]) he could have saved the nearly four pages he gives to what he calls "the prize puzzle" (p. 195) of M. de Barras. For these works (among others) would have made clear that André de Barras-la-Vilette, who commanded the *Bonetta* at Newport and Yorktown, was not the infamous Vicomte Paul de Barras of the French Revolution.

THE LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE TO WASHINGTON, 1777-1799. Edited by *Louis Gottschalk*. (New York: Privately printed by Helen Fahnestock Hubbard. 1944. Pp. xxvii, 417.)

THIS book might be subtitled "A Study in Hero Worship." Lafayette, coming to America to serve under Washington, was quite swept off his feet by the American commander in chief; it was adulation at first sight. Possessing an apparently inexhaustible fund of hero worship, he lavished upon Washington an enthusiastic admiration that at first startled and dismayed that austere Virginian. In Lafayette's eyes, Washington was beyond reproach, the noblest of men, a paragon of virtue—everything, in short, that Parson Weems tried to make him for the benefit of the American public.

As for Washington, under the warmth of Lafayette's honest affection, his frostiness melted away and the great man unbent as he rarely did to other men. Washington was reserved but by no means inaccessible; yet, to open a friendship, it was necessary to go considerably more than half way—which Lafayette did gladly. Slowly, the relationship between the two men expanded into a friendship with filial-paternal overtones. Lafayette described himself as a friend, disciple, and adopted son; and Washington, although he never completely let down his reserve, no doubt found in the affection of the young French nobleman some compensation for a childless marriage.

The friendship of Washington and Lafayette survived all the shocks that friendships are heir to: the efforts of Washington's enemies to alienate Lafayette's regard for the commander in chief; Lafayette's persistent efforts to procure commissions for the French soldiers of fortune who had come to win glory and fat pay checks in America (Washington would gladly have sacked the entire lot with the exception of Lafayette); and the strain imposed upon Franco-American relations by the war of the French Revolution. Ambitious of leading an expedition to Canada, Lafayette nevertheless was willing to forego this opportunity to gain military glory rather than bring humiliation upon his friend. Yet Lafayette was not a mere sycophant; as his letters show, he freely advised Washington upon military matters, always being careful to preserve the deference of the pupil toward the master.

Throughout his career, Lafayette studiously imitated Washington; he seems always to have been asking himself, "What would General Washington do if he were here?" Yet there is no certainty of being a great man simply by imitating other great men, and, unfortunately for Lafayette, Washington's example afforded no sure guide amid the rush of events in France after 1789. Revolution in France was a very different thing from revolution in America, and, after 1791, Lafayette was clearly out of his depth. Aspiring to be the Washington of the French Revolution, he found himself obliged to deal with a people which, he said, had "swallowed up liberty all at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom." He hated violence and upheld the cause of constitutional, orderly change; disliking despotism and aristocracy, he could not love democracy. But it was difficult

even for an American radical to thread his way safely through the French Revolution—Tom Paine narrowly missed the guillotine. Little wonder therefore that Lafayette found safety only in exile.

This volume brings within convenient compass all the letters written by Lafayette to Washington. Although many of them have appeared in print before, they have been mutilated by Jared Spark's editorial excisions. This defect Professor Gottschalk has remedied by editorial work of a highly meticulous character. At the same time, Mr. Gottschalk has provided an excellent introduction that summarizes the results of his many years of study of Lafayette. And, to top it all, the book itself, in these days of meager, shriveled, wartime volumes, is a collector's item of fine paper and clear typography.

Bryn Mawr College

JOHN C. MILLER

CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY. By *Eric Williams*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 285. \$3.00.)

BOTH the title of this work and the opening sentence of its preface suggest to the reader what he will find. This is "an attempt to place in historical perspective the relationship between early capitalism as exemplified by Great Britain, and the Negro slave trade, Negro slavery and the general colonial trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." It is, as the author says, in no sense a study of the institution of slavery but rather a study of the contribution of slavery to the development of the Industrial Revolution and of the forces of industrialism which presently destroyed slavery. The argument can be set forth briefly. The raising of sugar is a capitalistic industry. It demands the plantation system and a large labor supply which can be obtained only by the slave trade. In the economic structure which is created there is no place for the small farmer. To the mercantilist merchant at home the slave trade was the ideal trade. It found vent for English goods; it built up English shipping; it enriched the colonies; it poured wealth into the laps of sugar planters. All this is familiar ground but it is well told by Professor Williams, who draws the story from an enormous mass of contemporary material.

Having established the relation between sugar and the slave trade and between the slave trade and the commerce of the day, he follows with an account of the destruction of the mercantilist system and shows how the slave system, now an outworn economic institution, was destroyed by the very forces it had helped create. Here the lines are far less clearly defined; motives are mixed; economic influences are less simple; and one must tread cautiously. Monopoly everywhere was breaking down before the onslaught of the industrial system. Put briefly, "When British capitalism depended on the West Indies, they [the capitalists] ignored slavery or defended it. When British capitalism found the West Indian monopoly a nuisance, they destroyed West Indian slavery as the first step in the destruction of the West Indian monopoly" (p. 161).

One feels at times that Mr. Williams in his zeal to establish the primacy of the economic forces is somewhat less than fair to the humanitarians whose voices were raised against the slave trade and later against slavery. A man is not of necessity a hypocrite because his economic interests and his moral convictions coincide. Humanitarianism may be "lucrative" and still be humanitarianism. Nor is it necessary to conclude that the zealots who struggled to abolish the slave trade at the end of the eighteenth century were insincere because they countenanced the institution of slavery, or because they accepted the slave-raised cotton of the Southern United States. On one point Mr. Williams seems to have changed his mind. He at one time wrote, "The white man proved unable to endure strenuous labor in the tropical climate" (*Journal of Negro History*, XXV, 61). Here he dismisses this contention as false and misleading.

By no means the least useful part of the study is the careful annotation and the rich bibliography.

Wellesley College

ELIZABETH DONNAN

ARMISTICE, 1918. By *Harry R. Rudin*, Associate Professor of History and Fellow of Pierson College in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 442. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a brilliant, scholarly, and detailed account of the events leading up to the signing of the armistice between the allied and associated powers and Germany in November, 1918, and the end of the first World War. Professor Rudin has presented an exhaustive study of the principal documentary materials, memoirs, newspapers, and serial publications in this first historical narrative of the armistice negotiations in English and has made important contributions to our knowledge of this controversial problem. The first chapters of the monograph have to do with Ludendorff's sudden desire for an armistice to avert military disaster, and his demands for a parliamentary government in Berlin which would request President Wilson to bring about an immediate armistice and to initiate peace negotiations upon the basis of the Fourteen Points and subsequent pronouncements. The author then shows how the President disregarded the Allies while they sought to circumvent his peace program, how the torpedoing of the *Leinster* threatened to end the negotiations, and how when Ludendorff changed his mind and decided to continue the war he was relieved of his command. The final chapters are concerned with the Fourteen Points, the drafting of the armistice terms by the Supreme War Council, the revolt of Berlin, the abdication of the kaiser and the signing of the armistice.

Professor Rudin has shown that Ludendorff's and Hindenburg's decision of September 28 to overthrow the imperial chancellor, to establish a new parliamentary government, and to force it to hoist the white flag was based upon "a sense of catastrophe" in the west and the knowledge of the Bulgarian collapse in the

Balkans. This decision was approved the next day by the kaiser and the foreign secretary, whereupon Count Hertling resigned and the empire fell a prey to the factions.

The supreme command of the army, now in complete panic, was indifferent about the effect of a request for an armistice on the war-weary German nation and specifically about the rapid disintegration of the home front which resulted from Ludendorff's *démarche*. As early as October 14 the Pan-Germans proclaimed that the army was being defeated by the collapse of the home front and the shameful conduct of the government of Prince Max of Baden. To add to the growing confusion the political and military leaders did not know that Ludendorff himself had forced the prince's government to hoist the white flag.

Beyond the wall of iron and fire on the western front, Wilson's allies disagreed with him about the basis and conduct of negotiations with the treacherous Germans, yet neither France nor Britain wished to continue the conflict until unconditional surrender. Pershing alone advised against a negotiated peace which would jeopardize the moral position of the victors and "possibly lose the chance actually to secure world peace on terms that would insure its permanence." It is news to the reviewer, however, that the Fourteen Points of Wilson's peace program was "the major issue in the Congressional elections of November 5, 1918."

The author's first basic conclusion is that the German high command's stab-in-the-back explanation of the empire's collapse is "one of the boldest and most successful attempts in history to tamper with fact and to shift responsibility." Although he throws some light on Ludendorff's responsibility for the legend, he does not clarify all the principal phases. It is also difficult to accept the conclusion concerning the shock produced by Prince Max's speech of October 5. There is considerable evidence that millions of thinking Germans fully understood the gravity of the military situation on the western front in the late summer of 1918. Again the reviewer is of the opinion that the supreme command actually planned "the democratic government in Berlin" as a front behind which the supreme war lord and his two lieutenants could escape from the worst results of military defeat. In fact the supreme command never even cut the private wire when Ebert became head of the revolutionary government.

"Had the Germans been confronted by a demand for unconditional surrender in 1918," concludes Professor Rudin, "the war would not have ended in that year." True perhaps, but in all probability it would have ended in total defeat in the summer of 1919. The facts are that both William II and Ludendorff fled the Reich in 1918, but the stab-in-the-back legend spread over all Germany. Corporal Hitler's propaganda convinced millions of his countrymen of the reality of the Hagen thrust of the homeland and of the allied use of "the fourteen freckles" to trick the Germans. This book then is the tragic story of a war that did not end in the unconditional surrender of Germany.

CLAIMS TO TERRITORY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS. By *Norman Hill*, Professor in International Law and Relations, University of Nebraska. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. vi, 248. \$3.00.)

Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations is an interesting little book on a very timely subject. It is nontechnical and easy to read, though carefully annotated. The book may be widely read by diplomats for their own edification (but not that of their staffs) and by students (but not necessarily, I hope, by their teachers).

Professor Hill paints the picture with very broad strokes. He outlines the various historical claims to territory that states have made, and gives examples and cases to illustrate each claim and possible combination of claims. There he stops. He does not go into specific examples with any degree of thoroughness. He does not, for instance, undertake to prove that Alsace-Lorraine either should or should not belong to France. You get the impression that that is not his purpose. Nor, on the other hand, does the author make much of a case for or against the plebiscite as a means of solving nonlegal disputes. You get the idea that that is not his purpose either. What then is the motive underlying the book? I confess to having no quick answer. The only thing I can think of is that the author believed it would be useful to compress within one volume a series of examples of the types of claims pressed by states in quest of territory, and of the means and procedures whereby states have occasionally adjudicated those claims. That is all.

One point of weakness, if it can be called that, is the rather extended treatment Professor Hill gives to the subject of strategic claims in his book without referring to any more recent source than George Fielding Eliot (1941 vintage). Much strategic water has passed under the bridge since 1941. And it has been water not unaffected by the influence of territory on military strategy. Professor Hill makes a passing allusion to it on page 60, when he refers to islands and land-based aircraft, to Crete, to the Solomons, and to many other strategic island groups in the Pacific. He again touches upon it, though apparently unawares, in his statements on pages 63 and 68: in the former instance, when he refers to France's concern for her industry (in Bismarck's time) if Germany possessed Strasbourg and Metz; and in the latter case, when he notes Hitler's idea that mere size enhances the security of a state.

If the territorial proximity of France's industry to German foot soldiers in Bismarck's time was a strategic consideration, how vastly the advent of modern air power must have enlarged this concept. To what extent will air power, from this point of view, affect territorial considerations at the forthcoming peace conference? Similarly, to what extent has "mere size" enhanced the security of a state from the point of view of air power? Britain found out to her sorrow what the lack of "mere size" meant in 1940; Russia, to her joy, found out what "mere size" meant in 1941; and Germany found out what the lack of "mere size" meant when her

territorial boundaries became more and more restricted and Allied air power moved closer and closer in for the final kill. By omitting any serious consideration of these important new territorial factors, while at the same time devoting considerable wordage and space to territory and strategy, Professor Hill makes no progress toward enlightening whatever audience he hopes to reach in one of the most vital new territorial subjects of our time.

Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. LOWE

Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WORLD FROM 30 B.C. TO A.D. 138. By *Edward T. Salmon*, Sometime Senior Scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Professor of Ancient History in McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. [Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World, General Editor: M. Cary, Volume VI.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 363. \$5.50.)

THE seven-volume Macmillan (Methuen) series covering the history of the Greek and Roman world is now nearly complete; only the first volume of the Greek history series remains to be published. Dr. Salmon's treatment of the period 30 B.C. to 138 A.D. is the fourth and last of the volumes on Rome to appear in print. The work of Scullard (753-146 B.C.), Marsh (146-30 B.C.), and Parker (138-337 A.D.) has previously received notice in this journal (XLII [Oct., 1936], 96; XLVI [Oct., 1940], 102).

The defect of the present volume is not that Dr. Salmon was commissioned to replace the late R. P. Longden as author but rather that the work has been done in haste and at a time when it is not easy to think or write about anything so remote as Roman history. One does not question Dr. Salmon's competence as he discusses the period from Augustus to Hadrian, but there is no doubt that if he (or his publishers) had been content to delay publication until after the war, a much better and more useful book might have been forthcoming.

Dr. Salmon quite rightly admits that his book can make no claim to originality; it is sound—and completely uninspired. He apologizes for having produced a work in which the personalities of the emperors may seem to have been given undue attention, but if he had taken the trouble to endow his emperors with personality, he might have been cheerfully forgiven by his readers. Furthermore, there is included in the book very little that one might not find in an ordinary textbook. If Dr. Salmon's reputation as a scholar were not already well established, he might be suspected of having consulted only the meager bibliography which his book contains.

Looking at the Macmillan Roman series as a whole, one finds that the same

criticisms can be made in greater or lesser degree. In no case can the sound scholarship of the authors be doubted, but in every instance there is a deadly preoccupation with political, institutional, and military history, whereas the social, economic, literary, and artistic phases of Roman history are given little attention. Only the late Dr. Marsh wrote as if he had some real interest in his subject, and only Mr. Parker had the initiative to introduce material which was not previously familiar to everyone in the field.

It is difficult to imagine for what audience this series is intended. It is not for the beginning student, nor for the specialist, and probably not for the general public. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the series will not encourage many of its readers to explore further the field of Roman history.

Washington, D. C.

TOM B. JONES

ANDREA BARBARIGO: MERCHANT OF VENICE, 1418-1449. By *Frederic C. Lane*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXII, Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. 224, xiv. \$2.25.)

A MASTERFUL article contributed by Professor Gino Luzzatto of Venice to the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* in 1937—"Les activités économiques du patriciat vénitien"—has epitomized the notion of the Venetian merchant-patrician as shaped by recent research. A lacuna sorely felt, however, has been the absence of any exposition of the activities of individual Venetian merchants or firms, such as we have for nearly every other Italian city. Publication of the first "business biography" for Renaissance Venice, illuminating the triumphs and disappointments of an individual trader, is therefore a matter of considerable interest. Its value is enhanced because Professor Lane has seized the opportunity to take stock of the unfortunately scarce material of fifteenth and early sixteenth century account books and business letters accessible in the Venetian archives. In an appendix, he provides us with a sort of archival guide for further work. Since he has photostated substantial portions of the surviving books, we may hope that a considerable part of the work will be done in this country. ("Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic," in the *Journal of Economic History*, IV [Nov., 1944], is a first publication by Mr. Lane profiting from this material for the early sixteenth century.)

For several reasons the figure of Andrea Barbarigo recommends itself for closer study. He represents the only case encountered by Mr. Lane where the surviving account books and business letters sometimes refer to the same transactions, making possible a glimpse of the merchant's intimate motives. Further, in consequence of personal misfortune—Andrea's father had ruined the fortunes and the political position of his family by failing in his duties as a commander of a Venetian fleet—Andrea was forced to look out eagerly for any opportunity for commercial gain to rebuild his fortune. Consequently, his papers refer to an unusual variety of

business ventures. Finally, the preserved books of the Barbarigo family include some kept by Andrea's son and grandson. This furnishes a rare chance to follow up the subsequent withdrawal of the family from trade to landed property and to profitable participation in public offices.

The economic problems discussed on the basis of this material center on two points. The first is the scope of individual initiative in the frame of an economic system characterized by the state's constructing, letting out on hire, and conveying most of the merchant ships. The narrative points out that regulation of shipping merely *conditioned*, but did not *replace*, individual enterprise. The second chief topic is business organization. We are given an analysis not only of Andrea's small independent enterprise but also of the structure of the great Venetian firms, usually built on family partnerships. Emphasis is placed on the obscuration of the medieval *Commenda* through the use of commission agents abroad and also on the versatility and readiness of Venetian business "to shift funds rapidly from one branch of trade to another." The volume opens with an attractive biographic outline and ends with a number of appendixes, including an extensive treatise on the growth of "Accounting Methods"; notable among the conclusions is that "double entry was well known and commonly used at Venice at the beginning of the fifteenth century."

May we regard Andrea Barbarigo's business career and conduct as "typical" of those of a Venetian patrician of modest means? They are indubitably typical in so far as they disclose the nature and technique of the business of Venice's early *quattrocento* merchants. But are we to assume that a considerable number of "poor" Venetian noblemen did make their way in life in the fashion of Andrea Barbarigo? Mr. Lane introduces Andrea's biography with a discussion of "Old Wealth and New" and of the rise of new elements in the Italian city-states. Yet there is little of the self-made "new rich" in this descendant of a substantial and influential family, one who could count on the friendship of relatives of political standing and considerable wealth (finally bequeathed to his children) at every step of his career. A real "poor *nobile*" could not have hoped for a comparably rapid rise. On the other hand, the average poor *nobile* would hardly have been ready to take upon himself Andrea's complete absorption in business pursuits and his aloofness from political life—presumably a consequence of Andrea's peculiar position after the disloyalty of his father. Normally, the chances open to the poorer members of the Venetian nobility lay not so much in opportunities for equal competition with capitalists of greater wealth as in the easy access provided by the Republic to many (moderately salaried) public offices, the medium for active participation even of impecunious *nobili* in the administration of the state. Part of the career of every "typical" Venetian merchant-*nobile*, whether wealthy or poor, was the performance of such political and military functions (as Luzzatto has it in his summary) as "*aujourd'hui nous sembleraient absolument inconciliables avec une activité commercial quelconque.*" When seen in this perspective of the

time, the merchant figure reconstructed in Mr. Lane's illuminating monograph can be accepted as "typical" of its age only with reservation.

Institute for Advanced Study

HANS BARON

Modern European History

WILLIAM THE SILENT: WILLIAM OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE, 1533-1584. By C. V. Wedgwood. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. 256. \$3.00.)

SOME characters do not lend themselves to those drastic reappraisals which add the spice of surprise to popular biography. They even escape, in large measure, that periodically revised estimate of their worth and work which, it is sometimes supposed, is entailed on historiography by the process of history itself. When in 1855 J. L. Motley concluded his *Rise of the Dutch Republic* with a panegyric on its hero, he was only repeating in terms fit for the nineteenth century the gist of what William of Nassau's earliest biographers, English and Dutch, had written of him, as they in turn were mainly repeating the judgments of William's friends and of the fairer-minded among his contemporary enemies. By 1895 Ruth Putnam had the advantage of more documents in published form than had been available to Motley, even in the archives, and of the editorial labors of Gachard (incomplete when Motley wrote) and Pouillet and Kervyn de Lettenhove and others. She had also the inestimable advantage of knowing that Motley's mid-century enthusiasm for liberty and heroism was sadly outmoded, and that what was wanted was to smudge Motley's strong blacks and whites into the soiled familiar gray of ordinary human nature. But in spite of her studious avoidance of eloquence Ruth Putnam's portrait of the prince of Orange is recognizably Motley's; her final estimate is as high, if not as glowing as his.

In the last fifty years less has been added to our knowledge of the sixteenth century Dutch wars than was added between Motley's book and Ruth Putnam's, but so much more to our critical and psychoanalytic tool kit that 1855 and 1895 seem equally antiquated, while our own recent experience of history has been so immediate that we are tempted to judge that the quiet nineteenth century never experienced that painful process at all. C. V. Wedgwood is admirably equipped to focus all our twentieth century superiorities for a popular re-examination of William the Silent. She writes well and without condescension, which should be the primary requisite for any popular biographer. She is aware of all the latest critical and analytical techniques, the neo-Marxian, the neo-Freudian, the neo-Paretan, though it must not be supposed that she allows them to clutter up her judgments. She is sensitive to the currents of contemporary thought. And she commands a scholarship adequate to insure that the latest discoveries will be

utilized when they deserve it and the central narrative set firmly in its larger background. Nevertheless, it is the first duty of a reviewer to report that nothing in her *William the Silent* obliges any serious revision of our prior notions of the man and his times. Perhaps if C. V. Wedgwood were less a scholar in the best sense of the word, had less respect not only for objective fact but for what is less often recognized, objective truth in proportion and balance of detail, she would have achieved a more startling originality. As it is, though her emphasis is of today and her estimate is shaded by considerations of which the nineteenth century was careless or unaware, her prince of Orange is the same hero of whom Motley wrote, "As long as he lived he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets."

To say that the character of William the Silent defies drastic reappraisal, and commands, for much the same reasons, the same tribute of admiration from Miss Wedgwood as from Motley or from Meteren, is not to say that we do not need this book or should not welcome it. We should welcome it if only because it comes from one of the small company of serious historians who can still write literate English. And we need it because, even though the facts were all accessible to us before, and the main judgments are unchanged, we need someone to state the prince of Orange in our terms for our day. We are perhaps better prepared than our grandfathers to recognize that a politician—even a trimmer, provided he never trims essentials—may be a great statesman. We are, perhaps, better prepared than any of our race since the turbulent religious wars to appreciate the heroism required for steadfast moderation, for simple tolerance and simple human kindness in a world gone mad with hate and cruelty. We know, without derogation to our individual wills or to the impersonal forces of history, that there are heroes without whom life would have been different, heroes for whom a whole nation may genuinely mourn. And we need to be reminded that, in spite of an untimely and irreparable loss, a people with courage and resolution enough can go on to achieve for themselves some part of the destiny toward which their dead hero has pointed.

New York City

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN PENRY, 1593. Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the original in the Huntington Library by *Albert Peel*. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXVII.] (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xxviii, 99.)

FOR students of late Elizabethan and early Stuart history one of the most interesting collections of manuscripts in America is the so-called Ellsmere Manuscripts at the Huntington Library in California. This collection contains a large part of the surviving papers of Sir Thomas Egerton, successively master of the rolls, solicitor general, attorney general, and lord keeper of the great seal under Queen Elizabeth, and lord chancellor under King James. It was as attorney general that

Sir Thomas became involved in the trial of John Penry, Puritan martyr, in 1593. That accounts for the fact that many documents relating to Penry's later days turn up among Egerton's papers. Copies of many of these are to be found elsewhere, and a considerable number of them have been published by Champlin Burrage.

What Burrage never found was Penry's own notebook. It is a small quarto volume, written in three different hands, probably all of them by Penry himself. Parts of it are easy reading, parts of it extraordinarily difficult. When I came across it many years ago in a hasty survey of the Ellsmere Manuscripts, I recognized its significance, but had neither the time nor the patience to transcribe it. Fortunately it has fallen into the hands of Dr. Albert Peel, already well known to students of Elizabethan Puritanism as editor of *The Second Part of a Register* (Cambridge, 1915). No man alive is more competent to undertake the difficult business of transcription and interpretation. He has to all appearances done a splendid job. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the transcription because I have not the original before me, but I can vouch for the painstaking and accurate scholarship of the editor.

On the whole the yield of the notebook is disappointing. Dr. Peel, in his introduction, has directed a large part of his attention to the thorny question of the authorship of the Martin Marprelate tracts. In the draft of a letter to Burghley, written in the closing days of Penry's life and preserved in the notebook (pp. 61 ff.), Penry himself dealt with the matter at some length and undertook to demonstrate that he was not Martin. But Dr. Peel does not seem to be completely convinced that Penry was not equivocating. In any case, Penry's statement, though persuasive, can not be accepted as decisive, and the matter rests not very far from where it was.

In his preoccupation with the Marprelate controversy, Dr. Peel has passed lightly over some other significant items in the notebook which deserve attention. Students of Elizabethan parliamentary history will be much interested in the procedure attending the presentation of the Brownist petition to Parliament in March, 1593. It appears from a letter of Penry to Burghley (pp. 53-54) that the petition was presented to the lord keeper (presiding officer of the House of Lords) and to Mr. Speaker (of the Commons) by two women, one of them apparently Penry's wife, who were committed to prison and at least one of them, under fear of torture, compelled to confess all she knew about it. "How unworthily," Penry remarked, "suffer you the privileges of that high court to be thus encroached upon and trodden under foot" (p. 55). Unless I am mistaken, this is a unique case of its sort in the whole history of Elizabeth's parliaments.

Another document in the notebook is the draft of a letter from Penry to the earl of Essex. The fact that Penry addressed himself to Essex is itself significant, for Essex is generally considered the successor of the earl of Leicester as champion of Puritanism in Elizabeth's council. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that the increased persecution of the Puritans during the last decade of the queen's

reign is to be explained in part by the fact that the two great champions of Puritanism at court died at or near the end of the previous decade, Leicester in 1588, Sir Francis Walsingham in 1590. Essex, if anyone, took their place, and it is significant to note that though he was not yet firmly in his seat at the time of Penry's martyrdom, Penry nevertheless reached out for his support. The letter itself deserves more careful analysis than Dr. Peel has given to it, if only because it throws light upon Penry's estimate of Essex. Space does not serve to pursue the matter far, but it is noteworthy that a large part of Penry's argument is in terms of a wholesale confiscation of church property. "Is not," he asks, "a Devereux as meet to effect the action by her authority as a Cromwell was under her father's?" The appeal is in part to Essex's vanity, in part to his cupidity. "Ye shall not," Penry writes, "have the like favor in court always. Use your opportunity then." He was careful not to single out Essex as the most promising supporter of Puritanism, though something of the sort might be read into the following sentence: "Bear with me, good my lord, if I be overseen in taking you for the meetest man of all the nobility and council of England for the work" (p. 91).

But scholars will not quarrel with Dr. Peel if he has left a few kernels for their gleaning. They will rather be profoundly grateful to him for placing at their disposition a notebook, the editing of which has been done with painstaking care in the face of extraordinary difficulties and the contents of which make an important contribution to our knowledge of Elizabethan Puritanism.

Washington, D. C.

CONYERS READ

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES: TOWARD A SOCIAL BASIS FOR FREEDOM. By Helen Merrell Lynd. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 598. \$4.50.)

England in the Eighteen-Eighties is not history in the old formal sense of the actual story of an age, nor does it utilize new historical material in order to correct or expand our knowledge. It is rather the transfer of some of the methods of social investigation and analysis, used by the author on the scale of a small, contemporary community in *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, to a whole country and to a period which has passed out of ordinary memory. The book is important, therefore, in proportion to the success of these methods in reaching significant historical conclusions rather than for any particular contributions to the history of late Victorian England.

The methods used by Mrs. Lynd develop through three stages. First is the conception of the problem, which concerns the shift in emphasis in social thought from a liberalism interested in preventing bad government to a new theory of the state as a positive force in the creation of human good. This shift is considered to have taken place in England between 1880 and 1890. The second and principal stage is the sifting of newspapers, magazines, biographies, diaries, and letters, the

classification of the results, and the presentation of this material in orderly form. Since the method of verifying changes in ideas by collecting expressions of individual opinion is basically the method of sampling, and since a large sample is clearly necessary for accuracy in such a study, a great variety of published material has been consulted. The selected material is presented in two parts, the first dealing directly with changes in ideas and the second with the role of social institutions—that is, political parties, organized labor, churches, schools, and special organizations such as the Fabian Society—in bringing about these changes. This stage calls for arduous labor for the researcher and also, it must be confessed, for the reader of the published result. The final stage is the conclusion formulated in terms of the problem—establishment of the shift from laissez-faire liberalism to the concept of the welfare state—and on the basis of the material presented in the body of the work.

Mrs. Lynd adheres carefully to this design, though without confining her sources strictly to the years from 1880 to 1890. Where it seems appropriate, material from the preceding and the following decades is employed to good effect, for her concern is with ideas rather than with exact dates. The range of her reading is vast, and the large and varied mass of her material is used with extraordinary care for accuracy in details. If consistency in method, the number and extent of the samples of opinion, and exactitude in handling her material could produce results better than those of the usual methods of historical research, Mrs. Lynd would certainly have achieved them.

The question is, then, whether the methods of *England in the Eighteen-Eighties* are more valid than those of the orthodox historian, who hopes, at least, that his judgments will grow out of the source material without benefit of a theory of social values. What is better must necessarily be a matter of opinion, but the two methods certainly produce different results for this period. To the orthodox historian the year 1880 is marked by the formation of a Liberal government generally agreed on a new extension of the suffrage but divided on other questions of internal policy. An active and growing minority of the party believed in increased use of state power for social welfare. Shortly after the passage of new franchise and redistribution bills, the Liberals split over Irish home rule. The Conservatives returned to office in 1886, and, except for a short interval, remained in power until 1905 with a policy of avoiding basic internal changes. In short, the election returns indicate a Conservative reaction in the eighties. Mrs. Lynd comes to the opposite conclusion: that realization of a discrepancy between social facts and old laissez-faire social theory came relatively swiftly in the eighties, and that the old negative attitude towards the functions of the state yielded in this decade to belief in the potentialities of political power for social improvement.

This is a serious difference. Is the usual historical method too concerned with the obvious facts of political history to reveal significant shifts in ideas? Or does Mrs. Lynd's firm belief in a social basis for freedom direct the selection and evalua-

tion of her sources to the point that the conclusions are really a restatement of her initial conceptions? This reviewer gives an affirmative answer to both questions. Mrs. Lynd has described, and illustrated in great detail, a significant shift in the currents of English opinion, but has assumed its success in the eighties because it became clearly apparent in these years. She antedates the real *turn* of opinion towards social reform. On the other hand, the historian who places the turn as late as the decade before the war of 1914 may well be postdating it by failing to recognize a time lag between the general acceptance of new ideas and the passage of legislation clearly based upon them. But these views are themselves matters of opinion. What is certain is that *England in the Eighteen-Eighties* is a significant work which must be given the careful attention of every student of late Victorian England.

Mills College

FRANCIS H. HERRICK

ALLENBY IN EGYPT, Volume II of ALLENBY: A STUDY IN GREATNESS. By *Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell* of Cyrenaica and Winchester. (New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xiii, 161. \$2.50.)

FIELD MARSHAL VISCOUNT Wavell has in many ways followed in the footsteps of his late chief and lasting model whose biography he has written in *Allenby: A Study in Greatness*. Like Allenby himself he has risen to the field marshal's baton, and to peership through military achievements in the defense of the British Empire along the Suez Canal. The reward was well merited, for the Suez Canal represents the strategic hub of the Old World, like the Panama Canal of the New World. Allenby defended the life line of the Pax Britannica on the eastern shore of the Suez Canal and became viscount of Megiddo; Wavell defended it on the western shore and became viscount of Cyrenaica. But there the similarity does not end. Allenby, after his military task was completed, was called to Egypt, Britain's most critical imperial position; Wavell has been called to India. The new viceroy of India concludes his biography of Allenby by presenting him as the founder of Egyptian independence. Allenby became high commissioner for Egypt when the Egyptian nationalists, inspired by England's liberal tradition and by the democratic slogans of World War I, clamored and rioted for Egyptian independence. Allenby had enough force at his disposal to restore order and to maintain British rule, but he knew that England's avowed policy was to train the Egyptians to govern themselves. Against much opposition in Britain and in Egypt which accused him of "selling out" the empire, Allenby prevailed upon the British government to proclaim Egypt's independence in 1922. Britain set thereby an example which she herself followed in Iraq and which the United States is now following in the Philippines.

Viscount Wavell's book, written with great simplicity and straightforwardness, forms not only an important study in recent Egyptian history and in British im-

perial policy. It is also a revealing self portrait of the present viceroy of India. He believes that "the stout support Egyptians have given Britain in this war, especially at times when British victory must have seemed doubtful to them," can be attributed partly to the impression that Allenby left "of British resolution and fair dealing." Without a friendly understanding with the Egyptian people, the British position in Egypt at the most critical hour of World War II would have been untenable. The turning point of the present war which defeated Axis plans for world domination and made the victory of the United Nations possible was the firmly held British strategic position in Egypt. This position, like ours in Panama, must be built, as Allenby understood, on sincere friendship, common sense, and firmness alike. In both cases a Monroe Doctrine applies, based upon co-operation, but the forms of co-operation have undergone many changes in the last fifty years. As Wavell rightly points out, the only alternative to conciliation and common sense compromise would be military rule to which Britain (and the United States) often took recourse in the past but which, "quite apart from questions of morality and justice," would be unthinkable after World War I in view of the temper of the British (and American) nations "and the inconstancy of their rules." Allenby carried his program in Egypt through against much opposition and misrepresentation. It is not the British way to deal with a problem logically or directly, but it is in the best tradition of British proconsulship to deal with it courageously and fairly.

Viscount Wavell has added to personal observation the conscientious studying of the period from the sources. His narrative is enlivened by a number of penetrating and always objective character sketches of British and Egyptian leading personalities. He is not uncritical of Allenby nor is he ever ungenerous to his opponents. He has brought to his task rare qualifications of intimate knowledge and power of judgment; his story reveals the often overlooked human side of British imperial administration as it has developed in the twentieth century.

Smith College

HANS KOHN

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1720-1865: THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES. By *B. J. Hovde*. Two volumes. (Boston: Chapman and Grimes. 1944. Pp. 428; 429-824. \$10.00.)

THIS first comparative history of the Scandinavian countries is a work of impressive scholarship. It makes available to English-speaking students of modern European history a vast amount of hitherto inaccessible information, the results of a generation of Scandinavian research, and presents them with all the skill and acumen at the command of a distinguished American scholar. The point of view is almost severely economic, and no one need fear that he is being snared by a Scandinavian bias. There is rather a sobering tendency to emphasize the sharp edge of class conflict and economic self-seeking.

Professor Hovde has chosen to study that period of Scandinavian history in which these countries "passed from a pre-capitalistic to a capitalistic stage of civilization." Each chapter is organized around some phase of life in which this transition was illustrated, such as "Industry and Trade," "Agriculture; the Decline of the Old System," "Literature," "Public Health," etc. A central theme throughout the book is the growth of an individualism which the author regards as essentially a product of capitalistic enterprise. American students will find an abundance of material on the history in Scandinavia of that spirit of "free enterprise" which is thought by many to be the bulwark of American liberty. The division of material is a lengthwise one so that each chapter includes the development in all three countries over all or most of the period under discussion. This organization permits some very helpful bird's-eye views of the chosen topics and interesting comparative observations on the relative status of the various countries. But it throws obstacles in the way of any reader who may want a sharply focused picture of the development in each country, or indeed, merely a clear, unencumbered historical narrative. Some repetition is inescapable, and major personalities fail to emerge clearly because they are split under various headings.

An essential doctrine of the writer is revealed in a casual remark to the effect that Scandinavia in this period was "one of the frontiers of capitalistic civilization" (p. 588). As this doctrine implies, the work is not merely comparative within Scandinavia but interlocks at every point with the story of similar developments throughout western Europe and America. Professor Hovde finds that by 1865 Scandinavia was in all respects well abreast of contemporary movements; the middle classes had taken the whip hand and were transforming urban and rural life alike to their pattern. He reveals a broad, historical perspective which enables him to do justice to the enterprising religiosity of Hans Nielsen Hauge as well as the rationalistic iconoclasm of Frederik Dreier. The only class to which he shows a certain coolness, through occasional barbs of dry wit, is that capitalistic bourgeoisie which constitutes the main theme of his discussion.

It would be interesting to test the validity of some of the identifications he makes when he asserts the characteristics of these "middle classes"; they are thrifty and greedy (p. 55), industrious and meticulous (p. 209), moral, orthodox, unmovable (p. 213), practical, sensible (p. 105), cunning (p. 694), and individualistic (p. 100). Yet economy and individualism are also said to be principles of rural society (p. 559); and at least once he departs from his usual explanation of individualism as a by-product of capitalistic society by explaining it as due to the harshness of Scandinavian living conditions (p. 369). This difficulty becomes especially pronounced in the chapter on literature, where rationalism is alternately called "aristocratic" (p. 55) and "bourgeois" (pp. 93, 148). Romanticism is also declared to be "middle class" (p. 139), yet several of its leading exponents are revealed to be severe critics of bourgeois society and nonconformers who attacked "materialistic utilitarianism," surely the acme of middle-class philosophy. Pietism is called a "bourgeois religion" (p. 95), yet its chief stronghold from 1800 on was

among the rural population. These comments will merely suggest that an economic formula is not always a wholly satisfying explanation of cultural movements.

The plan of the book has led to the exclusion of some topics that ordinarily loom large in histories. One of them is foreign policy; no one could find out from this book why Bernadotte was chosen crown prince of Sweden; the fact itself, so crucial for Swedish politics, is only mentioned in a subordinate clause. The treatment of the Norwegian language question is not wholly adequate, and the folk music and the folk literature get nowhere near so valuable a treatment as the folk art. Though the chapters on literature are solid and thought provoking, they suffer from a certain tendency to accept schoolbook definitions of such terms as "romanticism" and "realism." The chapter on immigration would be stronger if the author had been able to consult important recent works by Blegen, Skaug, and Semmingsen. The references in this and other chapters suggest that the last serious work on the manuscript was done around 1934. It has been a long time appearing, since the preface was written before 1939, the copyright made in 1943, and the work not actually published before 1944.

It is a pity that so important a work should have had so long a travail. Publishing difficulties alone can account for its barrenness of format: the book bitterly lacks charts, maps, and pictures to illustrate and implement the statements made (the end-paper map is shockingly inaccurate, even unhistorical); the make-up and the price are equally forbidding. The index is poor, with widespread omission of important references.

For the author's benefit we list some minor slips, not including misprints: Camilla Collett's husband was named Peter Jonas Collett (p. 687); Oehlen-schlager's *Guldhornene* refers to a period long before the Viking Age (p. 436), while Ibsen's *Fru Inger* refers to one much later (p. 480); Goldschmidt's first name was Meir (p. 477); Aasgaardsreien is no longer regarded by folklorists as having anything to do with the old pagan divinities (p. 768). The reviewer also questions the statement that the Danes are especially inclined to "cold, intellectual criticism" (p. 374) and the description of Trygve Gulbrandsen's unhistorical, superromantic *Beyond Sing the Woods* as an "excellent novel" (p. 403).

Professor Hovde deserves our gratitude and plaudits for his work, which belongs in every historical library. He has set before us a vast historical panorama which is as imposing for its sweep as for its many delightful and surprising details.

University of Wisconsin

EINAR HAUGEN

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON: A STUDY IN NORWEGIAN NATIONALISM. By *Harold Larson*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1944. Pp. x, 172. \$2.00.)

SOME five years ago, when the Gestapo snapped a tight muzzle on the free intellectual life of a free Norway, it was amazing to see how the people were able to couch their ideas in cleverly chosen lines from the national poets. In that

darkest hour, it stood the country in good stead to have fostered poets and artists, and to have elevated them to the high ground of prophets and national statesmen.

It is indeed a pity that of the great nineteenth century Norwegians only Henrik Ibsen and Edvard Grieg have been given adequate full-length portraits in American biography. Henrik Wergeland, Bjørnstjerne Björnson, Arne Garborg, and the principal eighteenth century figure, Ludvig Holberg, are as yet only sketched in the minds of our educated people. All the more a pity it is, since these men were forerunners of that better world community which Norway, as an ally of the United States, is now helping to establish.

In his book on Björnson, Dr. Harold Larson has taken us several steps forward on the road toward a yet somewhat distant goal. As a brief study of one phase of Björnson's life, it leaves little to be desired. Mr. Larson writes fluently. He has used the rich sources of the Oslo University library as well as the National Archives of Norway. He has handled the material with excellent critical judgment and painstaking accuracy. More than that, he has proved himself capable of understanding the positive force in true nationalism. He has been able to see the great distinction between national egotism and national creativeness, the latter being just as significant as personal creativeness.

It is a little regrettable, I think, that in the early chapters of the work there is not sufficient stress on the elements that unite the Scandinavian countries. There is really one language in modern Scandinavia, a fact which has been demonstrated and underscored by Professor Didrik Arup Seip. The so-called language controversy is a question of how much of north and west Scandinavian is to go into the official written language of Norway. If Scotland should separate from England, and if a great medieval literature had been written in one of the principal dialects of Scotland, the question of how far this northern English ought to determine the written language of a free Scotch kingdom might arise, and it would be somewhat parallel to the question under discussion in Norway. Likewise the view of the Calmar union is a little distorted, for there was never any "solemn ratification" of such a union. It consisted to begin with in a personal relationship through the monarch Erik, and some additional Scandinavian plans in the mind of Queen Margrete, plans to which a tacit consent was given by a small and slightly representative assembly.

One must not ask of the book more than it promises. It is a study in nationalism. There is no attempt made at literary evaluation, and no strong effort to show the psychological evolution of Björnson's personality. Within its limits the study is very well done and will be used and appreciated by all students and teachers in the field of Norwegian life and letters.

St. Olaf College

THEODORE JORGENSEN

BALKAN FEDERATION: A HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT TOWARD
BALKAN UNITY IN MODERN TIMES. By *L. S. Stavrianos*. [Smith Col-

lege Studies in History, William Dodge Gray, Hans Kohn, Ray Allen Billington, Editors, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4.] (Northampton: Department of History of Smith College. 1944. Pp. x, 338.)

IN this study of *Balkan Federation* the author frankly states at the outset that, until the current crisis, there never was a Balkan movement that could be considered truly federative, and succinctly gives as the reason for this failure that, since the beginning of their liberation from Turk oppression, that is, from the end of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of World War II, the Balkan peoples have been held in an iron grip by two violently antifederal forces, nationalism and imperialism. Since, however, throughout that time voices have never ceased to be raised and gestures made to register the desirability of more effective co-operation, the author was moved to trace the shadowy forerunners of the present active movement toward unity, the realization of which is an indispensable item of the peaceful, postwar world projected by the United Nations. Under the circumstances he must be reckoned to have largely concerned himself with thrashing straw. Indeed, he himself admits as much when he confesses in his concluding chapter that no proposal examined by him in the preceding pages, regardless of the quarter in which it originated, was ever other than the camouflaged plan of a great European or small Balkan power to advance its selfish interest. Like so much earnest scholarship of our age the study could therefore be dispensed with. But though relatively unimportant, it proves its author to be a well-trained scholar who has diligently assembled all the available raw material and then, showing a much rarer virtue, has reduced it to an intelligible form. His mental and moral balance is particularly notable. Of this the master test is supplied when he broaches (p. 131) the Macedonian problem, far and away the most contentious of all the issues that have played havoc in this area. A fairer presentation, first, of the actual racial situation, and second, of the claims staked out in the bedevilled province by the Balkan rivals, cannot be conceived. Such outstanding lack of bias makes it easy to put unquestioning faith in his championship of a Balkan solution federative in form and just to all its members. And when, in spite of his passionate hopes for this happy termination, he does not fail to warn of the many obstacles still to be overcome, we are pleased to note that his idealism is tempered with sound practical judgment.

That the possibilities of Balkan federation are a matter of present concern is demonstrated in a volume that has appeared since Professor Stavrianos published his work. In *Crossroads of Two Continents* (Columbia University Press) Felix Gross presents the views of many living statesmen and prints the full text of thirteen documents dated since 1918 giving the programs for federation of various groups in the area.

CAITIFF BULGARIA. By M. P. Pipinelis, formerly Greek Minister to Bulgaria. (London: Hutchinson, 1944. Pp. 61. 6 shillings.)

THIS history of Bulgarian diplomacy from 1912 to 1944 is based on the documents published by Temperley, the Russians, Germans, and others, and on the author's personal experiences as minister to Bulgaria from January, 1940, to April, 1941, when Greece broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. To furnish an "objective account" of one Balkan state is hard for the representative of another, especially in wartime—the author wrote before the Bulgarian armistice of October, 1944, and the consequent withdrawal of Bulgarian troops from Thrace. Even other Europeans have their pet Balkan state. Americans have written some of the best books on Balkan history because their country has no axe to grind there.

The author considers that the "coincidence of two fundamental factors, strategy and nationalism, suffices to explain Bulgarian policy." Geography provides the strategic factor—Bulgaria lies across the way to the East and seeks an outlet on the Aegean at Kavalla, the seat of the great American tobacco company, which closed its doors during the Bulgarian occupation, now ended. Greece's offer of a "Bulgarian zone" at Dedeagatch, on the analogy of the "Serbian zone" in the port of Salonika, was rejected; Bulgaria, like the Poles at Danzig, wanted a corridor and Kavalla. History has been the source of the second factor, nationalism. The big Bulgaria of the treaty of San Stefano is still the "dream" of the nationalists. The medieval Bulgarian empire has given the names of two of its tsars to the Bulgarian kings, Boris and Simeon, whose numbers are derived from their medieval namesakes.

The second Balkan war in 1913 arose out of Macedonia, that apple of discord between Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars. The book traces the growth of the Macedonian organization "during the years 1926-31," when the Macedonian, Liaptcheff, was premier, and subsequently to his resignation, when a Macedonian congress was held at Gorna Djomaja. Bulgaria's policy was thus not to collaborate in the Balkan Union, of which Papanastasiou was the apostle. This favored the Axis policy of *divide et impera*. When, in 1940, war approached the Balkans, "Bulgarian policy began to take a more active part in the war effort of the Axis." German "tourists" and "specialists" arrived in Bulgaria, and Bulgarian troops were concentrated on the Turkish rather than the northern frontier. The last chapter asks how far the people were responsible for the policy of the government. A nation largely composed of peasants is not usually interested in foreign politics. There is "a disproportionately large class, the intellectual proletariat, which seeks a nationalist platform." But the author thinks that a better life in the Balkans will come about, and all must contribute to this attainment. Greece has been the first to demonstrate by her relationship with Turkey "that such a change is possible." She has abandoned the "Great-Idea" since the exchange of Turco-Greek populations in 1922, and the reviewer saw a Turkish minister lay a wreath on the cenotaph of the unknown warrior at Athens. The author's title certainly con-

tributes nothing to the building of good will in the Balkans. But it is not enough for the cocks in the Balkan cockpit to agree; the Great Powers, their leaders, must not pit them against each other, as in the past.

Durban, South Africa

WILLIAM MILLER

A SHORT HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By *B. H. Sumner*, Fellow of Balliol College, Sometime Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1943. Pp. 469. \$3.75.)

THIS volume demonstrates wide reading, detailed knowledge, awareness of many problems, and steady accuracy in dates. It traces "the seven basic influences which have shaped the greatest land empire": the frontier, the state, the land, the church, the Slavs, the sea, and the west.

If the reader is accustomed to a grand chronological development from the earliest beginnings to within the last few years, he is likely to experience shock and amazement when he examines the chronology (pp. 435-45), which begins in June, 1941, with the German invasion of the Soviet Union and runs in reverse order to 860 A.D., the first Varangian expedition against Constantinople. The reader is introduced into something like historical surrealism by this treatment. Almost every one of the seven main topics begins with the Soviet period and, in a series of four or five sections, each beginning earlier in time than the preceding, is brought forward to a different point in the evolution. Further confusion is brought into the situation because the author is forced by his manner of presentation to include some twenty to forty cross references in each chapter.

Important as the seven subjects are in the history of Russia, it becomes evident that the author has to break up his treatment of important events or situations (for example, the Crimean War) into two and sometimes three parts, thus not giving them their true historical value but considering only their importance for the topic under discussion. This treatment does not, for example, give the account of foreign policy that might be expected of a volume with so much wealth of detail. Parts of this important subject are to be found in four or five chapters. Chapter I ("The Frontier") and chapter VI ("The Sea"), to mention only two of the pertinent chapters, might find a central theme in a discussion of how the rivers and portages affected the course of events. The mere mention of rivers and portages in general terms, gives slight indication of their significance.

The brief bibliography (pp. 447-53) of works chiefly in English unfortunately does not follow the seven topics discussed. It is good for general purposes but does not include some of the basic monographs in English or other languages on which a work as detailed as this should have been based. Most of the footnotes in the text are to literary works.

This volume was not easy to write and represents a considerable effort for which the author should be commended. Careful selections of pages scattered

through it might be used for references in class work, but the book itself would hardly do for a text. In contrast to the author's unique and unconventional method of presentation of material, his historical analysis within the topics mentioned above is conventional to say the least and includes less that is new than might be expected.

University of California

ROBERT J. KERNER

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIAN ECONOMICS. By *J. F. Normano*. Issued in co-operation with the Russian Economic Institute. (New York: John Day Company. 1944. Pp. xiv, 170. \$2.00.)

SOVIET Russia remains a riddle unless it is considered as a link in a long historical development. The great merit of Dr. Normano's scholarly book is the emphasis upon the historical continuity of Russian economic thought. A brilliant writer, a distinguished economist, and an author of highly regarded monographs on special problems of Russian economic history, published before the first World War, Dr. Normano is particularly qualified for the difficult task of disentangling the highly involved development of Russian economic thought. The title of the book is somewhat ambiguous. The author deals not so much with economic theories as with economic ideas in their broad sociological implications. He takes up in his new book a line of thought he put forward in his pre-World War publications, particularly in his remarkable book on Saint-Simon's social-economic philosophy and its influence upon the character of the first industrial banks in Russia (Petrograd, 1918). The approach is to some extent Marx's method in the reverse, relating the formation of economic institutions to specific social-economic ideas.

The Russian economists have always been very responsive to whatever creative ideas they could find in the English, French, and German literature, but this has resulted in an active recreation of definite Russian coloring and not in a passive absorption of foreign ideas. Dr. Normano reviews first in some detail the English, the French, and the German influence since the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the German influence has overshadowed both the others. He gives then—on this broad historical background—a brief but vivid survey of "native currents" and of recent trends in Russian economic thought.

Quite apart from the messianic ideology of the Slavophiles stimulated by Herder's *Ideen*, the question as to whether Russia would follow in her economic development the path of western Europe, or whether a socialist economy might be developed from collectivistic elements of her peasant economy, avoiding the stage of the morally condemned capitalism, occupied the best Russian economists from the seventies until the very establishment of the Soviet economy. Theoretically the problem still remains controversial. Lenin and his followers coming into

power simply imposed a new social order, regardless of whether this was in accordance with the Marxian doctrine or not. Dr. Normano believes that from the standpoint of Russian history, "Bolshevism should be viewed as a legitimate successor rather than a successful rebel" (p. 148). He is fully convinced that the fundamental aims of the Soviet Union have their roots deep in Russian history (p. 121). He considers Bolshevism partly as a reaction against Germany's dominant influence in Russian thought and life, and partly as a synthesis of all previous currents in Russia's ideological movements. He summarizes his analysis as follows: "History of [Russian] economic ideas is not a chain of separate links but an unceasing stream. The stream absorbed foreign influences as well as native currents; conservative and revolutionary ideas. All of them went into the channel of continuous Russian history, whose waters have shaped and filled the Soviet construction of that Marxian theoretical canal system which for decades fascinated the Russian intelligentsia" (p. 148). Normano's generalizations are rather a challenge to future historians than final judgments.

Although in sympathy with the Soviet economy Dr. Normano is far from being blind to its defects, but, taking a historical point of view, he avoids misjudgments so typical in current literature. As he emphasizes, the totalitarian character of Soviet Russia has its roots in the fundamental fact that Russia had not experienced the individualistic spirit of the Renaissance, of the Reformation, of the French Revolution, and the English liberalism (p. 135). Instead, government coercion was traditional in Russian history (p. 142). What on the surface may appear as "the road to serfdom" goes back at least to the time of Peter the Great, who created the Russian bureaucratic machine, and in this sense Dr. Normano is absolutely right in saying that there is no old and new Russia but that "it is always Russia" (p. 146).

Normano's analysis is penetrating and illuminating. His ideas are often provocative in essence and paradoxically formulated, but they never fail to shed new light on old problems. No serious student of Soviet Russia can afford to ignore his brilliant study.

Washington, D. C.

EUGEN ALTSCHUL

Far Eastern History

EMINENT CHINESE OF THE CH'ING PERIOD (1644-1912). Edited by Arthur W. Hummel. Two volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. xi, 604; 605-1103. Vol. I, \$2.25; Vol. II, \$2.00.)

HERE is vivid evidence of progress of sinology in the United States. For nearly two decades the American Council of Learned Societies has been encouraging Chinese scholarship in this country. Several years ago, largely through its committee on the promotion of Chinese studies, it formulated the project which has

issued in these two impressive volumes. In the enterprise it was assisted generously by the Rockefeller Foundation. The purpose was in part the utilization of the large resources of the Library of Congress, in part the training of young American scholars in sinology, but chiefly the preparation of a tool which would be useful to American and other scholars in their study of China. The director of the undertaking and the editor of the completed volumes is the veteran sinologist, one of the few Americans of his generation who are really competent in the field, Dr. Arthur W. Hummel. The impressive list of contributors eventually included not only younger Americans but also a few senior scholars and several Chinese.

The two volumes are confessedly not an exhaustive *Who's Who* of the Ch'ing period. Something over eight hundred biographies are included. These embrace, so far as the present reviewer has checked them, all the names with which foreigners are most familiar. Obviously some which specialists might have wished to see mentioned have had to be omitted. In the preparation of the sketches, materials in Chinese, in some other Far Eastern languages, and in Western tongues have been employed. The impressive "index of books" gives some indication of the range of works from which toll has been taken. The overwhelming majority of these are, as is proper, in Chinese. The index does not tell the entire story, for as a rule the Occidental works cited in the several bibliographies are not listed in it. In the final form in which the sketches have been printed the needs both of the specialist and the nonspecialist have been consulted. In the text (but not in the indexes) the appropriate Chinese characters for the numerous proper names have been included. Bibliographies, some of them long, are appended to the articles. Extensive cross references expedite the use of the volumes. Thus, for the sake of those unfamiliar with correct Chinese usage, K'ang-hsi is to be found in its alphabetical place and carries with it a reference to Hsüan-yeh, under which the biographical sketch is, properly, placed.

More attention is paid to China's relations with the Occident than might have been the case had the work been intended for Chinese rather than Western readers. It is doubtful, for example, whether Hsüan-yeh (the K'ang-hsi emperor), in looking back over his own life, would have given as much proportionate space to his relations with Christian missionaries as does the present work. It is interesting, moreover, that more pages are devoted to Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, the chief figure in the Taiping Rebellion, than to Hsüan-yeh or Hung-li (the Ch'ien-lung emperor), although these had the two longest and ablest reigns of the dynasty. The reader often fails to obtain any clear impression of the characteristics of the subjects of the biographies, even though the main dates, facts, and achievements are recorded. The men, as men, seldom stand forth.

These comments, however, are not in any sense meant to detract from the achievement as a whole. Here is a notable contribution to our knowledge of China, particularly important because it has to do with the period during which the Occident, including the United States, assumed major significance in China's

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affairs. Dr. Hu Shih is not exaggerating when in the preface he declares that "it is the most detailed and best history of China of the last three hundred years that one can find anywhere today."

Yale University

K. S. LATOURETTE

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA. By Charles Robequain. Translation by Isabel A. Ward. Supplement, RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-CHINA: 1939-1943. By John R. Andrus and Katrine R. C. Greene. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 400. \$4.00.)

Most French authors writing on French colonies have a blind spot whenever economic subjects are considered. They dress chapters in imposing statistics or surround vital utilitarian problems with artistic pictures of native industry and native beauties. It is pleasant contrast to review this realistic work on French Indo-China by Professor Charles Robequain of the Sorbonne, an authority on French colonial economics.

The Economic Development of French Indo-China is divided into two parts with a supplement on events since 1939. Part I includes the people, communications, economic theories, and capital utilization. Part II reviews French colonization, changes in native agriculture, industry, and foreign trade.

It is in the chapters on French colonization and native agriculture (v and vi) that M. Robequain brings into the open some of the topics most observers deliberately have avoided.

In chapter v the author discusses the possibility and desirability of Western agricultural colonization in tropical regions. Medical experts do not agree with economists and administrative officials. Some doctors maintain that improvements in hygiene and tropical medicine will permit the settlement of European families in climates like Indo-China. This school of opinion believes that the higher altitudes are suitable for white colonists, a possibility which would be the only guarantee for a continuation of French influence beyond the continent of Europe. Other medical authorities insist that Westerners living in the tropics lose physical and moral vigor and eventually find themselves in an inferior role. They cite as proof the deterioration of the Creole. M. Robequain renders a great service to policy-forming agencies who have neither the patience nor the time to extract these observations from the sessions of the Congrès International de Géographie.

In chapter vi the author strikes out against those interests preventing the natives from securing an equitable distribution of credit. The peasants of Indo-China exist from day to day, torn between crude methods of cultivation on one side and the exorbitant charges of middlemen on the other. The local traders, Chinese and native, are too often usurers who advance money for taxes as well as

religious celebrations, taking in return most of the crop. The merchant-usurer thus separates the produce from all trade currents. M. Robequain seeks to eliminate this iniquitous policy through the extension of mutual agricultural credit organizations.

The conclusion of this study must be kept in mind by all powers holding colonies—"in the long run, colonization must have aims other than the mere balancing of accounts to truly justify it." It is not only a repentant France who must take to heart this advice.

West Virginia University

THOMAS E. ENNIS

American History

REVOLT OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO AND OTOMÍN'S ATTEMPTED RECONQUEST, 1680-1682. Introduction and Annotations by *Charles Wilson Hackett*, Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas. Translations of Original Documents by *Charmion Clair Shelby*. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, edited by George P. Hammond, University of New Mexico, Volumes VIII and IX.] Two volumes. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1942. Pp. ccx, 262; xii, 430. \$10.00.)

WHEN New England was recovering from King Philip's War and Virginia from Bacon's Rebellion, when Penn was negotiating with his sovereign for a grant of land on the Delaware and La Salle was leading his expedition to the Mississippi, New Mexico was passing through one of the great episodes of her history—an episode the events of which were certainly unknown among the fledgling colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. She was already an ancient community. A *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* was published ten years before the landing of the Pilgrims. In August, 1680, suddenly, and almost without warning, the Spanish settlers found themselves faced by a concerted revolt of the Pueblo Indians which for a time seemed to threaten their utter extermination. Within six weeks every surviving Spaniard had been driven from New Mexico, and, after a half-hearted attempt at reconquest in the following year had ended in fiasco, the province remained for eleven years in the hands of the rebels or "apostates," as they were called, for their rebellion against the church was regarded as a far more serious offense than their rebellion against the king.

These volumes tell in very great detail the history of the revolt of the Pueblos. The records of the revolt are voluminous. The documents tell the story, however, exclusively from the point of view of the Spaniards. Of the motives and plans of the Indians, of their political organization, and of their military activities, we have only indirect and occasional glimpses.

Professor Hackett's introduction is a narrative rather than an explanatory

preface to the documents which follow. It is a revision of the material contained in three of his published articles.

The complete collection of the *autos*—that is, decrees, proceedings of councils of war, depositions of witnesses, official reports and correspondence, etc.—relating to the revolt was gathered by Professor Hackett and Dr. Shelby from various sources and is here published in full for the first time. Dr. Shelby's translations are everything translations ought to be. They attest not only a mastery of the subject and of the rather obscure Spanish in which many of the documents are written but also, what is rarer, an ability to translate into clear idiomatic English. It is to be regretted that the Spanish could not have been published facing the translations. The inclusion of the original texts would have enhanced the value of these volumes.

The proofreading has been done with meticulous care. There is a useful glossary and a satisfactory index. Unfortunately there is no map. In a work devoted in large part to military operations, this is a great defect. Adequate maps of New Mexico in 1680 are not to be found in every library. Moreover, the location of some of the places where important events took place is a matter of controversy, and Professor Hackett has very definite ideas as to the correct locations.

The University of New Mexico Press is to be complimented on the unusually fine appearance of these volumes.

Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH C. GREEN

ROGER CONANT: A FOUNDER OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 171. \$3.00.)

EXCEPT for a few special students of colonial New England, the Plymouth Pilgrims and the vigorous group led by John Winthrop which a decade later established the Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay have naturally overshadowed the comparatively small number of "Old Planters" who during that decade seated themselves here and there along the coast between Plymouth and Cape Ann. One of the early settlers in this region, that picturesque scapegrace, Thomas Morton of Merrymount, has been saved from oblivion largely because the record of his activities serves to enliven the more sober story of his Puritan contemporaries. New light has lately been thrown on his less spectacular but more substantial neighbors, a few of whom, including the subject of this biography, were sufficiently sympathetic with Winthrop and his associates to become citizens of the "Bible Commonwealth."

The son of a Devonshire yeoman, with a background of moderate Puritanism within the Church of England, Roger Conant was in his youth a London tradesman. Migrating to New England in 1623, he was for a time a neighbor of the Plymouth Pilgrims. Then came another brief stay at Nantasket on Boston Harbor and, in 1625, he went to Cape Ann as manager of a fishing station for a company

in England, promoted by the mildly Puritan Church of England rector, John White of Dorchester. This enterprise proving unsuccessful, Conant and some of his followers moved to Naumkeag (later Salem). Presently, however, the Dorchester associates combined with certain London merchants to form a new company, and Conant was superseded by John Endicott. Notwithstanding Endicott's somewhat difficult personality Conant took the change in good part and made possible a reasonably satisfactory adjustment between the "Old Planters" and the newcomers. A year later a royal charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company superseded earlier grants and placed the scattered settlements about the Bay, including Salem, under its jurisdiction.

Conant was enough of a Puritan to play a useful though modest part in the new order as a freeman of the company and a church member. He never became one of the small group of leaders who dominated the colony government; but in his home community, he was a trusted leader in the affairs of church and state. Chapter x of Mr. Shipton's book ("The Town Father") gives an excellent picture of the varied interests and responsibilities of a representative Massachusetts townsman. The author is at pains to correct current misconceptions of seventeenth century Puritanism; and since the reaction from the "filio-pietistic" attitude of the older New England historians has gone pretty far, this sympathetic, understanding, and readable study should help to right the balance. Mr. Shipton's earlier contributions, notably his scholarly continuation of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, entitle his opinions on controversial issues to a respectful hearing, even though he may seem at times to treat too gently certain less admirable aspects of the Puritan commonwealth and its leaders.

As the author points out, the chief difficulty of Conant's biographer is the scanty supply of personal papers available. Where such material is lacking, what is said about the man himself is frequently conjectural, or based on inferences—generally reasonable if not always conclusive—from what is known about his neighbors and contemporaries. The chief contribution of the book is not so much the account of Conant's personal career as its picture of the society in which he lived and worked.

There are two excellent maps of the Salem-Beverly area with which Conant was associated for more than half a century.

Croton-on-Hudson, New York

EVARTS B. GREENE

REMEMBER WILLIAM PENN, 1644-1944. Edited by *William W. Comfort, Francis B. Haas, Gregg L. Neel, and Stanley R. Yarnall* for the William Penn Tercentenary Committee. (Philadelphia: Published by the Committee. 1944. Pp. xvii, 327.)

THIS handbook on the life and works of William Penn assures that the founder

of Pennsylvania will not be soon forgotten by the youth and commonalty of that state. With good sense the editors refrained from adding one more conventional Penn biography to the already long list, and it is presumed that funds were not available for publication of additional material which remains abundant in manuscript form. Instead the choice fell upon this unique condensed arrangement of the events and utterances which elevate William Penn into serene eminence as a contributor to the spiritual growth of man and the development of his political institutions.

Seven chapters—the main portion of the text—show Penn in his human and family relations, as religious leader, political philosopher, governor, diplomat, man of letters, and assay his continuing influence. In general, the authors and editors permit Penn to speak for himself, with balancing quotations from contemporaries and accepted authorities. Documentation is copious; the famous trial by jury is given fifteen pages, the original charter eleven pages, Penn's Charter of Privileges five pages, and his plan for world peace fifteen pages. Truly these are memorable documents; yet this space seems overmuch strong meat for citizenry and for callow youth, if there be such in Pennsylvania.

Laudatory emphasis is inevitable in official memorials; and indeed William Penn is a notable easy to praise—one of the best mortals ever to wrestle with sin on this troubled footstool. Yet, he, too, had his blind side and the defects of his qualities, defects quite as responsible for his misfortunes as were the wiles of his enemies. Certainly Penn cut a nobler figure in Pennsylvania than he did at the Stuart court; his return to England was a tragedy for him and perhaps also for Pennsylvania and America.

Most telling of the book's literary exhibits is Penn's famous essay towards the peace of Europe, published in 1683 and here printed in full. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its publication found Europe in an even bloodier crisis than it was during Louis XIV's "Third War of Aggression," 1689-97. Here Penn argues for the establishment of "the Sovereign Diet, Parliament or State of Europe; before which Sovereign Assembly shall be brought all differences pending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies before the sessions begin." It reads sensibly today.

Chief lack in *Remember William Penn* would appear to be absence of a complete check list of Penn's many publications, only three of which are noted in the otherwise competent chronology. High praise goes to the copious and well-selected illustrations which reveal the "Man of Conscience" from slim youth to portly age, with special emphasis on his years in Pennsylvania, 1682-84 and 1699-1701. Let all states laggard in historical publication look with envy upon this example of dignified but popularly slanted bookmaking.

THE YOUNG JEFFERSON, 1743-1789. By Claude G. Bowers. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1945. Pp. xxviii, 544. \$3.75.)

THE popular author of *Jefferson and Hamilton* and of *Jefferson in Power* has completed his trilogy by giving us a picture of Jefferson's early years. Although called *The Young Jefferson*, the book carries Mr. Bowers' hero to his forty-seventh year and to the conclusion of his mission as minister to France. Three of the nineteen chapters deal with the youth.

Mr. Bowers' many admirers will no doubt find much to their taste in this new work. It is written in the same informal, chatty style, intermixed with a generous leaven of current popular phrases, that they found so estimable in the preceding volumes. The contrast between the correctness and elegance of Jefferson's language and the informality of that of his interpreter, however striking, will not seem discordant to them. Familiar anecdotes of questionable authenticity likewise enliven its pages. The somewhat lurid picture of Jefferson's Virginia background, the imaginary descriptions of Jefferson, his wife and friends, whether by the author or quoted from other writers, follow the conventional pattern. It is all in the best tradition of popularized history.

As a contribution to knowledge, the book is negligible. It is obviously a work written by a man a long way from home, to whom the most recent, and some not so recent, contributions to the vast literature on Jefferson are not familiar. Ignoring manuscript collections as so much contaminated material, the author has taken the standard printed works—the Ford and Lipscomb-Bergh *Writings of Jefferson*, along with *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*—and, using them as a framework, has constructed his book by quoting and paraphrasing. This is a perfectly legitimate method. It would have been wise, however, to interlard it with the results of later day research. Thus in his discussion of Jefferson's governorship of Virginia, he fails to make use of the wealth of material contained in the 500-odd pages of Volume II of the *Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia*, published in 1928. Any interpretation or account of this period of Jefferson's career is unthinkable without the illumination which these letters throw upon it. It would restrain any author from speculating upon the "trained military men, upon whom depended the defense of the Commonwealth," whom he suspects of being at Jefferson's elbow during the trying days of the invasion.

Similarly in the much-publicized "sentimental interlude" with Maria Cosway, the author depends solely upon incidents and excerpts from Ford and the *Domestic Life*, securely unaware of the cache of tender correspondence between Jefferson and Mrs. Cosway in the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was published by this writer in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* for July, 1928, under the title "Jefferson's Farewell to Romance," or the still more impassioned cache now in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. He is equally unfamiliar with the publication of the Lucy Paradise letters by Archibald Shepperson in *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell* (1942). The account of Jefferson's friendship with

other women is based solidly and "four-square," to use a favorite phrase of the author, upon Chinard's *Trois Amitiés* and Abigail Adams' *Letters*, a surfeit of time-tested material.

The minor inaccuracies such as the misspelling of well-known names of persons and places may be mentioned but are scarcely worthy of comment in a book which makes no pretensions to virtues so old-fashioned.

Charlottesville, Virginia

MARIE KIMBALL

THE ADMINISTRATIVE THEORIES OF HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON: THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THOUGHT ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By *Lynton K. Caldwell*. [Studies in Public Administration, Editorial Committee: Leonard D. White and Floyd W. Reeves.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 244. \$3.50.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the mammoth size of the Jefferson and Hamilton secondary literature in this country, Mr. Caldwell believes that the long view on these statesmen has not yet been taken. This volume is offered as part of that measured perspective. It is a distinct and valuable addition towards understanding their technology of administration, and it clarifies the relative administrative achievements of the two statesmen in their own times and terms, and as forces influencing our traditions of public policy. Some questions are raised in this monograph which are not satisfactorily disposed of by the author; but they are all to the good, since they at least formulate coherently important events of government management and planning not previously related. Scholars who see the issues differently will thereby be challenged to validate their own opinions.

The present study, unfortunately, is not quite free from the usual difficulties connected with a field like "administration," a subject matter almost as complex as it appears to be vague. Although it is clear that Mr. Caldwell is using the term "administrative" in its broadest connotation—to include political doctrine and directives, practical decision and management, as well as the particular relations of the executive arm of government to the other branches and to the "people" to whom it is ultimately responsible—the term is neither defined nor utilized with any consistency throughout. Carelessness about a concept so fundamental to the author's study encourages frequent ambiguities of judgment. For example, attempting to appraise Hamilton's *vs.* Jefferson's administrative theory, Mr. Caldwell says that while both are a "contribution to administrative theory . . . Jefferson does not appear to have developed his ideas with the same acuteness with which Hamilton described the functions of energy, unity, duration, and adequate power in *The Federalist*, Nos. 70-74" (p. 130). This statement is wholly misleading (and in fact is substantially denied in other contexts in the book) *unless* "administrative theory" is here taken in one of its narrow senses, to mean the practical policy-making of the government and its theory of executive management. In the narrow

sense, however, the point is at best debatable, or possibly even false. The impression that the author has not ascertained with sufficient persistence the precise meaning he wishes to communicate on basic theoretical issues is strengthened by further uncritical usages of terms like "realistic," "idealistic," etc.—as when he remarks (p. 240) that Hamilton was "somewhat of an *idealist* in his attitude toward the forms, functions and dignities of the state," when the meaning seems to be closer to "romanticist."

These objections do not detract from the high quality of the detailed arguments advanced or from the penetration and suggestiveness of the author's hypotheses. The major conclusion that Hamilton is the "great teacher of the organization and administration of public power" as Jefferson is "our chief expositor of its control" is patiently founded on many lines of evidence. Not quite as much can be said for the author's contention that the political principles advocated by these famous antagonists were not really in sharp opposition—that there is rather a difference in administrative theory and practice at the root of the conflict. Apart from the inadequate textual evidence here, the logic of the means-ends relationship suffices to make one suspect a theory which sees potent differences in means, unaccompanied by vital differences in ends. A further occasion for dissatisfaction is the author's repeated praise of Hamilton's brief for "unity" and "energy" in government, which is purported to be the key to effective administration. There is very little analysis of why this is so, just as there is insufficient reason for minimizing the administrative significance of Jefferson's theory of limited and flexible power within a context of maximum freedom.

Two interesting chapters, novel for an academic study of government, are devoted to the "personality factors" which influenced the respective theories adopted. These appear to be set in a fruitful direction and may offer useful cues for other social scientists to explore.

A final credit line is due for the careful organization of this book, and for its writing, which is workmanlike and confident in tone.

Institute for Advanced Study

ADRIENNE KOCH

THE COMPLETION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1790-1830. By *John Allen Krout*, Professor of History, Columbia University, and *Dixon Ryan Fox*, President of Union College. [A History of American Life, Volume V.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xxiii, 487. \$4.00.)

IN the treaty of peace, signed at Paris on September 3, 1783, the independence of the thirteen American colonies was acknowledged by Great Britain. Free at last, the colonials felt as awkward in wearing their new independence as a school-boy feels in his first pair of long trousers. They had always looked across the Atlantic to the mother country for guidance, not only in respect to governmental affairs but also in the field of ideas and fashions and manners and domestic life.

Politically independent, as they had undoubtedly become, they were nevertheless in all other ways just a widespreading, sprawling suburb of the tight little English island.

The book which is the subject of this review is appropriately called *The Completion of Independence*. It covers the forty years of our national life—from 1790 to 1830—when the American people were winning, by degrees, their cultural and economic freedom. "Americans, unshackle your minds and act like independent beings," Noah Webster wrote in 1790. "You have now an interest of your own to augment and defend. You have an empire to raise . . . and a national character to establish and extend."

The establishment of a true democracy, to take the place of the aristocratic tradition inherited from the English, was accomplished during this period, but only after a long internal conflict. The English of the eighteenth century believed implicitly that the existence of poverty on a large scale was essential to national power and importance. The landless workers, such as farm hands, mechanics, clerks, servants, and so on, should be paid only just enough to feed them poorly and clothe them shabbily, and this attitude toward them was not inspired by greed but was carried on as a matter of policy; for what in the world would become of a nation if its field hands and blacksmiths could strut around in the garments of the gentry, have coins clinking in their pockets, send their children to school, and be permitted to vote?

When our republic was formed and for several decades thereafter the voting franchise was based on a property qualification in all but three states—namely New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. In 1790 New York state had a population of 340,000, but only 1,209 of its citizens had the right to vote. Free schools, in most of the states, were nonexistent for many years after our independence was won. The children of the poor were not included in the educational program. What good would it do them, asked the solons of that era. It would only serve to make them discontented with their lot.

The change in this system of overlords and peasants was accomplished—in a large measure—by the access to millions of acres of free land lying west of the Alleghanies. Poor families, settling in the new lands, often built up sizable fortunes in the course of a generation. And in the older states, on the seaboard, the population grew prodigiously. Small shopkeepers became wealthy merchants; mechanics went into manufacturing; the shipowners of Salem established a trade with China; and the recently acquired Louisiana Territory became a fertile region larger than most of the kingdoms of Europe.

No review, unless it runs into half a dozen pages, can present an adequate description of the ground covered by this book, or give more than a faint indication of the color and gusto with which it is written. It covers dozens of subjects which belong to the 1790–1830 period. Here are a few: Suspenders for trousers were patented in 1804. Just think of that—of suspenders being a patentable device!

The White House, when John Adams, its first occupant, moved into it, had 180 candlelights in its East Room, and one servant had to give his entire time to them. Until around the 1820's clocks were a rarity in most households, for they were too expensive for a family of moderate means, and most people went by "sun time." The first hotel of the modern type was the Tremont House in Boston, opened in 1829. Soap was actually furnished free to guests; every door had a patent lock, and the guests were given keys which would open that door only, so there was complete privacy. Tomatoes were called "love apples" in the early decades of the nineteenth century and were supposed to be poisonous. Blood-letting was the usual treatment by doctors for almost any ailment from indigestion to pneumonia.

During the period covered by this history lawyers attained a respectability in the public mind that they had never had before. School teachers, too, rose in the social scale, and in many sections of the country free schools were established by public subscription. An American literature developed, and an American culture, in general, ranging from arts to furniture, began to supplant our European heritage.

The book reflects much credit on its authors, John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox. It is very readable, and is interesting and informative from the first to the last page. Moreover, it gives an air of charm to our national past which is often lacking in historical works.

New York City

W. E. WOODWARD

FIGHTING JOE HOOKER. By *Walter H. Hebert*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 366. \$3.50.)

MR. HEBERT's book is the first full-length biography of a figure at once important in the story of the command of the Union armies and interesting as a human being. In its preparation he had the use of the Hooker Papers and of a very considerable collection of clippings and other newspaper materials, made available by surviving members of the Hooker connection. The book is in no sense, however, a "family" or "authorized" biography. Judicious use is made of many sources of information, from which there emerges a not unsympathetic but by no means adulatory picture of a curiously contradictory character.

Graduate of West Point, Hooker made a brilliant record in the War with Mexico, being three times brevetted for gallantry, and coming out of the war a lieutenant colonel. Resigning from the Army, he followed farming, business, and politics on the Pacific Coast with such lack of success that it was only a loan, or it may have been a gift, from a California saloon-keeping friend which enabled him to make his way back east to seek a command in the greater war which began in 1861.

Asking for a regiment, he got a brigade, which he handled well in adminis-

tration and gallantly, though not quite so well, in combat. Promotion followed, until at Fredericksburg Hooker was in command of one of the three grand divisions of the Army of the Potomac. By that time, the command of that army had proved to be too much for four men. Hooker had served under three of them and had criticized all of them with a facile and caustic tongue. To this chronic critic, though not because but in spite of his criticisms, President Lincoln entrusted the command of the principal Union Army in the East, with misgivings which he expressed most frankly and understandably to the general himself.

No man ever came to the command of an army under circumstances which offered greater possibilities of dramatic distinction, or of catastrophe. With what he called, not without reason, the "finest army on the planet," the new commander crossed the river in May, 1863, to seek the army of Lee. His intelligence service was good and he knew that Lee had hardly more than half his own numbers, but in the presence of Lee and under the pressure of sole responsibility, the cocky, bumptious self-confidence which Hooker had displayed in criticism of his commanders, simply evaporated.

Chancellorsville is a study in strategy and tactics. Mr. Hebert treats the strategy and tactics competently but, quite properly, lays stress on the other deciding factor, the collapse of the self-confidence of the Union commander. There is no finer example of the validity of Napoleon's dictum as to the relative importance in warfare of material and moral power.

Having lost confidence in himself, and lost Chancellorsville, the rest of Hooker's story is one of decline to less important commands and of continued difficulties with his commanders. To the very end, though, he was a general with "newspaper appeal"—as witness the correspondents' creation of the legend of "The Battle above the Clouds" on Lookout Mountain. He was a general, too, with soldier appeal, for as Mr. Hebert abundantly demonstrates, he was at his best in looking out for the comfort and well-being of the men under his command. He was "good copy" in the days of his lifetime and his story as told by Mr. Hebert now is thoroughly readable as well as a sound study of one who had no small part in the great military and human story of the sixties.

Washington, D. C.

ROBERT S. HENRY

AGAINST THE CURRENT: THE LIFE OF KARL HEINZEN (1809-80).

By *Carl Wittke*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. x, 342. \$3.75.)

So far we have had monographs on various aspects of Karl Heinzen's life—on his literary ambitions, his critical writings, his political activities; now for the first time we have a comprehensive, well-written biography of this great nineteenth century radical. It is most fortunate that this task was undertaken by a historian whose intimate knowledge of the general background of immigration

history enables him to make a fair and objective evaluation of this complex and sometimes rather debatable figure.

Heinzen's beginnings show the typical development of a liberal-minded young German in the era of "restauration,"—his hatred of Prussian militarism, his unwillingness to put on the strait jacket of a state official, his constant quarrels with the authorities, and finally his break with the reactionary government of the fatherland. This was the usual start for a radical of his time; typical also were the following stages—years of temporary refuge in Switzerland and western Europe and finally the emigration to the United States. From this point on, however, he left the traditional pattern of the German revolutionaries who either became so thoroughly Americanized that they retained only a mild interest in European affairs (Charles Follen, Carl Schurz) or reconciled their revolutionary inclinations with the rising Prussian eagle and became ardent followers of Bismarck (Friedrich Kapp, Wilhelm Rapp). Heinzen did neither. He remained a German radical, with all his merits and shortcomings. For twenty-five years he edited his paper *Der Pionier* in Boston, and since it was practically a one-man paper, we are able to gather a rounded picture of his ideas. He had very definite opinions about things. He was a most vehement advocate of woman's emancipation, of freedom of the press; he antagonized many people through his radical abolitionist views. When it came to the problem of foreign policy, he attacked isolationism and confronted it with his "One World" ideas of liberty: that America "cannot be safe and enjoy liberty as long as the rest of the world is in chains," and that the United States should intervene in any struggle of liberty anywhere. His revolutionary spirit did not evaporate in the heated enthusiasm of the German-Americans over the peace celebrations of 1871; he even refused to set foot on German soil, which in his opinion was disgraced by the Hohenzollern regime.

Sometimes it is difficult to find out where in Heinzen's soul the honesty ends and the stubbornness begins. It is tragic irony that he who fought against isolationism on the broad scale of international relations became more and more involved in a personal isolation which cut him off from any possibility of exerting journalistic or political influence. He never overcame the difficulties of language, he never reached anybody outside of the isolated German-American world. Yet, even if we disregard this linguistic handicap, much more tragic was the fact that in a broader sense he was unable to speak the language of the people with whom he had to deal: the German-Americans, sociologically speaking the lower middle class, honest and decent folk but no fanatics, people who liked their *Gemütlichkeit*, their turner and singing societies, and who felt uneasy when this raging German-American Savonarola scolded them for every innocent parade or pageant which they arranged for their festivals. When he deplored the waste of money on parades which might be spent on revolutionary brochures for Germany, they simply could not see his point. It is the tragedy of his life that he who struggled so valiantly and honestly to better the fate of the common man never found the right tone to talk to the very social strata whose conditions he wanted to improve. It led Heinzen

into a blind alley of bitterness and frustration. His idealism and uprightness deserve highest credit; yet his unbalanced temper and his undisciplined tactlessness deprived him of any possibility of broader influence.

Carl Wittke succeeds admirably in bringing out the lines, wrinkles, and shadows in his portrait of this great fighter. He has used a great deal of hitherto unpublished manuscript material and has drawn extensively on the files of Heinzen's periodical. Most of these sources are in German, and so we should welcome Wittke's book all the more, for it integrates this material into American historiography. If the reviewer has one small reservation to make, it concerns the title. It was taken from Heinzen's words: "It is hard to swim against the current, but it is upstream that one finds the source, and the clearer, fresher water." As good an epigram as it is, it does not seem to me to express the essence of Heinzen's life. Too often he was swimming neither with nor against the current but just puddling in a pool of dead water outside of the great stream of life.

University of Maryland

DIETER CUNZ

THE GREAT LAKES. By *Harlan Hatcher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 384. \$3.50.)

UNTIL recently the Great Lakes were not represented in the current literature of the American scene. Perhaps the lakes, which are a remarkably varied area rather than a region, seemed too large a subject for a single volume to encompass. As Mr. Hatcher says, "It is somewhat difficult to hold them in mind as a unit." But in the last few seasons the current "regional" literature has found the lakes to be a rich subject, and now Mr. Hatcher has written an inclusive, unified, and lively account of the development of commerce on the lakes and the development of civilization in the entire lakes area.

Probably it is a book for the lay reader rather than the historian, though the historian will find it accurate, sound, and stimulating in its synthesis of economic and social history. But the emphasis is more interpretive than informative, and the book belongs to literature rather than history. Mr. Hatcher begins his account in an air liner from Chicago to Montreal, and that air view of the "Great Lakes Bowl" suggests the broad view and the long perspective he maintains throughout the entire volume. Its achievement lies in the bringing together of a vast amount of information to which the author gives illuminating sequence and relationship.

The freshest and most rewarding chapter in this very readable book is "Great Lakes Melting Pot." It portrays the mingled races that took passage on the emigrant boats a century ago and settled the mining camps of Upper Michigan, the forests of Wisconsin, the orchards and meadows beside Lake Michigan, and the feverishly growing cities from Buffalo to Chicago and Duluth. This chapter alone gives valuable synthesis to the scattered strands of development in an area that is a kind of Mediterranean of the New World.

While grateful for a book with such sweep and perspective, one can find an

occasional error. The town of Green Bay seems on page 216 to be placed on the Saginaw; it must be Bay City that is meant. Lumberjacks never "worked up the rivers of . . . Illinois"—there was no organized logging in the Prairie State. On the end-paper map the Gogebic Iron Range in Upper Michigan is misplaced by two hundred miles and appears almost exactly in the location of the more important but unindicated Marquette Range. These are minor matters in a book of major merit.

A final word should be said for the physical attractiveness of the volume. Though a "wartime book" it is pleasing to the eye and to the hand. And its usefulness is enhanced by the inclusion of several small maps and a number of well-selected and excellently printed photographs of the cities, the shores, and the vessels of the lakes.

Miami University

WALTER HAVIGHURST

PADDLE-WHEEL DAYS IN CALIFORNIA. By *Jerry MacMullen*. (Stanford University Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 157. \$3.00.)

ONCE more Stanford University Press offers a volume of popular history, in a field largely untouched by conventional historians, to match Edgar Kahn's *Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, Gilbert Kneiss's *Bonanza Railroads*, Oscar Winther's *Express and Stagecoach Days in California*, and the late "Bill" Chalfant's *Tales of the Pioneers*, already published by that press. This time the steamboats and ferries which once plied California's inland waters are the subject of sprightly discussion, and Jerry MacMullen's little book constitutes a welcome addition to this growing sheaf of local historical gleanings. The story of the old-time paddle-wheelers has long deserved to be told. It is fitting that it should be told so genially and with such nostalgic zest.

For the steamers which plied the busy waterways of California's youth have literally been sold down the river, those whose hulks were not left to rot along some stinking "slough" having been paddled off to Puget Sound or the River Platte or some equally faraway haven. In their place vast fleets of grimy little diesel boats nose their way among the islands and along the river channels. And the giant steel bridges that the engineers have thrown across the bay and between the hinges of the Golden Gate have effectively done for the ferries, save for a few to which wartime transport needs have afforded a brief lease on life: Soon the sonorous whistles of even these will be stilled, and it is whispered that the lordly *Delta King* may never return from the wars to "the Sacramento run."

It seems curious that this highly interesting chapter of early western life has not long since been worthily examined. Until the appearance of this volume, however, most of the material here for the first time gathered together has remained locked in files of old newspapers or government documents or has been fading away in the memories of old river and ferry men. The story which Mr.

MacMullen tells will therefore be new to most of his readers, to many of whom the tale of the steamboats on the Colorado may well come as a surprise. A onetime journalist now on active duty with the Navy, the author's fact-filled paragraphs reflect much time and effort spent in the search for his material. For the more important of the old vessels—the *Chrysopolis*, the *Jenny Lind*, the *Antelope*, and many another—there is individual treatment. The fires and explosions, the problems of the river pilots, the ingenious machinery, the giant "walking beams" of the ferries (the gyrations of which this reviewer used to watch as a boy with such wonder and delight)—these, and many another forgotten phase of life on these waterways, are given the author's kindly, and obviously fascinated, attention. And, besides many interesting photographs, Mr. MacMullen's agreeable drawings of the old vessels deserve special mention.

Perhaps Mr. MacMullen (and the Stanford University Press) wished by the omission of a bibliography to demonstrate that they were eschewing so-called "scholarly" effort, and to prove that this is a truly "popular" work. The lengthy lists of vessels and their makers, the table of distances along the rivers and the carefully prepared index will doubtless be found helpful. To the reader who may desire to explore further this interesting story, however, the lack of a better statement of sources may well prove disappointing.

Oh, well, "Up bar! Down bar! Watch that snag, Captain." And—"Hey you in the green suit—You get off at the next landing, Mister."

Washington, D. C.

CARL I. WHEAT

DEVELOPMENT OF TWO BANK GROUPS IN THE CENTRAL NORTHWEST: A STUDY IN BANK POLICY AND ORGANIZATION. By *Charles Sterling Popple*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, IX, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xxv, 418. \$4.50.)

It is seldom that between the covers of a not-too-long book a student can read the banking history of a period as short as fortunate man's life span and yet one that covers its birth, rugged development, expansion, and finally its maturity—and a maturity that is possibly more complete than that of the banking systems of some European countries. All this with respect to banking in an area which only sixty years ago completed its first transcontinental railroad and which built its last as recently as thirty-five years ago.

The *financial* frontier in the Northwest has disappeared with greater speed than have the "*retarded* frontiers" which Veblen found and observed in the area. During the period of the first World War, the banks of the Northwest experienced an *increase* of deposits of eight hundred million dollars. This enlarged amount of deposits was offset by a like increase in the amount of loans, and these loans were, so to speak, provincial, *i.e.*, of a strictly local species and owed by the people of the

area served by the banks. None need be told that the depression after World War I resulted in the concomitant banking strain falling squarely upon the people of the district itself. Out of their economic hides were their debts extinguished. Some of the Central Northwest states lost no less than three quarters of their banks.

The present wartime increase in deposits in banks in Central Northwest states is already more than eighteen hundred million dollars. Against this the banks have a greater amount in government bonds and cash. The people of the district now are long on cash and short on debt! Short-term governments are as prized on the prairie as on Wall Street; liquidity is not just a Keynesian word.

This book tells a most interesting tale of Central Northwest development. Its particular story, to be sure, is the development of two bank groups, each of which can now boast of being "more than a billion dollar institution" and of embracing great metropolitan institutions to which the small units in the hinterland are attached. These central institutions are magnificently housed and magnificently liquid.

But another interesting part of the story is to be found in the reflections it gives of the district in which these banking institutions now operate. They themselves have served it well. But about the time they were formed and in their first years of operation there was what is so ably described by Popple as a "search for liquidity" that has within ten years turned to a "period of quiet" and now to a liquidity so resounding as to be perhaps a portent of more drama or distress ahead. The reader of Popple's interesting book will weigh whether or not drama and distress of the kind he has portrayed will be repeated; whether or not in these days of FDIC, RFC, CCC, FRB, and FTC, the older and controversial issue—the type of banking organization that can serve such an area best—will not prove to have been resolved by a command performance by omnipotent government.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

ARTHUR R. UPGREN

SOCIAL DARWINISM IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1860-1915. By *Richard Hofstadter*, Department of History, University of Maryland. [Prepared and published under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 191. \$2.50.)

If ideas are truly weapons of change and implements of action, this volume could hardly fail to captivate a generation of scholars who seek to understand the one and to direct the other. While the spirit of ideas moves in the deeds of men, their being is rooted in the vortex of culture. This book deals with evolutionary science during a crucial period of social change in America. Herein lies its significance, for evolutionary science has been more frequently accepted than assayed as the role of ideas has been more frequently assumed than comprehended. Monographic scholarship has explored specific ideas, recreated the cultural norms

of the past, and investigated the implications of the sociology of knowledge, but there are few examples in American historiography of a successful blending of the three. And it is precisely within these areas that the problems which press for solution lie.

Dr. Hofstadter essays to illustrate how social theories inferred from biology were reflected in human motivations and how the prevailing "intellectual climate" provided an environment favorable to their acceptance. The author surveys the coming of evolution in its Darwinian and Spencerian forms followed by an analysis of the thought of William G. Sumner and Lester F. Ward. The former represents a rigid determinism, the philosophy of *laissez faire*, a monistic interpretation of evolution; the latter human purpose, the philosophy of human control, based upon a dualistic interpretation of evolution which distinguished nature from society, man from animals, and institutions from individuals. Subsequent thinkers who followed evolutionary insights espoused variants of the one or the other. American racist and imperialistic ideologies were reinforced by the first as were reactionary defenses of the social *status quo*; Marxians, Christian Socialists, and a host of critics, of whom Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and Herbert Croly were the most noteworthy, dissented in the name of the second. If there is an observable connection between Yankee ethnocentrism and evolution, there is an equally traceable connection between evolution and American pragmatism, between Darwin and Spencer on the one hand and Pierce, James, and Dewey on the other.

Despite the commendation which this book deserves, there is far too little conceptual discrimination. To point out where and how Darwinism and Spencerianism converged is just as needful as to distinguish between them. Nor are basic categories—monism, determinism, pragmatism (as ominous verbally as they are significant socially)—as crystally defined as their use warrants. Science, to be sure, is neutral, but scientists are not, which should have led to a discussion of the role of ideas at least in social Darwinian terms. Yet Dr. Hofstadter has succeeded in fulfilling his primary objective; what he has done, he has done well.

Sarah Lawrence College

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT. By *Denna Frank Fleming*, Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1945. Pp. 206. \$2.00.)

THE United States, Dr. Fleming is convinced, should have joined the League of Nations. To have adhered to the World Court without joining the League would have meant accepting only "a pale substitute"; yet the act, he contends, would have had a certain moral value. But this "smallest possible step" toward supporting the world's peace machinery was never taken, although the project was supported by all the presidents from Harding to Roosevelt and a majority of the senators and had, according to Dr. Fleming, nearly unanimous public opinion

behind it at one time. The history of the project is traced from its American origins as early as 1832 down to its final defeat by the Senate in 1935.

Judged by conventional canons, the book has certain shortcomings. It makes no attempt at objectivity. Woodrow Wilson is its hero and praise or blame is allotted to all other characters according to their support or opposition to Wilsonian principles. The villains are Henry Cabot Lodge and William E. Borah, aided and abetted by numerous lesser scoundrels. Occasionally the author's statements are misleading, as when he says that the Lodge reservations to the Treaty of Versailles were defeated (p. 31), when what he means is that the *treaty* with reservations was defeated, or when he obscures the point of the "cash and carry" clauses of the Neutrality Act of 1937 (p. 139). He has a fondness for superlatives which will bother some readers, while others will consider the study to have too narrow a basis in the sources.

It is somewhat disappointing, moreover, that Dr. Fleming discusses isolationism so exclusively as an occupational disease of senators. As he himself shows, aid and comfort to the foes of international co-operation were contributed at certain critical moments by John Bassett Moore, Samuel O. Levinson, J. Reuben Clark, Will Rogers, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. So heterogeneous a list suggests that most Americans during the twenties and thirties had at least a mild case of isolationism. Why this was so would make an interesting subject for further investigation.

But if this study leaves something to be desired as a definitive work of scholarship, it is thoroughly successful as a timely indictment of the constitutional machinery for the ratification of treaties—and this, we may be confident, was the author's chief purpose in writing it. The Senate's treaty veto, he says is "a deadly danger to the life of the nation, a mortal danger to the entire Constitution itself, the one thing in it which is working inexorably to bring the whole edifice of American constitutional government down in ruins" (p. 166). This may seem an overstatement, but Dr. Fleming makes a strong case, so strong that the book deserves a wide public. For senators it ought to be made compulsory reading, since their consent to a constitutional amendment would open up the best avenue of escape from a bad situation. Alternative courses of action do exist, and Dr. Fleming discusses their respective merits.

Syracuse University

NELSON M. BLAKE

ARGENTINE RIDDLE. By *Felix J. Weil*. Issued in cooperation with the Latin American Economic Institute. (New York: John Day Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 297. \$3.50.)

It is likely that reviewers will vary widely in their judgments of Mr. Weil's book, for it is a difficult one to dispose of neatly by formula. The parts of the book which deal with recent politics and with relations with the United States are less

scholarly and objective than those dealing with recent economic trends in Argentina. The point of view one encounters in the former sections, however, is of value to American readers, for it is that of an Argentine citizen with both business and government experience. Weil shows, for example, a skepticism concerning the major political parties and most political leaders which is widespread in Argentina and which is reinforced in his case by a faith in economic determinism in history. For this reason he escapes the errors of those foreign observers who have assessed men like Justo and Ortiz at their face value. This reviewer feels, however, that Mr. Weil oversimplifies the situation by his insistence that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. One may grant that Irigoyen and Alvear varied less in governmental practice from Justo, Ortiz, and Castillo than their party affiliations and political pronouncements would suggest. One may also find similarities between their policies and those of the military governments of Uriburu (1930) and Ramírez-Farrell (1943—). "Pure" elections may have been conspicuous by their absence, politicians frequently self-seeking (and not in Argentina alone), and the controlling economic power of the *estancieros* in alliance with foreign (chiefly British) capital may well have provided an important element of continuity in Argentine politics. Nevertheless, the growth of Argentine nationalism, and of the industrial and professional military interests now associated with it, has done much to undermine the traditional balance of power. Indeed, Mr. Weil goes part way toward recognizing the fact in his discussion of the future of Argentine industry.

The most valuable portion of the book is its presentation of the basic facts in Argentine economics and economic policy. The author clears a path through a mass of errors in the use of Argentine statistics that have crept into recent books in English on that country and shows ability to use the available figures with critical discrimination. He writes with close acquaintance with the past decade of Argentine economic policy and with particular authority about the Pineda plan. In chapters dealing both with the land and with industry there is material which has not before been available in general books. The author shows the continuing strength of the *latifundio* and the inadequacy of efforts to bring it under control. He shows that the strength of the Argentine labor movement has frequently been overestimated by American writers. He also shows how Argentine industry has grown, not so much through planning as by taking advantage of emergency situations during the first World War, the depression, and the present world conflict. He presents an optimistic picture of future industrial development, with which he is in full sympathy, considering it a necessary prelude to effective political democracy. He apparently thinks of this as more important than agrarian reform and as preceding it, though others might uphold the view that the latter is equally necessary for Argentine progress.

Argentine Riddle is the fruit of much solid study and of a lifetime acquaintance with the subjects dealt with. No American interested in Argentina will fail to

profit by reading it. Mr. Weil's impatience with some of his predecessors in the interpretation of Argentina to the United States leads him to magnify the importance of some of the slips into which they have fallen. This is, however, a very human tendency. He has subjected some of the people who indulge in the indoor sport of debunking John Gunther *et al.* to a dose of their own medicine. Some of the points made, among them the analysis of Bunge's method in arriving at certain widely quoted but questionable figures on the occupational classification of the population of Argentina, are real contributions. Mr. Weil's discussion of tariff policy is an example of his occasional tendency to overstress certain points. In showing that Argentina's tariff was never planned for the protection of industry he tends to disregard the fact that exchange control and other checks to free trade provided support for industry that the tariff did not.

If Mr. Weil has not given us the answer to his "Argentine riddle" he has provided a key to important aspects of the problem. The preface shows that the book grew out of earlier special studies which were expanded on rather short notice into a book to meet the needs of the American public in 1944. This reviewer believes that a balanced and comprehensive view would have required greater attention to Argentine nationalism. Even if the direct Fascist inspiration and the Nazi connections of the present regime have been overstressed abroad owing to insufficient knowledge of the domestic roots of the tendency, the fact remains that an effort is being made to forge a state with many totalitarian aspects. Even if ideology is disregarded as mere verbiage, the domestic record of the Ramirez-Farrell government goes a long way to indicate that the old control by the *estancieros* has been sharply modified.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

POLITICS AND MORALS. By *Benedetto Croce*. Translated from the Italian by Salvatore J. Castiglione. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1945, pp. 204, \$3.00.)

GLOBAL POLITICS. Edited by *Russell H. Fitzgibbon*. Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Institute of Political Geography, University of California, Los Angeles, Summer, 1942. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1944, pp. xii, 189, \$2.50.) This compact and timely volume is an illustration of the ways in which the present war has affected contemporary American thought with respect to the character and relationships of geography and politics. As one of the contributors points out, the academic world has been shocked into a new state of awareness and responsibility along these lines. It was such an awareness that caused the authorities of the University of California at Los Angeles to develop, as a principal feature of the summer session of 1942, an institute of political geography. The addresses given in that connection are here presented in the form of twelve essays by eleven contributors. To these is appended a classified bibliography of a hundred-odd books and articles, mostly in English. These papers were prepared at a time when already the eventual defeat of the Axis powers was a foregone conclusion. Their study at a moment when victory is near and a world conference has undertaken to shape the pattern of the postwar world is particularly rewarding. The plan of the symposium has been laid out so as to discuss from various points of view the relationships between geography and politics, with specific reference to case studies represented by Latin America, Canada, Central Europe, India, the Netherlands East Indies, and Eastern Asia. While the analysis of the problems of each of these areas with reference to a settled postwar world deserves study, the principal contribution of the book is found in Professor Steiner's introductory essay on the relation between geography and politics and in Professor Broek's excellent chapter on the German school of geopolitics. Professor Steiner points out that the political subversion and misuse of geographical knowledge was an important factor in bringing the world to its present crisis. Professor Broek presents the best brief discussion of geopolitics known to the reviewer and concludes that the subject warrants study only as an intellectual phenomenon and as a dangerous propaganda weapon.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD: PARLIAMENTS, PARTIES, AND PRESS, AS OF JANUARY 1, 1945. Edited by *Walter Hampton Mallory*. (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1945, pp. 197, \$2.75.) "Political information on all the countries of the world including composition of governments, programs of the parties and their leaders, and political affiliations of the leading newspapers and periodicals."

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY: ALTHUSIUS: GROTIUS: VAN VOLLENHOVEN. By *P. S. Gerbrandy*, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, formerly Professor of Commercial Law and International Private Law in the Free University of Amsterdam. The Taylorian Lecture, 1944. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944, pp. 69.)

A MINIATURE HISTORY OF THE WAR DOWN TO THE LIBERATION OF PARIS. By R. C. K. Ensor. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. ix, 153, \$1.50.)

THE WORLD AT WAR, 1939-1944: A BRIEF HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II. Materials for the use of Army orientation program, prepared from public sources by Military Intelligence Division, War Department. [Fighting Forces Series.] (Washington, Infantry Journal, 1945, pp. 416, maps, 25 cents.) "A brief military history of the war, to November 1, 1944, assembled mostly from various newspapers and military journals."

BELGIUM. Edited by John Eppstein. [British Survey Handbooks, General Editor, John Eppstein, Vol. I.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. vi, 111, \$1.00.)

RUMANIA. By C. Kormos. [British Survey Handbooks, General Editor, John Eppstein, Vol. II.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. vi, 122, \$1.00.)

GREECE. Compiled by Kathleen Gibberd. [British Survey Handbooks, General Editor, John Eppstein, Vol. III.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. vi, 106, \$1.00.)

THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY OF THE PACIFIC. By Lawrence C. Wroth. [The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, Volume XXXVIII, Number 2.] (New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1944, pp. 87-268, plates.) This scholarly volume is the outgrowth of an exhibition of maps held in the spring of 1943 at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, of which Mr. Wroth is librarian. By skillful selection from the vast body of material relating to the discovery and exploration of the Pacific, the story of its cartographic development is told as it is reflected in a series of more than one hundred well-chosen maps. It begins with the world map of Claudius Ptolemy, 150 A.D., that has a land-locked Indian Ocean and no Pacific Ocean. The gradual disappearance of this phenomenon is traced through the Arabic and ecclesiastical maps of the Middle Ages as well as in the portolan charts of this period. The travels of Marco Polo and the voyages of the Portuguese navigators along the coasts of Africa contributed much to the geographical knowledge embodied in the 1492 globe of Martin Behaim. The portrayal of the whole continent of Africa, the development of the peninsulas of India and of Malaya and the discovery of the Spice Islands are discussed in turn, and show that the hypothetical Pacific became an easy reality upon Balboa's discovery and Magellan's circumnavigation. That persistent representation of the fabulous Terra Australis is followed from the Beatus manuscript of the late ninth or early tenth century through the various stages of its diminishing size to the end of the eighteenth century. The discoveries and explorations by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, Russians, and English, of the coasts of New Guinea, the Solomons, Australia, Japan, and northwestern North America are each considered at length, emphasizing their major contributions to the unfolding map of the Pacific. Making its appearance at a time when Americans have a keen interest in the Pacific, this well annotated volume is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on the history of cartography in the English language. One could wish that a larger number of the maps that serve as prototypes had been reproduced.

CLARA EGLI LeGear

THE ENGLISH GEOGRAPHERS AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FRONTIER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Fulmer Mood*. [University of California Publications in Geography, Volume 6, No. 9.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944, pp. 363-96.) The literature of overseas expansion since the discovery of the New World is vast. A segment of this is analyzed by Dr. Mood in his brief but valuable study that seeks to make clear not only the role of English geographers of the seventeenth century in keeping the people of England informed of the progress of their fellow countrymen directly concerned in this movement but also the attitude of these writers toward it. The works of such geographers as George Abbott, Peter Heylyn, William Castell, Thomas Gage, George Gardiner, John Ogilby, Richard Ligon, and John Josselyn are passed in review, and the importance of the contribution of each writer to transatlantic expansion is considered. Dr. Mood, while paying particular tribute to the really important geographical contributions of both Gardiner, in his *A Description of the New World or America, Islands and Continent . . . in the Year 1649* (1651), and Ogilby, in his *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World*, etc. (1671), indicates that nearly all the writers, no matter how weak as geographers, were strong as promoters of English colonization and overseas trade.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

BASIC WRITINGS OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS. Edited by *Anton C. Pegis*. Two volumes. (New York, Random House, 1945, pp. 1150; 1210, \$7.50.) "A revised, corrected, and annotated edition of the English Dominican translation of St. Thomas."

POPE PIUS XII, PRIEST AND STATESMAN: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Kees Van Hoek*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1945, pp. 106, \$2.00.)

MOZART: HIS CHARACTER, HIS WORK. By *Alfred Einstein*. Translated by Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 502, \$5.00.)

JOSEPH LISTER, FATHER OF MODERN SURGERY. By *Rhoda Truax* [Mrs. R. H. Aldrich]. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1944, pp. 287, \$3.50.)

EDVARD BENES IN HIS OWN WORDS: THREESCORE YEARS OF A STATESMAN, BUILDER, AND PHILOSOPHER. (New York, Czech-American National Alliance, 1944, pp. 158, \$2.00.) "Quotations from the writings and speeches of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, arranged chronologically, with a calendar of his writings and the events of his life."

CHAIM WEIZMANN: STATESMAN, SCIENTIST, BUILDER OF THE JEWISH COMMONWEALTH. Edited by *Meyer W. Weisgal*. Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. (New York, Dial Press, 1944, pp. 340, \$3.50.)

THE CHURCH IN LATVIA. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (New York, Drauga Vests, 1945, pp. 35.)

HOW TO DISPOSE OF RECORDS: A MANUAL FOR FEDERAL OFFICIALS. [The National Archives, Publication No. 45-5.] (Washington, the National Archives, 1945, pp. iv, 50.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1815-1939. Second Supplement. Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George Washington University. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1945, pp. xii, 73, \$1.10.)

THE HUMANITIES CHART THEIR COURSE: REPORT OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD BY THE STANFORD SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES, AUGUST 11 AND 12. (Stanford University, University Press, 1945, pp. 87, \$1.00.) "The course of the humanities, the ideal contents of a humanistic education, and the ways of reconciling them with the time allotted to such an education, were among questions included in the discussion at the School of Humanities annual conference held at Stanford University."

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Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

SUMERIAN LITERARY TEXTS FROM NIPPUR IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT AT ISTANBUL. By S. N. Kramer, Associate Curator in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. [The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Volume XXIII, 1943-44, edited for the Trustees by Millar Burrows and E. A. Speiser.] (New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1945, pp. viii, 47, plates, \$2.50.) The publication contains the autographed texts of 167 Nippurian cuneiform fragments preserved in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. The material consists of epics, mythological subjects, hymns addressed either to individual deities or to royal personages, lamentation songs concerning the destruction of Sumerian and Akkadian cities, and bits of what was once apparently a quite considerable wisdom literature of a didactic or hortatory nature, in addition to the wisdom of the street, which latter sort is represented in this text edition by twelve proverbs. That the scholarly scribes of Nippur should have interested themselves to a large degree in the heroic tales of Sumer may have been occasioned by their own great divine hero, Enlil's valiant son, Ninurta, who put himself to the fore as a mighty war- and hunting god. Nippur, however, being an ecclesiastical center and unable to boast of great heroes of a more human nature, fell back on the exploits of some early dynastic kings of Uruk—a heroic triad embracing Enmerkar, son of Meskemgasher, who was believed to have ruled 420 years, his successor Lugal-banda, who supposedly ruled for 1,200 years, and Gilgamesh whose reign extended over a period of 126 years, according to the kings' lists. Dr. S. N. Kramer undertook a most laborious task in bringing the various text fragments into relation to the hitherto published material wherever this was possible, and by so doing enhanced the value of his work to a great measure. One may look with great expectancy to the author's promise of continuing the publishing of the 1,175 text fragments kept in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul.

HENRY LUDWIG FR. LUTZ

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¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

COMMENTARIUS CANTABRIGIENSIS IN EPISTOLAS PAULI E SCHOLA PETRI ABAELARDI. 3. IN EPISTOLAM AD PHILIPPENSES, AD COLOSSENSES, I^{am} ET II^{am} AD THESSALONICENSES, I^{am} ET II^{am} AD TIMOTHEUM, AD TITUM ET AD PHILEMONEM. By *Artur Landgraf*. [Publications in Medieval Studies, The

University of Notre Dame, Editor: Philip S. Moore.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1944, pp. 447-651.)

MOLDERS OF THE MEDIEVAL MIND: THE INFLUENCE OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH ON THE MEDIEVAL SCHOOLMEN. By *Frank P. Cassidy*. (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1944, pp. viii, 194, \$2.00.) As the title indicates, this little book is about the patristic heritage of the Middle Ages. In surveying the first five centuries of Christian education, the author has introduced enough explanation of patristic doctrine to explain the attitude of the church toward learning and knowledge. He does this quite effectively by means of sketches of the fathers, both Greek and Latin, with indications of their religious and intellectual interest in education. Then he discusses their attitude toward pagan learning. The book, then, tells about the patristic mind, and the intellectual mold which it prepared for the medieval mind. The author does this very well because he is sympathetic with the educational aims of the fathers. Christ, "the perfect Teacher," who knew how to apply fundamental education principles, taught with authority, and so did the church. The authority was the divine knowledge revealed in the Scriptures, and the end was salvation. This the author makes very clear, but in doing so, he does not distinguish very clearly between teaching and preaching. Controversy with pagan philosophers and heretics stimulated the development of theology, which absorbed the energy of the best minds in the late empire. Literary and philosophical instruction was introduced into the catechetical schools, as training for theology needed more content and better method than the simple religious and moral instruction of which early Christian education consisted. The church borrowed from the pagan schools with intent to shape what was taken into her own intellectual mold. In philosophy, this was not too difficult, for Neo-Platonism had already ceased to pursue knowledge for its own sake. Classical literature could not be made Christian. The author shows how the fathers, most of whom had been educated in pagan schools, wrestled with this problem. As they did not solve it definitely, it passed on to disturb medieval Christians. The Roman system of education, which the author says was only a "hollow formality" after the second century, did preserve interest in classical literature, even in the patristic mind.

F. DUNCALF

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MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ART

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

A MISCELLANY COMPRISING POST-REFORMATION ROYAL ARMS IN NORFOLK CHURCHES; CELLARER'S ROLL, BROMHOLM PRIORY, 1415-1416; LAY SUBSIDY, 1581; ASSESSORS' CERTIFICATES FOR CERTAIN NORFOLK HUNDREDS. [Publications of the Norfolk Record Society, Volume XVII.] (Norfolk, the Society, 1944, pp. 140, £1 1s. 0d.)

A MIDDLEWICH CHARTULARY, COMPILED BY WILLIAM VERNON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by Joan Varley and James Tait. Part II. [Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Volume 108, New Series.] (Manchester, printed for the Chetham Society and the Liverpool School of Local History and Records, 1944, pp. xxxviii, 219-415.) The production of this book completes the publication of William Vernon's compilation of Middlewich (county Cheshire, England) charters. The first part, edited by Mrs. Joan Varley alone, was issued by the Chetham Society and the Liverpool School of Local History and Records in 1941; it was briefly reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (Oct., 1942), 173. Because of the pressure of war work it has been necessary for Mrs. Varley to share the labor of preparing this volume with Professor James Tait. Her critical introduction in Part I was designed as a comment upon the entire text, but Professor Tait has added four informative studies on groups of charters which were not treated there; he has also, in addition to other editorial work, provided excellent indexes. The seventeenth century compiler has filled this portion of

his chartulary principally with transcripts of deeds, dating from around 1200 to the seventeenth century, preserved among the muniments of the leading local families, such as the Swettenhams, Blackbornes, Gerrards, and Vernons, and the Venables of Kinderton. With the deeds contained in Part I they constitute, in the words of Professor Tait, "a remarkably full register of the changes in the ownership of the Middlewich wick-houses [buildings used in the manufacture of salt] and of land both there and in the surrounding district over a period of nearly five centuries." As such the work should be welcomed by the local historian and the antiquarian, breeds which have long thrived in England. For the light which these documents throw on the society and economy of a community known for centuries as a salt-making center, they should attract a more general interest.

WILLIAM L. SACHSE

THE POPISH PLOT: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. By *Sir John Pollock*, Bart., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law; Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. xxv, 379, \$5.00.) See review of earlier edition, *American Historical Review*, IX (Jan., 1904), 360.

THE STORY OF A FAMILY THROUGH ELEVEN CENTURIES: BEING A HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF GORGES. By *Raymond Gorges*. Based on material prepared by the Rev. Frederick Brown. (Boston, privately printed, 1944, pp. xxiv, 277.) Students of history have many reasons to be grateful to genealogists. Much greater is their indebtedness to one who in traveling with filial piety the long road through ten centuries of family history has the foresight to equip himself with a scholar's zeal for inquiry and who records his findings with a persistent twinkle in his eye in a style to delight an interested reader. Whenever, "down the long stream of life," he has "caught a glimpse of human personality," he has tried, he says, "to preserve . . . the fleeting fragrance of rosemary from the old garden." The widow of the late author presents the happy results of his labors in a monumental form, suitable as the memorial of her husband, for which it is intended. The book is a credit to Mr. D. B. Updike and the Merrymount Press. Professor John C. Metcalf contributes a foreword. The more distinguished members of the Gorges family flourished in the times of Queen Elizabeth, among them Sir Thomas Gorges and his wife, Hellena, Spenser's "Mansilia." Better known to students of colonial history are Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Colonel Thomas Gorges, the deputy governor of Maine.

W. T. LAPRADE

SCOTTISH DIPLOMATISTS, 1689-1789. By *D. B. Horn*. [Historical Association Publications, No. 132.] (London, published for the Association by P. S. King and Staples, 1944, pp. 18, 1s. 1d.)

DOMINION OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES FOR THE YEAR 1944. By *Gustave Lanctot*, Keeper of Public Records. (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1945, pp. xli, 154.) The bulk of the report is a continuation of the calendar of official papers of governors, lieutenant governors, and other officials of Quebec and Lower and Upper Canada for the years 1838-39. In addition, at least three unrelated documents of interest are included: the minutes of the first meeting of the first Canadian House of Assembly (Nova Scotia, October 2, 1758), appeals to the electors of Quebec by candidates to the first parliamentary election (May, 1792), and an astonishingly bold proposal by some Massachusetts merchants in 1813 to break the blockade and deliver contraband goods by ways that would have astonished Bret Harte's "heathen Chinese."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN CANADA, 1665-1945. Exhibition arranged by The National Gallery of Canada, Le Musée de la Province de Quebec, The Art Association of Montreal, The Art Gallery of Toronto. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1945, pp. 65, \$1.50.)

NEW ZEALAND AND THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER. Five lectures by J. C. Beaglehole, F. L. W. Wood, Leslie Lipson, R. O. McGechan. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. (Wellington, N. Z., Victoria University College, 1944, pp. xx, 195, 10s. 6d.) A very valuable little book which no college library should be without. Its scope is far more than the title suggests. Although focused on constitutional problems confronting New Zealand, it surveys with admirable clarity analogous problems which involve all the British Commonwealth. The Statute of Westminster, as everyone knows, was passed by Parliament in order to repeal the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 so that the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 might be implemented. Few, however, realize that the Colonial Laws Validity Act was a step forward in self-government rather than a reaffirmation of colonial independence. Few also are aware that the tenth section of the Statute of Westminster excepted Australia and New Zealand from the main provisions of the act until those two Dominions ratified it, which Australia did not do until 1942 and which New Zealand up to 1944 had still not done. The delay of the Pacific Dominions was due to fear of Japan. Throughout the 1930's they dreaded any further breach in empire ties, even a symbolic one. Yet failure to ratify involved New Zealand in many perplexing legal broils, for instance, her mandate over Samoa and her relations with the government of Fiji. The book introduces us to many specific problems such as these, as well as to others of more general Dominion interest. Dominion practice in foreign affairs since 1939 has been as varied as in earlier decades. Canada and South Africa, for instance, declared war on Germany but neither Australia nor New Zealand did so; Australia declared war on Japan but not New Zealand. Australia even declared war on Finland, although she had no legation at Helsinki and had to avail herself of the good offices of the United States minister. And now Australia and New Zealand have agreed to assume joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace over a vast area of the Pacific. Just how will they proceed to do this?

WALTER P. HALL

THE FEDERAL STORY: THE INNER HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL CAUSE.

By Alfred Deakin. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. W. A. Watt. Edited by Herbert Brookes. (Melbourne, Robertson and Mullens, 1944, pp. xiii, 170, 12s. 6d.) This book is an altogether remarkable contribution to the story of the writing of the Australian Commonwealth Constitution. The literature of the subject is not very voluminous and any new light is sure of a hearty welcome. But here we have the reminiscences of a principal actor in the story, a man who was later three times prime minister of the commonwealth, and a man who had a definite literary flare. It is astonishing that the Australians have done so little to provide a background for their constitution, its origin and evolution. The bibliography is short and not very impressive, not as impressive, indeed, as a similar bibliography for the constitutions of South Africa or Eire would be, and certainly negligible as compared with the available material on the British North America Act. There is no collection of pertinent documents, no scholarly, candid review of the story, very few accounts by men who participated in the drafting of the document. Alfred Deakin's book is therefore a genuine windfall. Deakin died in 1919 leaving a considerable accumulation of papers which have thus far been rather jealously guarded by his family. This book is the first major publication to be drawn from the store. It has been edited by his son-in-law, Mr. Herbert Brookes—sadly under-

edited I must say. For the uncomfortable fact is that the book will be unintelligible to those who lack a prior knowledge of the story. If read along with such a formal account as that given in the "Historical Introduction" to *The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth* by Quick and Garran (Sydney and Melbourne, 1901)—both authors played roles in the events recounted—it becomes far more meaningful. Deakin considered the book a rough draft, but loss of memory made it impossible for him to revise it in the years of his retirement. Its value is, as it stands, in the very clever personal portraits and evaluations of the participants in the several conventions. I do not know of a more entertaining gallery of portraits of men of the time. But generally speaking, the issues with which the men dealt are either not stated or mentioned so casually or obliquely as to be rather mysterious. Sometimes the issues are mentioned illustratively only and by names which do not define them at all clearly, as for instance the solitary reference to the "Braddon blot." On the other hand the book is richly supplied with valuable incidental information. This makes it an indispensable book for giving reality to events now long past. I found the account of the negotiations with Joseph Chamberlain in London particularly illuminating. If only Mr. Brookes had seen fit to supply a chronology, a list of the men mentioned with their official positions (such as is given in Quick and Garran, pp. 260-61), and footnotes stating succinctly the issues under debate, the book would have been immeasurably improved. Someday a scholarly edition will be called for. Meanwhile this version will be studied by scholars with fascination and profit. It makes one keen to know what other treasures are in the Deakin papers. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

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FRANCE

SAINTE-BEUVE AUX ETATS-UNIS. By Robert G. Mahieu. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. xii, 162, \$2.50.) Irving Babbitt liked to say that the two modern Frenchmen whom it would do America the most good to understand are Renan and Sainte-Beuve. This conviction could not have been in terms of Babbitt's humanism, so extensively discussed a few years ago, since from this point of view he indicated disapproval of both of them. They do have a gift for delicate and authentic distinctions, an awareness of imponderables, a realistic lucidity, and—Renan much more than Sainte-Beuve—a charm of style that make them foremost examples of French critical genius. Renan we know was not widely read in the United States, although his *Vie de Jésus* had here as in Europe a "*valeur de choc*" and although

William James discussed him in a famous book, *Varieties of Religious Experience*—to express his displeasure at Renan's "later days of sweet decay." Professor Mahieu now sums up the record for Sainte-Beuve. In one respect Mr. Mahieu resembles his great critic, who would go to the very end of the earth for a single detail, "*comme un géologue maniaque pour un caillou*." There is a great accumulation of pebbles. But I am sorry to say I do not find here reflections of other qualities of the master. A long chapter on "La Fortune de Sainte-Beuve" in the United States does not get anywhere in particular. In the chapter called "Humanisme contre Dynamisme" the focal point is naturally Irving Babbitt, and Mr. Mahieu speaks of Babbitt's esteem for the Frenchman as "*le couronnement de la gloire de Sainte-Beuve et son acceptation définitive aux Etats-Unis*." But Babbitt had important reservations, as I have suggested; he even regarded Sainte-Beuve as in some ways an obstacle to his own missionary work as a humanist. The evidence of Mr. Mahieu's own book shows nothing like definitive acceptance of the critic in America and a very limited glory. It is no proof of the influence of Sainte-Beuve on Babbitt that Babbitt considered the Frenchman close to the intellectual center of the nineteenth century; the Harvard humanist intensely disliked that century and at times deeply distrusted Sainte-Beuve for being, as he alleged, the great doctor of relativity, the wandering Jew of the intellectual world. The chapter of the present volume entitled "Trois fervents admirateurs de Sainte-Beuve," on W. C. Brownell, Gamaliel Bradford and J. G. Hunecker, shows more critical judgment than the others. The final pages could be called, I am afraid, after the example of *Rasselas*, "Conclusion in which nothing is concluded." Mr. Mahieu likes to divide by two; he reports that some thought this about Sainte-Beuve and on the contrary others thought that, and there he stops. Even so this is a very complete record and Mr. Mahieu has made available virtually all the facts. There is a carefully complete index.

HORATIO SMITH

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

KLARE LINJER. By C. Sverre Norborg. (Brooklyn, Norwegian News, 1945, pp. 135, \$1.50.) This little volume is a description of the Norwegian war effort, as seen from a Norwegian-American vantage point. Activities of the Norwegian home front are outside its purview. The subjects treated most fully are the vital services of the Norwegian merchant fleet, the diligent labors of Norwegian diplomats in Washington, London, and Stockholm, and the vigilant activities of the Norwegian government's information services. The tone of the narrative, now and then rhapsodic, will help the historian to recapture something of the sense of devotion to Norway and to the United Nations

which animated the wartime activities of Norway's sons abroad. The substance of the narrative is suggestive but not comprehensive, and there are many details to be filled in before the story is adequate. Some readers may feel that the author should have devoted more space than he has to Norway's relations with Sweden and to an estimate of her relations with the Soviet Union, in view of the generous discussion given of her relations with some of the other United Nations.

WITHIN THE CIRCLE: PORTRAIT OF THE ARCTIC. By *Evelyn Stefansson*. (New York, Scribners, 1945, pp. 160, \$2.50.) About half of this well-illustrated book is devoted to chapters on the Disko community in Greenland, Grimsey Island off the north coast of Iceland, Lapland, and Kiruna and Gällivare in north Sweden.

SCHOOL FOR LIFE: A STUDY OF PEOPLE'S COLLEGES IN SWEDEN. By *F. Margaret Forster*. (London, Faber and Faber, 1944, pp. 99.)

AMERICAN-SWEDISH HANDBOOK, Volume II. The Augustana Institute of Swedish Culture. (Rock Island, Ill., Augustana Book Concern, 1945, pp. 160, \$1.25.) This is a useful reference work about individuals and associations concerned with American and Swedish affairs. The several articles of interest to the historian are appropriately listed in this issue. There is also a bibliography (pp. 115-23) of recent books and research projects in the field.

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JULIUS MORITZEN. Scandinavian Renaissance. *Current Hist.*, Apr.

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

VON BISMARCK ZU HITLER, ERINNERUNGEN UND BETRACHTUNGEN.

By *Oscar Meyer*. (New York, Friedrich Krause, 1944, pp. 238, \$2.75.) In the years to come the Weimar Republic will more and more become the object of historical investigation. At the present time we may be still too close to the events to weigh the arguments *sine ira et studio*; the historical distance is still so short that most of us may either condemn too bitterly the obvious shortcomings of the German Republic or defend too leniently its sins of negligence and political immaturity. If in the meantime, until a comprehensive evaluation can be undertaken, some of the leading figures of the Weimar regime write and publish their personal recollections about "these fourteen years of disgrace" (as Hitler used to call them), the historian can only welcome such undertakings. Oscar Meyer held various public offices in Germany between 1907 and 1933; he served in the city council of Charlottenburg, in the Prussian diet,

in the German Reichstag, in the chamber of commerce, and in the twenties was one of the leaders of the Democratic party. Born in 1876, he began his political career in the imperial era, reached his climax in the Weimar Republic, and went into exile when Hitler became chancellor. His recollections reveal his intimate knowledge of the problems of the German Republic, although there is hardly anything to be found that was not known so far. What makes the book particularly interesting is the fact that it was written by a man who worked in a flight below the top floor of the Weimar structure. He had not, like Gustav Stresemann, a decisive voice in the foreign policy, nor was he, like Friedrich Stampfer, one of the key men in the domestic policy. Oscar Meyer's duties were less spectacular; he performed mostly in second-run political theaters of city administrations, diet sessions, and party caucuses. From what we read we may conclude that he was a precise official, reliable and efficient—and nothing more. Unwittingly the author betrays one of the most tragic shortcomings of the Weimar Republic: that it had dependable followers, but no inspiring, visionary leaders. It is pathetic to see the author defend with legalistic arguments the indefensible paralysis of the Weimar government towards the rising Nazi flood. It was to be expected that the whole tenor of the book is apologetic, yet, since this is almost constitutionally a defect of all memoir literature we shall not blame this author in particular. It is less pardonable, that the author did not discriminate between affairs of general interest and items of private, too private, nature. If the Nazis actually made it a point of their attack against the Republic that during "the fourteen years" social life in Berlin had declined, we see no reason to take such a ridiculous, irrelevant charge seriously; we do not believe that it justifies Meyer's lengthy enumerations of the glamorous and lovely parties in his house and his detailed descriptions of who sat next to whom. However, if we weed out all this social column gossip, there remains enough to be interesting for the historian. As a supplement to dry and dusty official documents personal recollections like these will not be without merit for a historical evaluation of the deplorably shortlived Republican experiment in German history.

DIETER CUNZ

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

RUSSKIYE OTKRYTIYA V TIKHOM OKEANE I SEVERNOI AMERIKE V 18-19 VEKAKH: SBORNIK MATERIALOV [Russian discoveries in the Pacific and North America in the 18th and 19th centuries: a collection of materials]. Edited by A. I. Andreyev. (Moscow, Leningrad, 1944, pp. 224, 20 r.) This volume, issued under the auspices of the All-Union Geographical Society, contains the text of the following hitherto unpublished documents: the memoirs of N. I. Korobitzyn, employee of the Russian-American Company, covering the years 1795-1807; instructions, reports, and memorandums relating to the activities of the Golikov and Shelekhov Company in 1785-1790, fifteen items in all. In addition there are two reprints: the report, dated 1762, of the Cossack S. T. Ponomarev and the scout S. G. Glotov about several Aleutian Islands discovered by them, and the description of the Andreanof Islands, based on the reports of the Cossacks M. Lazarev and P. Vasutinsky, dated 1764.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

CHINA: REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION. By *Knight Biggerstaff*, Associate Professor of Chinese History in Cornell University. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 4.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1945, pp. 78, 40 cents.)

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1943: LECTURES ON MICRONESIA, by *Luther H. Gulick*. (Honolulu, the Society, 1944, pp. 82.) These five brief lectures are reprinted from issues of a periodical *The Polynesian*. They were prepared and given in 1860-61.

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

DEBATING IN THE COLONIAL CHARTERED COLLEGES: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY, 1642 TO 1900. By *David Potter*. [Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 899.] (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944, pp. xiv, 158, \$2.35.) This book does what the author promises in his preface: it presents a historical survey of debating in nine colleges (Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth) which were chartered in the colonial period and have continued down to the present day. The work is based in the main on material drawn from (1) college reports, laws, and catalogues; (2) minutes of board and faculty meetings; (3) commencement and exhibition programs and broadsides; (4) minutes, constitutions, and records of the debate societies; and (5) contemporary textbooks, diaries, letters, and newspapers. The chapter division focuses attention upon the major types of debating: "The Syllogistic Disputation," "The Forensic Disputation," "The Literary and Debating Society," and "Intercollegiate Debating." A concluding chapter summarizes the primary facts disclosed: "(1) as early as 1642 . . . debating played an important role in the curriculum; (2) the history of debating was influenced and directed by the same forces which shaped the contemporary course of higher education and cultural growth in America; (3) there were four main currents in the history of debating up through 1900, stemming from the syllogistic disputation, the forensic disputation, the literary and debating society, and intercollegiate debating; (4) the shifts from one main current to another were initiated, at least in part, by members of the student body." The work is adequately documented. A useful bibliography is provided. There is no index. Four appendixes include illustrative material. Dr. Potter's dissertation will prove both interesting and useful to students of American history, to teachers of public speaking, and to theorists of education. This reviewer is happy to confirm the comment offered by Professor George A. Kopp in his foreword, "that we have in [this] book a reliable and conscientious synthesis of historical facts about debating which should be a part of the working knowledge of everyone concerned with the oral use of the language."

BOWER ALY

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES, 1745-1799. *John C. Fitzpatrick*, Editor. Volumes 38 and 39, GENERAL INDEX. By *David M. Matteson*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 485; v, 487-955, \$2.00, \$1.50 to possessors of sets of the *Writings*.) Volume 38 contains, as a frontispiece, a portrait of John C. Fitzpatrick, also a sketch of him by David M. Matteson. Volume 39 has an appendix comprising a list of letters, addresses, and memorandums.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT AS SHOWN IN FACSIMILES OF VARIOUS DRAFTS BY ITS AUTHOR, THOMAS JEFFERSON. By *Julian P. Boyd*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. 46, plates, \$3.50.) "This edition, which is dedicated to the general public,

is a new printing of the brochure printed for the Library of Congress by Princeton University Press upon the occasion of the Library's Bicentennial Exposition celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth."

THE WESTERN JOURNALS OF WASHINGTON IRVING. Edited and Annotated by *John Francis McDermott*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944, pp. xiii, 201, \$3.50.) The general content of these journals, describing Washington Irving's famous excursion in 1832 into the Osage country, has long been available, not only in many excerpts from them in biographies and critical articles but in the three-volume edition published in 1919 by the Bibliophile Society under the editorship of W. P. Trent and G. S. Hellman. Yet, apart from Irving's associations in the West, it may be said that the serious inaccuracies in this text justify Mr. McDermott in offering a fresh version. I have not collated this with the original five volumes in the New York Public Library, but if one may judge from the careful detail of the volume as a whole, one will expect later students of Irving, whether or not primarily interested in him as a pioneer, to turn to this edition rather than to the Trent-Hellman text. Mr. McDermott's objective, however, was less to establish a clear text of the journal of a man of letters than to indicate more precisely the nature of this frontier area as seen through the eyes of a keen, if romantic, observer. In justice to the earlier editors it must be noted that since 1919 there has appeared a wealth of documents on the literature of western travel. These, aided by Mr. McDermott's industry, permit elaborate annotation and, in particular, a critical consideration of four versions of the pilgrimage: one by Charles J. Latrobe, one by Henry L. Ellsworth, and two by Irving. Of this material Latrobe's *The Rambler in North America* and Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* are, of course, old, but Ellsworth's long, narrative letter to his wife is new and so, in effect, is this now re-edited journal. The question is provocative: out of all this romance and realism to arrive at a truthful history of the journey from Cincinnati to Fort Gibson and also of the Osage country in 1832. In attacking the problem Mr. McDermott places the journal for the first time adequately against its western background. I care less for his judgment on *A Tour on the Prairies* ("blown up beyond the size") or on Irving's literary qualities, such as his "magnificence of imagination," as he calls it, but Mr. McDermott's achievement is solid: these journals, however inferior, for obvious reasons, to the European journals, take on meaning as a rare documentary history of this region of the frontier. The book is beautifully printed, and the illustrations include a useful map.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN: AN INTIMATE VIEW OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, DECEMBER 28, 1860, TO MARCH 15, 1861, AND A PAGE OF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE, STANTON TO BUCHANAN. Prefatory Notes by *F. Louriston Bullard*. Foreword by Carl Sandburg. (Chicago, privately printed for Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 1945, pp. xi, 117, \$10.00.) A very real service has been done by this publication of the *Diary of a Public Man*. It first appeared unsigned in the *North American Review* in 1879. The editor of the *Review*, Allen Thorndike Rice, never revealed the authorship, in fact refused to reveal it. Since then more than one graduate seminar has been set the task of determining by internal evidence who might be the possible author of a diary full of almost too much inside information. Finding the author has so far proved a harder nut to crack than the authorship of the Junius letters. Mr. Bullard has given the reprint of the diary an interesting and intriguing introduction but he does not attempt to fix the authorship. He leaves that rather for Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, who has been following every possible clue for some years and hopes to publish his results in the not too distant

future. Professor Anderson gave a paper on the subject at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1928.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF MODERN NAVAL HISTORY. By *Garland Evans Hopkins*, Chaplain, Army of the United States, Assistant Chaplain-in-Chief, S.C.V. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1944, pp. 34, \$3.50.) This beautifully printed brochure published in a limited edition is an account of the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. The story is well told on the basis of familiar material. The main point is put in the last sentence: "Thus was ushered out the age of oak and canvas and thus was born the era of the ironclad." The author is now in active service as a chaplain in the Army.

THE UNITED STATES, 1865-1900: A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE WITH ABSTRACTS OF UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS. Edited by *Curtis Wiswell Garrison*. Volume II, SEPTEMBER, 1942-DECEMBER, 1943. (Fremont, Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation, 1944, pp. vii, 453, libraries \$1.00, students and teachers 50 cents.) This second volume in the Hayes Foundation series justifies the prediction of increasing usefulness made when Volume I appeared (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX [Apr., 1944], 540). The number of pages—Volume I having only 177—indicates a growing scope; the number of appraisers rises from 53 to 204 outstanding scholars. From now on issues will coincide with the calendar year. Works appraised are grouped in appropriate classes, such as political and constitutional, international relations, regional and state, etc. Doctoral dissertation abstracts are similarly grouped in a separate list. New features are essays by way of summary of the books in each group, written by carefully selected scholars, and a separate section on recent textbooks, general surveys, and popular histories. An editorial essay entitled "The Year's Fruit" again sets forth the aim of the series to limit appraisals to the one question of the value of works reviewed as contributions to knowledge, with the ultimate purpose of making "ever clearer what knowledge has *gained* from the yearly output." Whatever its imperfections, the present volume shows a laudable advance toward the goals set by the editors, and the series bids fair to fill a unique place in the literature of criticism.

HOMER C. HOCKETT

JOSEPH SMITH, PROPHET-STATESMAN: READINGS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. Edited by *George Homer Durham*. (Salt Lake City, Bookcraft, 1944, pp. 239, \$2.25.) "A study of the life and aims of Joseph Smith, Mormon prophet."

CAVALRYMAN OUT OF THE WEST: LIFE OF GENERAL WILLIAM CAREY BROWN. By *George Francis Brimlow*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1944, pp. 442, \$5.00.) The subject of this biography graduated from West Point in 1877; and for forty-one years thereafter, advancing slowly in rank from second lieutenant to colonel, he was on active duty in the Army of the United States. Many of these years were spent as a cavalryman in the West. He was a participant in the Bannock War of 1878 and other Indian conflicts, in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, and in operations against the Philippine insurgents. He commanded the 10th Cavalry on the Mexican border and in the pursuit of Villa in 1916. In 1918 he served with the AEF as inspector, Quartermaster Corps; in December of that year he was retired; in 1927 he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general on the retired list; and in 1939 he died. In his later life he interested himself in the preservation of records and in some research and writing chiefly in relation to events with which he had been associated. During most of his long life he faithfully kept a diary. This diary and his extensive

accumulation of personal papers appear to have been the chief sources from which Mr. Brimlow compiled this running narrative of General Brown's life.

PHILIP M. HAMER

BERNARD BARUCH: PARK BENCH STATESMAN. By *Carter Field*. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1944, pp. 314, \$3.00.) The volume is a highly laudatory account of Mr. Baruch's career written in the best journalistic style. In time we should have a careful and well-balanced account of a figure to whom so much influence is attributed.

CONNIE MACK, GRAND OLD MAN OF BASEBALL. By *Frederick George Lieb*. (New York, G. P. Putnam, 1945, pp. 287, \$2.75.)

THE NEW YORK HOSPITAL: A HISTORY OF THE PSYCHIATRIC SERVICE, 1771-1936. By *William Logie Russell*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 566, \$7.50.)

THE HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF THE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NORTH AMERICA. By *M. J. McCosker*. (Philadelphia, Insurance Company of North America, 1945, pp. 173.) This volume covers with excellent illustrations all types of fire fighting apparatus, firemen's costumes, early reports of fire insurance companies, pictures, and medals.

EDUCATIONAL YEARBOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1944. Edited by *Isaac Leon Kandell*. (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1944, pp. 354, \$3.70.)

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ENGRAVERS. By *Mantle Fielding*. (New York, Paul A. Struck, 1945, pp. 433, \$20.00.) A limited edition.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Volume XIV. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1944, pp. viii, 263, \$2.00.) Students of the American immigration movement have come to look forward expectantly to the appearance of each new volume of the publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association. They will not be disappointed in this one, for it is another valuable addition to the literature of what Dean Blegen has aptly called the "American transition." Like its predecessors in the series, the book is a happy combination of interpretive writing and illuminating documentary materials, selected and edited with high standards of professional competence and discrimination. Six papers dealing with various aspects of the immigrant's America are included in the volume. Kenneth Bjørk writes of the Norwegian engineers who came to the United States in considerable numbers hoping to gain experience, a fortune, and perhaps a reputation before returning to the homeland. Arlow W. Anderson contributes an enlightening analysis of the politics and ideas of the frontier editor Knud Langeland, based upon an examination of the editorials in his Norwegian newspaper *Democraten*. Exploiting archival records, Halvdan Koht recounts the efforts of United States consular officials in the Scandinavian countries to stimulate emigration to America during the War between the States. C. A. Clausen offers all the available biographical data for the Norwegian immigrants whose names appear on the passenger list of the *Emilie* on her voyage to New York in 1840. Clara Jacobson interprets the life of the immigrant clergy in her "Memories from Perry Parsonage." B. H. Narveson describes the educational ideas and purposes of the Norwegians as expressed in their Lutheran academies. Dean Blegen himself presents two selections of documentary material. One is a long letter by Johannes Johansen and Søren Bache reporting an exploratory trip to Wis-

consin in 1839; the other, a group of immigrant letters of the 1840's written by Johan R. Reiersen, several of which are here printed for the first time. Mr. Blegen is also the author of a verse translation of "The Ballad of Oleana" in which he succeeds admirably in recapturing in English something of the exuberance of the original Norwegian text:

I'm off to Oleana, I'm turning from my doorway,
No chains for me, I'll say good-by to slavery in Norway.

CHARLES M. GATES

TOO SMALL A WORLD: THE LIFE OF FRANCESCA CABRINI. By *Theodore Maynard*. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1945, pp. 351, \$2.50.) "A biography of the first United States citizen to be elevated to sainthood, the founder of the Institute of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and ardent, efficient worker for the improvement of the lot of Italian immigrants in the United States and South America."

ONE AMERICA: THE HISTORY, CONTRIBUTIONS, AND PRESENT PROBLEMS OF OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. Edited by *Francis J. Brown*, Professor of Education, New York University, Consultant, American Council on Education, and *Joseph Slabey Roucek*, Chairman, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Hofstra College. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1945, pp. xvi, 717, \$3.75.) A revised edition of *Our Racial and National Minorities* (1937). "The editors and the individual contributors have brought the material of their chapters up to date and in several instances have entirely rewritten them. Some chapters have been eliminated or combined with others. Several of the chapters have been written by contributors other than those to the original edition and are entirely new."

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAPTIST ASSOCIATION: 1707-1940. By *Robert G. Torbet*, Church History Department, the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia, distributed by the Baptist Book Store, 1944, pp. 247, \$3.00.) In conformity with its title this volume transcends local or parish history by giving an account of the changing social scene in which the Philadelphia Baptist Association worked. As Baptist churches are autonomous, the discussion of social movements is naturally focused on their manifestations in Philadelphia before and after the Civil War. The chapters in each period deal with temperance, education, Catholicism, and religious liberty. Before 1865 the slavery issue finds a place and after that date political and social reform, minority groups, and peace are given chapters. The author makes no claim that the association as such had any considerable influence as an organization for what was done or not done in Philadelphia between 1707 and 1940. The social historian can glean material from this account and could wish the author had given more. However, this is the history of a city church, and few similar histories yield more of general interest. The author is a professor of church history and has a wider horizon than the usual chronicler of successive pastorates.

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- JOHN O'CONNOR, JR. David Gilmour Blythe, Artist. *Ibid.*
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- JOHN A. MUNROE. The Philadelphareans: A Study in the Relations between Philadelphia and Delaware in the Late Eighteenth Century. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

RIVERS OF THE EASTERN SHORE: SEVENTEEN MARYLAND RIVERS. By *Hulbert Footner*. [The Rivers of America Series, edited by Hervey Allen.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, pp. viii, 375, \$2.50.) This is the first volume in the "Rivers of America Series" to attempt a description of a large number of rivers. The result is a history of a region, written with sympathy and designed to bring out the

character and the culture which make the Eastern Shore unlike other sections of the country. The method adopted—after a brief geographical sketch and a concise characterization of the people—is that of a south-to-north trip into each of the seventeen rivers and their branches. The towns and villages, the old homes, and the outstanding men and women all pass in review, and one acquires an impression of wandering streams and ancient houses set in an atmosphere of charm and beauty. Among the people whose careers are discussed at some length are William Claiborne, Edmund Scarborough, Joshua Thomas ("Parson of the Islands"), the notorious Patty Cannon, Jacob Gibson, and Augustine Herman. An entire chapter is devoted to the Lloyds of Wye, and not the least interesting phase in the story of that truly dynastic family is the part dealing with the early life of Frederick Douglass as a slave on the Lloyd lands. Another chapter tells about the Tory activities of the picaroons during the Revolution and brings out the fact that the Battle of Kedge's Straits, November 30, 1782, was two weeks after the South Carolina engagement which is generally taken to be the last bloodshed of the war—and it was an American defeat. Mr. Footner, who died soon after the publication of this book, makes an interesting point that the Choptank River "draws a spiritual line between the people who dwell to the south of it and those to the north." The idea is that there has always been a spirit of non-conformity in the southern portion of the Eastern Shore. Whether or not this is true, Mr. Footner has written a work which will cause many readers to want to visit the country which he describes. The illustrations by Aaron Sopher do not add to the text, and one wishes over and over again for a real map instead of a pictorial one set on its side.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

JOURNAL OF A SOUTHERN STUDENT, 1846-48, WITH LETTERS OF A LATER PERIOD. By *Giles J. Patterson*. Biographical Note by *Henry Nelson Snyder*. Edited with an Introduction by *Richmond Croom Beatty*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1944, pp. 105, \$1.75.) When Giles Patterson completed his courses at South Carolina College in 1848, he protested against some of his grades by refusing to deliver the customary commencement oration. In consequence he did not receive his diploma. Eighty-six years later, more than forty years after his death, his son redressed the grievance by obtaining the withheld degree. The editor commends this incident as epitomizing much of "the spirit of one southern tradition"; it does indeed typify Patterson's intense seriousness. At the age of nineteen, the young man came to the college from an up-country plantation. He was older, more sober, and even more politically-minded than most of his fellow students. In consequence his account is valuable especially for its lengthy and accurate reports of Francis Lieber's lectures on political theory. Most of his few entries on the tumultuous student life were sketchy and disapproving. He recorded only a few vivid bits, the most notable of which is a description of Webster's visit to the campus. The journal is disappointingly short—less than thirty-two printed pages—and would fill no more than twenty pages of the document section of a historical magazine. Patterson's letters to his nephew, written between 1883 and 1890, recommend the same type of studious, frugal, conservative course that he himself had followed. They are a logical, but not especially remarkable, sequel to the journal. The editor has appended only scanty notes, but has preceded Patterson's writings with an introduction summarizing them and containing useful background information. He has not cited his sources, although at one point (p. 17) he quotes directly from a secondary article. Several statements are questionable. Professor Ellet did not invent gun cotton, as Patterson himself (p. 39) makes clear, nor did Lieber provide Sumner with suggestions "on a cash . . . basis" during the Civil War.

FRANK FREIDEL

BELLE BOYD: CONFEDERATE SPY. By *Louis A. Sigaud*, Former Lieutenant-Colonel, Military Intelligence Reserve, U. S. Army; Commanding Officer, Corps of Intelligence Police, A.E.F. in World War I. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1945, pp. xii, 254, \$3.00.) Belle Boyd has been much maligned. Mr. Sigaud confesses his purpose "to champion" the Confederate spy by telling her story together with supporting evidence from sources now available. In this purpose Mr. Sigaud summons a host of witnesses to prove her a real figure of history and to show *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* a record distinguished for accuracy in uncommon degree. At the same time his argument gives evidence of a most commendable and thorough search for materials in out-of-the-way places as well as in the obvious sources. We note several minor errors. On page 7, the quotation should be "truest people in the South." Belle could hardly have taunted the returning soldiers "after" Second Manassas (p. 93), for she was boarding the *Junia* and descending the Potomac while the battle was in progress. Nor is it likely that she found McClellan's "soldiers preparing for a drive on Richmond" (p. 102). Part of his troops had been beaten at Manassas but a few hours before. Although we are told that Belle received flattering greetings from "everyone" (p. 103), it may be of interest that J. B. Jones did not mention her when he wrote his diary for September. In the opinion of this reviewer, Mr. Sigaud has presented his case, established the character of his client, and written a delightful and instructive biography.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

FLORIDA DURING THE TERRITORIAL DAYS. By *Sidney Walter Martin*, Associate Professor of History, the University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1944, pp. ix, 308, \$3.00.) The present study by Sidney Walter Martin is another important contribution to the growing list of works relating to the history of the southeastern region, and deserves the careful attention of all interested in this phase of our national development. As the title suggests, the book deals primarily with the American territorial period in Florida, from 1821 to 1845. In addition, there is an opening chapter, wherein Dr. Martin reviews the events after 1810 leading to the treaty of purchase and its aftermath. A topical arrangement is used. Following the story of the acquisition of this territory, the author presents such subjects as "New Life on Old Soil," "The Question of the Lands," "Frontier Towns," and "Beginnings of Protestant Religion," as well as discussions of the governorships of Duvall and Call, the Seminole Indian problem, and the coming of statehood in 1845. The book is well documented and is attractive in format and style. A satisfactory bibliography and index, as well as maps and other illustrations, add also to its general value. Possibly the most apparent shortcoming is the author's failure to include certain background materials that might have greatly aided the reader to understand territorial Florida. Why, for instance, should the study begin abruptly with a discussion of Madison's assertion in 1810 of claim to the district between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers, to the disregard of the earlier story of Spanish-American relationships affecting Florida? Moreover, why omit evaluation for the most part of the many influences upon this region resulting from more than two centuries and a half of Spanish and English occupation? Of these only the matter of Spanish land claims has received more than incidental treatment.

VERNE E. CHATELAIN

DEEP DELTA COUNTRY. By *Harnett T. Kane*. [American Folkways, edited by Erskine Caldwell.] (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. xx, 283, \$3.00.) This volume is a worthy companion to the author's *Bayous of Louisiana*. The shifting banks of the Mississippi below New Orleans form its locale. Its population, to which French peasants gave an original and still prevalent bias, later received Dalma-

tian, Italian, and Irish contingents, together with more pretentious sugar barons and their negro slaves, fruit growers, river pilots, and oil and sulphur prospectors. For the most part these denizens drew a humble livelihood from bayou and river, supplemented by garden patch, muskrat trap, oyster reef, and fruit orchard. Living "one foot on the land and one in the water" on alluvial soil built up by the mighty river and affording at best but a precarious and restricted foothold, still subject to its freakish currents and the unpredictable hurricanes and high water of the nearby gulf, life in the "Deep Delta" would seem to offer few compensations to its laborious if not thriving population. Yet the author has found among these simple people the materials for a compelling narrative. Only a sympathetic understanding of their pleasures and problems, their folkways and present living conditions, based on actual experience, wide research, and thorough good will has enabled the author to produce this book. It is history of a commendably popular kind; it is likewise sociology and economics, present politics, dreams of past grandeur and visions of future industrial growth, clearcut pictures of notable military campaigns, and sketches of historic personages that have given color to the lower Mississippi. Among the personalia one misses the notorious general and the dubious governor of the transfer period, but picaroons and pirates receive due, if not flattering, attention. One likewise fails to find any reference to the famous silver spoons, while Benjamin, Beauregard, and even Warmoth receive just appraisal. Of more human interest are the fascinating sketches of two priests who have served in Delta parishes and of the big "Little Doctor." About a third of the book may be regarded as supplementing accepted "history"; the rest treats of life in an unfamiliar setting. For the skill and charm with which Mr. Kane presents this we are duly grateful.

ISAAC J. COX

ONE HUNDRED GREAT YEARS: THE STORY OF THE *TIMES-PICAYUNE* FROM ITS FOUNDING TO 1940. By *Thomas Ewing Dabney*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1944, pp. xii, 552, \$4.00.) The years from 1837 to 1940 were undoubtedly great years in New Orleans as elsewhere in these United States, and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, in honor of whose hundredth anniversary this volume was written, is undoubtedly a sturdy and successful newspaper. But Mr. Thomas Ewing Dabney's book doesn't give the casual reader any too clear an idea why the old *Picayune* survived until the *Times* took it over or the explanation of the changes in the famed Crescent City. One would have to be an old resident of New Orleans to understand the undertones and allusions. Particularly lacking is any demonstration that the newspaper whose tergiversations thread through the century made any major contribution to the development of culture, the creation of informed public opinion, or the social development in a city whose grace hides an appallingly low average income, and whose politics were once worse than those of Philadelphia's gas house ring. There are, of course, offsetting merits. Some of the episodes fished from the files are deliciously flavored with the quaint customs and odd attitudes of the fifties, when Pierre Soule and John Slidell fought for power. Also novel are some of the observations about New Orleans under reconstruction, with the extreme conduct of radical General Sheridan, the riots, the election steals, and the bargain of '76. These redeem somewhat a book which concentrates on the *haute monde* and overjustifies local prejudices. It is a bit startling to come across, as though it were an altogether proper statement, the remark that "Except among interests which had long been hostile to New Orleans and the South, the necessity of lynching was generally recognized." This is not caviar for the general but lagniappe for the mob. One wonders if the yellowing files in which the author burrowed really lacked any integrating principle by which the saga of the languorous city could be presented.

Probably the very variety of this potpourri of faded glory and forgotten gore had a fatal fascination for the researcher. At any event, the net impression this reviewer got from the volume was of an author so overpowered by his source material that he poured his notes into print without the organization essential to persuasive presentation. Hard writing makes easy reading, and enthusiasm is no substitute for care.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

SIGNERS OF THE TEXAS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Louis Wiltz Kemp*. (Houston, Anson Jones Press, 1944, pp. 456, \$10.00.) A limited signed edition.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

NATIVISM IN KENTUCKY TO 1860. By *Sister Agnes Geraldine McGann* of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Nazareth, Kentucky. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1944, pp. xi, 172.) Nativism in Kentucky to 1860 is a fascinating subject which has been too long neglected by local historians. Behind this movement were strong negative forces which opposed foreigners, Catholics, and antislavery advocates. Sister Agnes Geraldine McGann has developed her subject from the viewpoint of a group which suffered persecution by this nativistic upheaval. She has had access to a rather large volume of material, Catholic and otherwise, and she has used most of it to a fairly satisfactory advantage. It is unfortunate that a large volume of other materials was not available to her because of war conditions. Too much of her study originates from sources which were as strongly partisan as were those favoring nativism. It has not always been easy for the author to stand off and view her subject with complete objectivity. There is no doubt that the antiforeign and anti-Catholic sentiment in Kentucky in the nineteenth century was groundless, but at the same time there was some reason why many Kentuckians were disturbed. The political situation in Kentucky in the forties and fifties was none too happy. Major domestic issues were demanding serious attention. In 1849 a constitutional convention was in session which was forced to deal with questions of representation, slavery, antislavery agitation, education, and the curbing of an irresponsible legislative practice of enacting volumes of personal legislation. The *Proceedings* of this convention is a remarkable volume reflecting much of the political and social indecisiveness of the period in which nativism flourished. Finally political leadership in the state was on the verge of change. Back of the Know-Nothing movement, and the discriminatory attitudes in predominantly Protestant Kentucky toward foreigners and Catholics was a strong self-satisfied provincial feeling that native Kentuckians were people especially chosen to enjoy the fruits of their fertile land. This smug state of mind in this rural state was a substantial factor in the nativistic movement. This significant background subject, however, is not brought fully into focus in this first attempt to present the story of nativism. The author has made her soundest contribution in the chapters dealing with the "Know-Nothing Movement" and "A Bloody Election." There is a bibliography and an index.

THOMAS D. CLARK

CHARLES SCHREINER, GENERAL MERCHANDISE: THE STORY OF A COUNTRY STORE. By *J. Evetts Haley*. (Austin, Texas State Historical Association, 1944, pp. x, 70, \$3.50.)

PAPERS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY AND TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1942. Edited by *Paul M. Angle*. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Society; printed by authority of the state of Illinois, Dwight H. Green, Governor, 1944, pp. vii, 115.) This thin volume contains four essays of merit touching a critical estimate of Abraham Lincoln, politics and education in Illinois during the middle years of the last century, and certain aspects of social and economic life in the same period. Avery Craven, in his essay "Southern Attitudes toward Abraham Lincoln," traces the evolution of Southern opinion from the emergence of Lincoln on the national political horizon down to the present time and suggests that the present generation of Southerners, although critical of Lincoln's position prior to the Civil War, now accept him as one of the nation's great leaders. Ernest G. Hildner's "Colleges and College Life One Hundred Years Ago" embodies a comparative survey of collegiate education in the state from 1828 to 1850, in which is disclosed a general popular hostility to the establishment of colleges in a period when no provision was made for public elementary schools. The fusion political movement leading to the establishment of the Republican party is meticulously analyzed by Mildred C. Stoler in her "The Democratic Element in the New Republican Party in Illinois, 1856-1860." Much new light is thrown on that complicated period in Illinois history. Alice Felt Tyler's "A New England Family on the Illinois Frontier" is an account of the settlement of a New England couple in western Illinois, based on family letters of a century ago. The genealogical importance of this paper is outweighed by the contribution it makes to social and economic history.

CLARENCE E. CARTER

GROWING UP WITH CHICAGO. By *Carter H. Harrison*. (Chicago, Ralph F. Seymour, 1944, pp. 368, \$3.50.)

ARTIST IN IOWA: A LIFE OF GRANT WOOD. By *Darrell Garwood*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 259, \$3.50.) Regardless of the critics' opinions of Grant Wood's art, this book is an important document of the history of American culture during the depression years, 1930-1940. In its simple, straightforward, consciously naive, and deliberate art-is-for-everyone style, it relates the painfully banal details that are crystallized in a succession of paintings, from the double portrait of a straw-haired woman and a collarless dentist holding a pitchfork (known to the world as "American Gothic") to an uncomfortably naked portrait of a featherless pet rooster, who died from strangulation after having swallowed a rubber cigarette ("Adolescence"). These works rank among the best-known and popularly appreciated of their time. The book contains a great deal of information about the artist's life, his background, his patrons and public, the motivation and subjects of his pictures, and his methods of working. It is told without humor, drama, or aesthetic judgment in a style that has much the same mechanical equilibrium and obviously human-interest detail so characteristic of Grant Wood's painting. To the historian who is interested in the cultural development of modern America, this information is extremely valuable. It shows the peculiar phenomenon of Main Street in action when a local artist, whose satires of the bigoted and self-righteous farmers and small townspeople became the most talked-of paintings in the Century of Progress World's Fair, was established within a few years as the focal point of a cultural boom that enveloped local businessmen, Rotary clubs, Hollywood movie stars, the state university, and even national foundations in the great enterprise of producing an indigenous American art. It is unfortunate that there are

only nine illustrations included, though an incomplete catalogue of "important" paintings lists some seventy-two. Most of the information seems to have been based on the author's many and intimate contacts with the artist, his relatives, and his friends, but there are many quotations attributed to the "art critics," "the newspapers," "the faculty," which might have more meaning if documented. As it is, one suspects they are based not on the author's factual knowledge of the sources but on the artist's impressions of these vague ogres who opposed him and his artistic principles. There is no attempt at critical evaluation of the artist's work nor is there any perceptible consciousness of the historical or social problems with which the work of Grant Wood has become associated. That task must be done by the reader. This book proves what many art students have long suspected from the paintings, namely that Grant Wood was never a part of the formative forces which gave that decade its distinctive character. Rather he was a mirror—one might better say an adhesive—which caught fleeting fragments of the great ideas as they thundered past him.

LAURENCE SCHMECKEBIER

THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS: CUMULATIVE INDEX,
Volumes I-XI, 1903-1942, D-H. Edited by *Ruth A. Gallaher*. (Iowa City, 1945, pp. 176.)

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Edited by *Alice E. Smith*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1944, pp. xiv, 290, \$2.50.) The *Guide to Manuscripts* is the second volume on manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The *Descriptive List of Manuscripts* (still in print) published by the society in 1906 included among the numerous and invaluable collections then listed the well-known Draper Collection on early western history. The *Guide* does not reproduce the *Descriptive List* but is an extension of it to include the collections to 1940. The two volumes cover the manuscripts that are owned by the Wisconsin society but do not include collections on loan or deposit. Thus manuscripts merely deposited with the society may miss the attention of scholars from want of published custody. Also omitted from the list are collections with fewer than eleven items. The *Guide* has listed 802 collections. These vary from a few items to voluminous collections. The "Green Bay and Prairie Du Chien Papers 1774-1895" are bound in 123 volumes. The John R. Commons collection on "Labor and Socialism" occupies 130 boxes and 85 volumes. Many of the collections represent individuals; others are the records of churches, government departments, business firms, voluntary societies, conventions, photostats from foreign archives, etc. The description of each collection gives the dates, number of items if less than 100, boxes and volumes, the character of the material, important personages concerned, and any restrictions placed upon the use of the collection. These descriptions are brief and well done. The best title for some collections is problematic. For example the "Labor and Socialism" collection could as well have been "John R. Commons Papers" for my generation. The excellent index of 55 pages carries both titles. The *Guide* offers impressive evidence of the great archive of historical materials that the Wisconsin society has gathered. The titles and descriptions indicate the excellent selections and remarkable success in finding the manuscripts of high historical value. No one can deny that the spirit of Lyman Draper has survived in Wisconsin.

J. L. SELLERS

THE TEN GRANDMOTHERS. By *Alice Marriott*. [The Civilization of the American Indian, Volume XXVI.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1945, pp. xiv, 306, \$3.00.) This volume is the story of the little-known Kiowa Indians, one of the last of the plains tribes to be subjugated. It is told in a manner calculated to please both scholars and the lay public in that it is made up of a series of events from camp life,

war path, and trail related by many old-timers who still remember their great free days and by others who knew these days from the tales told by their parents and grandparents.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

At its meeting in Chicago the Council of the Association elected ten foreign scholars as honorary members. One of those selected was Johan Huizinga, professor of history in the University of Leiden. As he was in German occupied territory, it was thought advisable not to communicate with him and thus direct hostile attention to him. News came on March 23 that Professor Huizinga had died at the age of seventy-two. Early in the German occupation of Holland he was seized and held as a hostage in St. Michielsgestel. Report came later that he had been released, but there was scant word of him or his whereabouts until the news of his death. In 1941 he spoke in Amsterdam on the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Sciences and deplored the excessive German influence on Dutch science. One could add to the brief statement in the April issue (p. 661) a further list of honors and publications. This is hardly necessary. Professor Huizinga was the leading Dutch historian. His readers, students, and influence extended far beyond his own country. It is a matter of regret that the Association's tribute never reached him.

At its meeting in December, 1944, the Council accepted the sponsorship and administration of a prize in the amount of \$500 to be given triennially by the Watumull Foundation for the best book on India published in the United States. The following committee has been appointed to make the award, to be given at Christmas time: Professor Taraknath Das of the College of the City of New York, chairman, and Professors Harry J. Carman and Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia University. The award this year will be to the best book published in the years 1940-1944 inclusive. Publishers submitting books should send them to the Committee on the Watumull Prize, 614 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Guide to the American Historical Review, 1895-1945: A Subject-classified Explanatory Bibliography of the Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents will be part two of Volume I of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1944. This digest of all the articles, etc., in the past fifty years of the *Review* has been prepared by Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University. The *Guide* will go to the members whose names are on the restricted list allowed by our printing appropriation. That means about two thousand. It would seem, however, that many more members would want the *Guide* for the aid it will give in locating articles that have appeared in various fields. The executive secretary will seek to have reprints made and sold through the superintendent of documents. He will be glad to receive a postal card expressing interest in the

Guide as a government document. The sale price will be modest and fixed to cover costs only. An expression of interest now will not be an order but it will help in getting enough reprints struck off before type is distributed.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has announced that the first printing of the volume by Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915*, sponsored by the committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, is out of print. They have, however, a second printing in press and hope to have the volume available for sale before this issue of the *Review* is out.

The War Department has cleared the way for the Government Printing Office to reprint and supply to civilians the discussion pamphlets prepared for the Army by the Historical Service Board. It is safe to say that rarely within the same compass has better material of an objective character, weighing the pros and cons of public questions, been available for all citizens. The pamphlets embody scholarship presented in a simple, popular style with illustrations and graphs. Schools, study clubs, libraries, and discussion groups as well as individuals will find them invaluable. Some large organizations have already placed orders for bulk quantities. Orders should designate pamphlets by title, not by number, and should be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. The price for single copies will be ten cents. The titles of the pamphlets printed up to June 1 are as follows: (1) *Can War Marriages Be Made To Work?* (2) *Do You Want Your Wife To Work after the War?* (3) *Guide for Discussion Leaders.* (4) *Will the French Republic Live Again?* (5) *What Is Propaganda?* (6) *Our British Ally.* (7) *What Shall Be Done with the War Criminals?* (8) *What Shall Be Done about Germany after the War?* (9) *What Has Alaska To Offer Postwar Pioneers?* (10) *Our Chinese Ally.* (11) *Can We Prevent Future Wars?* (12) *The Balkans: Many Peoples, Many Problems.* (13) *Will There Be Work for All?* (14) *Shall I Build a House after the War?* (15) *Australia: Our Neighbor "Down Under."* (16) *Why Co-ops? What Are They? How Do They Work?* (17) *What Future for the Islands of the Pacific?* (18) *What Will Your Town Be Like?* (19) *Our Russian Ally.* (20) *How Shall Lend-Lease Accounts Be Settled?* (21) *Is the Good Neighbor Policy a Success?* (22) *Does It Pay to Borrow?* (23) *What Lies Ahead for the Philippines?* (24) *Shall I Take Up Farming?*

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: typescript copy of the "Records of the Manor of Marcle Audleys (Hellens) Herefordshire from 1574"; four additional boxes of papers of the Biddle family of Philadelphia, 1734 to 1933; one volume of papers of John David Woelpper,

1763 to 1810; two volumes of accounts of John Norton & Sons, merchants of London and Virginia, 1764 to 1784; seventeen reels (negative and positive) of microfilms of Thomas Jefferson materials (original manuscripts in libraries of Charlottesville, Richmond, and Williamsburg, Virginia), 1769 to 1850; seventy-one additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1788 to 1901; letter from James Madison to Richard Peters, August 19, 1789; negative photostats of two letters of George Washington, March 6, 1795, and March 5, 1799; one hundred and eighty-five papers of Thomas Truxtun, 1795 to 1820; forty-seven manuscripts pertaining to American commerce, China, 1805 to 1819; one volume of the "Proceedings of the Tammany Society of Washington City," August 1, 1807, to June 1, 1810; eight additional boxes of papers (1811 to 1935) of Robert Green Ingersoll; five volumes of account books and other records of papers of the American sculptor, Henry Kirke Brown, 1817 to 1857; four volumes of copies of the diplomatic correspondence (American legation, London) of Albert Gallatin and William Beach Lawrence, May 3, 1826, to February 3, 1830; nine way bills of stage coach lines from Washington, D. C., 1836 to 1837; one hundred and eighty-four pieces, chiefly mercantile papers of Willard P. Phillips, 1837-1887; seven account books, day books, and ledgers of Hiram Sylvester, Hampden Corner, Maine, 1839 to 1879; one hundred and fourteen pieces of papers of Wendell Phillips, 1843 to 1884; thirty-three papers of Charles Sumner, 1847 to 1874; thirty additional papers of Hamilton Fish, 1849 to 1891; seventeen boxes of the papers of Oscar Solomon Straus, *ca.* 1856 to 1926; four boxes of papers of Thomas Lake Harris, *ca.* 1858 to 1892; diary (number 13) of Bushrod W. Hunter, of Virginia, January 4 to April 25, 1861; facsimile of a letter of Abraham Lincoln to John Hanks, January 28, 1861; one-volume diary of Patrick Ryan, Union soldier, May 30, 1862, to June 3, 1865; letterpress copybook of letters from Camp Chase, Ohio, to the Judge Advocate, September 1, 1862, to June 10, 1863; four account books, journals, and day books of Jesse C. Rines, Hampden Corner, Maine, 1863 to 1889; forty additional papers of Walt Whitman, 1863 to 1891, and one volume of "Manuscripts of Walt Whitman in Poetry and Prose belonging mainly to the Civil War Period"; additional papers of the Breckinridge family, 1863 to 1894; letter from Alexander H. Stephens to James L. Stevens, March 21, 1869; letter from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to Baroness Josephine Knorr, March 8, 1874; five letters from James Fitzpatrick Muirhead to J. B. Wekerton, 1875 to 1876; twenty-three additional papers of the John Meredith Read family, 1875 to 1901; additional papers of Booker T. Washington, 1885 to 1904; memorandum book of Charles Henry McManaway, Confederate soldier, Bedford, Virginia, *ca.* 1878 to 1896; eighteen additional papers of the Gridiron Club of Washington, D. C., 1885 to 1908; forty-one volumes of papers of Major General James Guthrie Harbord, 1886 to 1938; three letters of Bret Harte to Antoinette Sterling Mackinlay, 1887 to 1898; additional papers of Waldo Lee McAtee; one box of additional papers of the Riggs family, *ca.* 1896 to 1928; letter from Alvaro de la Iglesia y

Santos, November 10, 1898; nineteen pieces from the papers of Charles Townsend Copeland, 1898 to 1926; letter from John Townsend Trowbridge to Houghton Mifflin & Co., September 19, 1903, with copy of "A Boy's Adventure at Niagara Falls"; forty-six additional papers of Woodrow Wilson, principally letters to George Harvey, 1906 to 1925; fifty-one pieces from the papers of Emma L. George, 1915 to 1920; one volume of the papers of the Society of Guardians of Liberty, Washington, D. C., July 3, 1916, to January 23, 1917; additional papers of Mrs. James M. Helm, relating to social functions of the White House, 1942 to 1945; "Statement of I. J. Dunn of Omaha, Nebraska, with Reference to the Democratic National Convention Held at Baltimore, Md. in 1912," January 1, 1945; manuscript of "Das Gesetz" by Thomas Mann; two additional papers of the Richmond P. Hobson collection, including Mrs. Hobson's notes on the life of "Rear Admiral Richmond P. Hobson, United States Navy"; and typescript copy of "La Fundación Hispanica de Washington," by Mauricio Fresco.

The Library of Congress has received as a gift from Mr. Barney Balaban one of the original engrossed copies of the twelve amendments to the Constitution of the United States approved by Congress in 1789 and sent to the states for ratification; ten of these amendments were ratified by the states and thus became the first ten amendments, popularly known as the "Bill of Rights." To Mr. Balaban the library is indebted also for the gift of the telegram, in the autograph of President Lincoln, which the President sent to General McClellan at four A.M. on September 12, 1862, when the Confederate army under General Lee had crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. The message asks, "How does it look now?"

The Tenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1943-44, just issued, measures the slender resources of the National Archives against the stupendous records problem of the government and finds them wanting. As time and staff permitted in the fiscal year 1943-44, emphasis was placed on encouraging better management of the 17,000,000 cubic feet of Federal records estimated to be in existence, on facilitating the disposal of records no longer of value, and on accessioning those of value, as the result of which there were in the National Archives on June 30, 1944, about 650,000 cubic feet of records. With inadequate appropriations, however, the agency's program had to be a makeshift one, and little could be accomplished except to plan what ought to be done to cope with the impending deluge of records from liquidated war agencies. To conserve paper and funds the annual report was not printed and it will not be available for general distribution until it is published after the war.

On May 4, the National Archives opened an exhibit, "President Roosevelt and International Cooperation for War and Peace," which will remain on display until early in September. The original Yalta agreements, signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, the Declaration of the United Nations, corrected drafts of the Declaration of the Three Powers issued at Teheran, a slip of paper on which is recorded

the agreement of the combined staffs to launch the Normandy invasion, a model of the artificial port constructed in England and towed across the Channel for use in that invasion, and gifts to President Roosevelt from heads of state are among the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library materials and Federal records featured. A limited number of catalogs of the exhibit are available upon request.

Recent additions to the group designated "Records of the United States Senate" in the National Archives include certain records of the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth Congresses, 1937-42, and papers accompanying bills and resolutions of the sixty-ninth and seventieth Congresses; original manuscripts of Senate journals, documents, and reports of the sixty-ninth to the seventy-eighth Congress, 1926-44; and records of the special committees to investigate the munitions industry, 1934-38, lobbying activities, 1935-38, and the national defense program (Truman Committee), 1941-44. Among other records recently received are the population schedules of the censuses of 1880, 1910, and 1930 (restricted); records of the Kennebec (Maine) Arsenal, 1835-95; and records of the German division of the American embassy, London, England, 1914-17, which pertain to the protection of the interests of the German government and its nationals.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has recently received sections of Mr. Roosevelt's White House files for the years 1933-44, photographs of persons and of events connected with the present war, a number of currently published books, pamphlets, and posters having to do with the war, and a variety of museum objects and war relics. The White House papers consist largely of abstracts and copies of letters to Mr. Roosevelt asking for information about, or containing pleas for assistance from, government relief and lending agencies (1937-40); letters and petitions urging the designation of a day of prayer to end the war (1942-43); letters supporting or opposing a fourth term (1940-44); communications inspired by presidential addresses made from October 12, 1942, to December 24, 1944; invitations, holiday and birthday greetings, and letters concerning gifts (1933-44); schedules of Mr. Roosevelt's daily White House engagements for his first three terms; and official transcripts of his addresses and press conferences for 1944. Among the photographs received are fifty-three portraits of civil and military leaders of the United Nations, sixty-one Signal Corps photographs of the early stages of the Normandy invasion, and a number of recently made press photographs of Mr. Roosevelt. The war relics, gifts from members of the armed forces and from inhabitants of liberated areas, are of great variety, ranging from captured Nazi and Italian flags and weapons to a ceremonial Kava bowl from the "High Talking Chief" of the Samoan Islands.

President Roosevelt's intimate association with the library that bears his name continued until shortly before his death; he visited it a number of times in the course of his last stay at Hyde Park, March 25-29. He regarded the library as a retreat, where he could work undisturbed on his collections of first editions, naval

manuscripts, stamps, and prints. Here he was the bibliophile, the philatelist, the collector, and the appearance of his room as he left it for the last time—with books and photographs piled on chairs and tables and pictures and print cases everywhere—was compellingly suggestive of the things that he loved but had little time to enjoy.

Mr. Roosevelt interested himself in many details of the library: in the work of the staff, the physical maintenance of the building and grounds, the arranging of displays, particularly of ship models and naval pictures, and, of course, the enrichment of the collections. The books, manuscripts, and other materials that he gave to the library derived added interest from the annotations and reminiscences with which he accompanied them, sometimes in the form of written memorandums, sometimes orally to members of the staff. His association with the library not only left the stamp of his personality upon it; it also created a fund of biographical source material quite apart from the collections themselves.

President Roosevelt's death on April 12 meant the loss not only of a maker of history but of one long deeply interested in its records and writing.

Two important groups of letters by Benjamin Franklin have recently been acquired by the library of the American Philosophical Society. One group consists of thirty-three hitherto unknown A.L.S. letters by Franklin to Pennsylvania's colonial agent, Richard Jackson, M.P., whom Dr. Johnson described as the "all-knowing." Most of them were written from Philadelphia during the crucial years 1762-64. In the main, the letters relate to colonial questions and issues on which there has been relatively little in Franklin's other correspondence for this period, questions such as taxation and the Stamp Act, the bitter disputes over the arbitrary demands of the proprietors, the Indian insurrections and the difficulty of getting united action by the colonies, the riotous frontiersmen in the march on Philadelphia—intent on massacring the Indians—statistics on population, the desire of many people to move westward, and Franklin's proposal for the establishment of colonies on the Mississippi, in Nova Scotia, and Quebec. The second group consists of fifty-five letters from Franklin to his favorite sister, Jane (Mecom). Added to the letters of Jane to Franklin which the library already had, they constitute an unbroken private correspondence over a period of more than sixty years. Franklin's first letter to Jane, not, however, in this collection, was written on his twenty-first birthday; and on August 3, 1789, some months before he died, he modestly and with a kindly touch of humor wrote: "The word Excellency does not belong to me and Doctor will be sufficient to distinguish me from my Grandson." Apart from the revelations of the altogether charming relations between Franklin and

his sister and the many matters concerning the Franklin family, like the Franklin genealogy, these letters frequently have important bearing on political developments and Franklin's participation in them. This is particularly true of those of the letters written from London just before the outbreak of the American Revolution, those from Philadelphia in 1775, and those from France in the decade between 1776 and 1785.

Among notable accessions to the manuscript division of the New York Public Library during 1944 is the correspondence of Newton D. Baker with Thomas J. Howells, 1914-37; the letters of Warren G. Harding to the manager of the *Marion Star*, 1917-20; and additional papers of William J. Wilgus, the railroad executive. This last group of papers has much material bearing on the transport to France of the AEF (1917-19).

The Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, has just received, through Judge Louis C. Crampton, the papers of General George Owen Squier. The collection comprises letters, West Point notebooks, Johns Hopkins notebooks, journals, and other miscellaneous manuscripts which promise to be valuable biographical source materials for this army officer and inventor. Other acquisitions obtained earlier in the year are additions to the Mortimer E. Cooley Collection, additional Peter White correspondence, and the Korean correspondence of the J. M. B. Sill family, deposited by Miss Mary Cram, the former ambassador's granddaughter.

The University of Florida announces the establishment of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Its foundation is the collection of Floridiana brought together during the past forty years by Philip Keyes Yonge and his son, Julien C. Yonge, of Pensacola, Florida. This collection, the most comprehensive and valuable in the state, comprising rare books, maps, manuscripts, newspaper files of the last century, documents, and other records, all relating to Florida, has been generously presented to the university by Julien C. Yonge as a memorial to his father, who for more than two decades was chairman of the Board of Control of the Institutions of Higher Learning of Florida.

The Virginia World War II History Commission at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, has issued a pamphlet on the collecting and preservation of local war records entitled *Your Community's War History*.

The Free Library of Philadelphia announces the appointment of an assistant librarian in charge of research. Under arrangements concluded during the past year, the Free Library has become librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Ridgway Library, while the Mercantile Library has become one of the branches of the public system. The research librarian will deal with the collections of all these institutions. Research materials, both printed books and manuscripts, will be studied with a view to making them better known to scholars

in American history, government, and literature. J. H. Powell, of the department of history of the University of Delaware, has been named to the position, and will begin his work about August 1.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin will issue a series of biographies of important Wisconsin men and women in all walks of life. Dr. E. P. Alexander, director and editor of the society, is being assisted by an editorial board, and the writing of the books is being contracted for as rapidly as competent authors can be found for them. The society hopes to begin issuing the books in 1948, the state's centennial year.

The Texas State Historical Association has issued a tentative list of 12,605 subjects to be covered in a proposed handbook of Texas. A few pages of sample articles and an explanatory note by the editor-in-chief, Professor Walter P. Webb, preface the list. The whole plan is ambitious but feasible and wholly praiseworthy. It is to be hoped the proposal and call for co-operation will meet with a hearty response. The chairman of the publication committee is Professor Eugene C. Barker.

A commission of five writers, including Marquis James and Allan Nevins, has been appointed to guide and counsel Thomas M. Owen, jr., chief of the division of veterans' records in the National Archives, in writing a new history of the American Legion.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1945-46 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Richard Gordon Lillard, Indiana University, a book depicting and analyzing the part played in American history by the forest between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, the preparation of a history of the United States during the confederation period, 1781-89; William Clement Eaton, Lafayette College, a study of liberalism in the New South, 1865-1929; Paul Henry Giddens, Allegheny College, a study of the growth of the petroleum industry in the United States, 1870-95; Henry F. Pringle, Washington, D. C., the preparation of a history of the second World War on the home front as well as the military front (this is the second Guggenheim fellowship awarded to Mr. Pringle); Marie Kimball, Charlottesville, Virginia, a life of Thomas Jefferson for the period 1776-89, including his governorship of Virginia and his ministry to France; Ralph Leslie Rusk, Columbia University, a life of Ralph Waldo Emerson; Frederick Pottle, Yale University, a life of James Boswell; Jacques Barzun, Columbia University, a life of the French composer, Hector Berlioz; Alrik Gustafson, University of Minnesota, a biography of Auguste Strindberg, Swedish dramatist; Mary Hatch Marshall, Colby College, a history of the medieval religious plays of France, Germany, and England, exclusive of the saints plays; Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton, Bryn Mawr College, the preparation of an annual list of the magis-

trates of the Roman Republic, including minor officials and the members of the priestly colleges; Benjamin N. Nelson, New York City, studies of the relations between conscience and casuistry in the moral philosophy and law of the later Middle Ages (12th-16th centuries); Hans Rosenberg, Brooklyn College, a book to be entitled "The Prusso-German Junkers: A History of a Social Class."

Among the post-service fellowships granted by the Guggenheim Foundation are the following: Richard P. Stebbins, Washington, D. C., a historical study of art patronage; Lieutenant Commander Lawrance Thompson, Princeton University Library, a biography of Robert Frost; Lieutenant Gordon N. Ray, formerly at Harvard University, a biography of William Makepeace Thackeray; Private Edward Rosen, College of the City of New York, a study of the place of Copernicus in the development of modern thought; Lieutenant Harry Bober, College of the City of New York, a study of the printed "Books of Hours," their development, style, schools, iconography, and influences; Private Claude Willis Barlow, Mount Holyoke College, a critical edition of the works of St. Martin de Braga, sixth century Spanish archbishop; Captain Donald Eugene McCown, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, historical studies of the early cultures of Baluchistan, and of the relationships of the civilizations of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia during the third millennium; Lieutenant Barnaby Conrad Keeney, formerly at Harvard University, a study of the origin and development of the feudal institution, judgment by peers, on the continent of Europe and in England; Lieutenant C. Vann Woodward, Scripps College, the completion of a book to be entitled "Origins of the New South, 1880-1913"; Warrant Officer (j.g.) William Farr Church, University of Kentucky, a study of political thought in seventeenth century France; Lieutenant Commander Henry Ladd Smith, formerly at the University of Minnesota, studies of America's part in the development of world air routes and of the history of our foreign air policy; Major Hodding Carter, Greenville, Mississippi, a book on the establishment of the West Florida Republic in territory taken from Spain in 1810 by American colonists from Spanish Florida; Dale L. Morgan, Salt Lake City, Utah, a history of Mormonism and the Mormons with particular reference to the influence of the Mormons upon American life since 1830.

The first awards to be made under the Library of Congress program of Grants-in-Aid for Studies in the History of American Civilization have been announced by Luther H. Evans, Acting Librarian of Congress. The grants-in-aid, established on the basis of a subvention from the Rockefeller Foundation, are distributed by the Library of Congress to recipients selected by an administrative committee composed of the chief executive officers of the major research councils: Waldo G. Leland (chairman), director, American Council of Learned Societies; Ross G. Harrison, chairman, National Research Council; and Robert T. Crane, executive director, Social Science Research Council. The administrative committee

is assisted in its work by an advisory committee composed of: Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; Ralph H. Gabriel, Yale University; Harlow Shapley, Harvard University; Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania; and Allen Tate, the University of the South. The purpose of the grants is to offer support to research and writing in the history and civilization of the United States, with particular reference to the history of the last century. The studies for which aid is sought must be of national interest and relate to the history of the country as a whole. Local and regional studies which do not have a significant influence upon national development are outside the scope of the program, as are also biographies (except biographies of personalities whose careers have been of national significance), fiction, juveniles, and direct discussions of current social, political, and economic problems. Applicants for grants must be mature scholars who are citizens or domiciled residents of the United States. A demonstrated competence in historical investigation and a demonstrated ability to write well are required. The recipients of the first installment of the grants, and their projects, are: William Charvat, Ohio State University, the economics of authorship in America in the nineteenth century; Harry Hayden Clark, University of Wisconsin, the influence of Newtonianism and Darwinism on American literature from 1775 to 1910; Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College, a biography of Henry Demarest Lloyd; Richard Mercer Dorson, Michigan State College, folktales and legends of the Old Northwest; James Thomas Flexner, Clintonville, Connecticut, an account of American painting as an expression of American civilization; Robert Douthat Meade, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, a biography of Patrick Henry; Robert Price, Ohio State University, Johnny Appleseed: The Man and the Myth, a biographical and folklore study of John Chapman; Benjamin Townley Spencer, Ohio Wesleyan University, An American Literature: The History of a Phrase, an inquiry into the conceptions of nationality in American literature; Sidney Warren, Jacksonville Junior College, beginnings of a literary culture in the Pacific Northwest; Oscar Osburn Winther, Indiana University, Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine: A Study in American Social and Cultural History. Grants will ordinarily be made twice a year, on the basis of applications received not later than April 1 and October 1, respectively. Applications for the second group of awards will be received until October 1, 1945.

The Medieval Academy of America has established a medal in honor of Charles Homer Haskins (1870-1937), one of the founders of the Academy and its second president. The award will be offered annually for a distinguished publication in the field of medieval studies. The committee on award at present is Archer Taylor (California), chairman, Sidney Painter (Johns Hopkins), and Roger S. Loomis (Columbia). Professor Haskins served for several years as secretary of the American Historical Association and was its president in 1922. As a

medievalist Charles Homer Haskins was an American scholar whose work was accepted as authoritative as readily abroad as in his own country. The establishment of the medal bearing his name is a worthy tribute to a great scholar and teacher.

Charles Scribner's Sons have offered a prize of ten thousand dollars for a book length manuscript on American history. The study may be in any period and of any region or phase of American history. "The principal requisite of the book along with the obvious requirements of outstanding literary merit and historical importance, is absorbing interest for the general reader." The Society of American Historians is sponsoring the prize and has selected the following as judges: Esther Forbes (author of *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*), Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, Dumas Malone, and Henry M. Wriston. The closing date of the contest is February 1, 1946. A detailed statement of the conditions may be obtained from Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel under the War Manpower Commission reported on December 31, 1944, that it had registered a total of 439,757 persons of whom 19,637 were women. Under the rubric "history" there were 4,193 registrants of whom 802 were women. The median age of all registrants in history was 39.4 years. The largest number (1,200) was in the bracket 40-49 with only six fewer in the age group 30-39. The doctor's degree had been attained by 1,806, the master's degree by 1,532, and the bachelor's degree or four years of college by 768. A special breakdown of the 802 women registered as historians gives the median age 37.2 and the largest number (279) in the age group under 29. The doctor's degree was attained by 240 women and the master's degree by 366. All the 439,757 names are on punch cards, which makes a formidable archival bulk but is a unique and valuable census of contemporary American scholarship. The ultimate disposal, or retention in part, with or without some policy of keeping it up to date by the Civil Service Commission, or some other agency, and of having such records open to institutions, corporations, etc., is a complex of undecided questions.

There is a great interest among American scholars as to what has happened to their confreres in the occupied lands. Foremost among the groups who have been blacked out by Nazi occupation are French historical scholars. The following information has been compiled from the reports of American historians returning from flying visits to Paris and from letters received since the liberation of France. Alfred Coville, chairman of the French Committee of Historical Sciences, has died, as has Charles de la Roncière, historian of the French navy and chief of the department of printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A major loss by death is the economic historian Marc Bloch, presumably a victim of the

Gestapo and Nazi anti-Semitism. M. Halphen is all right. Pierre Caron, our new honorary member, has retired as director of the National Archives and is directing work on the history of the war, especially "*la semaine glorieuse*." Charles Braibant, formerly chief of the archives of the ministry of marine, is inspector general of archives and libraries. Georges Bourgin of the National Archives has retired. Camille Bloch, formerly director of the war archives at Vincennes, is alive and well. André Siegfried is in good health and was recently elected to the Academy. Charles Rist has continued to rewrite his (and Gide's) *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, adding much on American economic thought. He is at the moment in San Francisco. Charles Cestre has retired by reason of age from the chair of American civilization at the Sorbonne. M. Le Breton, author of a life of William James, is a possible successor to M. Cestre. Abbé Dimnet has continued to live quietly in the shadow of Notre Dame "never doubting that the Americans would be along some day." Georges Lefebvre, who was technically retired for age from Aulard's chair, volunteered to continue to teach quietly the history of the French Revolution in the good old Republican tradition. Neither the Germans nor Vichy disturbed him. He had graduate students but gave no public lectures. M. and Mme. Lot have been living quietly at Fontenay-aux-Roses and are well. Philippe Lauer, formerly chief of the manuscript division of the Bibliothèque Nationale, retired, is safe and well. Raoul Blanchard, the geographer, after helping re-establish republican government at the prefecture of Lyons, has resumed his chair at the University of Grenoble. Pierre Renouvin, the military historian of the last war, has continued to give his courses throughout the war. The Bibliothèque de la Guerre Mondiale, of which he was director, was saved, but part of the château at Vincennes housing it was destroyed. Similarly, although the building was burned, the archives of the department of foreign affairs were saved. The American Library in Paris has been open and operating throughout the four years of occupation. On January 2 Mr. Milton Lord of the Boston Public Library took over its administrative direction temporarily. M. Abel Doysié, who was resident assistant in Paris to Dr. Waldo Leland in the preparation of Volume II of the *Guide to Material on American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, writes his associate, John J. Meng, "I am living with my sister, since I gave up my flat when I decided to go to Limoges after being imprisoned for two months by the Germans in 1942. I returned lately to Paris where the sight of your troops makes me forget all I was through. But I am homeless—with most of my furniture bombed out." The only one of the historians who conspicuously behaved badly was Bernard Fay. He is not likely to be considered important enough for the extreme penalty but will be, perhaps has been, *frappé d'indignité nationale*. Carcopino, who is even less important, has no future. After a word about the work of the Germanist Vermeil, who was flown out by the shuttle service to save him from the Gestapo and did good work in London, Professor Crane Brinton, who with Dr. Waldo G. Leland furnishes most of the above news, concludes his letter with a general remark that we quote:

Many others from the academic world did good work in the Resistance, but they modestly will not talk about it. The Rists and the Lots had both lost sons in the fight against the Germans. All of us were impressed with the dignity and courage of our colleagues; they were not self-pitying, and they did not despair about the future of France. They assumed that France had never ceased to be an ally of Britain, and that she had become our ally on November 7, 1942, and they never seemed to worry about French participation in the councils of the Allies—they assumed it as a matter of course.

The well-known French historical periodical, *La Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporain*, has resumed publication.

Some Aspects of the Problem of the University in France is the title of Report No. 5 of the European Student Relief Fund. It is a remarkably frank criticism of the limitations of the prewar French university, with suggestions for overcoming these limitations in the future. The deficiencies are described as three-fold. Briefly, they are: (1) The French student is not a man; his intellectual abilities have been developed at the expense of any consciousness of being a total person. Examples are given of his lack of participation in sport, his disregard of hygiene, and, in the case of women students, lack of a natural interest and pride in personal appearance. (2) The French student is a bourgeois. Although he may be from a poor family he is enabled by a fellowship to pursue his studies but he does so with such concentration as to separate himself from the nation's life and from effectual concrete tasks. He is a luxury "not serving anything or anybody, not even culture." (3) The student has no social role. He is not asked to use tools not belonging to his vocation, only those of his calling, which is of intellectual character. In spite of these deficiencies, the French student accepted his responsibilities after the German occupation. Enduring hardships for which he was ill equipped, he contributed a concrete service to the community and to his country. The Report "reflects the point of view of French university circles that have taken part in the Resistance. . . . It is also the judgment of young men who have cognizance of the new conditions and the new realities of the national life and, consequently, the new exigencies that the university of tomorrow must meet." Copies of the Report are available from the World Student Service Fund, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Soviet Culture in Wartime, Number 3, 1945 (published by the American Russian Institute, 101 Post Street, San Francisco 8, California, 25 cents), covers a number of fields of Soviet culture and includes, among others, the following articles: "Soviet Schools" by Eugene Medynsky; "Tribute to Alexander Kaun" by Ernest J. Simmons; "Minorities in the Soviet Far East" by Owen Lattimore; "The Organization of Soviet Science" by Peter L. Kapitsa, and "Some Aspects of Psychiatry in the U.S.S.R." by Gregory Zilboorg.

The Study of Russia in the United States, a series of four articles, has been reprinted by the New York *Herald Tribune*. The articles are "The Cost of

Ignorance" by Joseph Barnes, former Moscow correspondent, now foreign editor for the New York *Herald Tribune*; "Scholarship and Trade" by Ernest C. Ropes, chief, Russian Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; "The British Experience" by Sir Bernard Pares, former director, London School of Slavonic and East European Studies; "An American Institute for Slavic Studies" by Ernest J. Simmons, professor of Russian literature, Cornell University.

Post-War Educational Reconstruction in the United Nations is the title of the Twenty-first Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, edited by I. L. Kandel. It contains articles on Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Scotland, the Union of South Africa, and the United States. Statements by the representatives of the devastated countries give added weight to the now generally accepted view that those countries will welcome the assistance of the United Nations in the rebuilding of their schools and the furnishing of equipment and libraries but will not welcome foreign teachers. Dr. Kandel believes it is even doubtful whether places in the educational systems of their own countries will be found for teachers who have been abroad during the years of crisis and suffering. (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27, \$3.70.)

Personal

The first contribution to the *American Historical Review* from the pen of Carl Lotus Becker appeared in the October issue in 1899, the last, a perfectly characteristic little note, in the April issue this year. Between those years the graduate student of 1899 had become one of the most distinguished American scholars in the field of history. His death in Ithaca, New York, on April 10, at a time when he was busy with scholarly projects, came as a shock and leaves a sense of great loss. Professor Becker had long struggled with ill health, but surgical interference a few years ago had given him complete relief and restored health. His death after a few days' illness followed an intestinal infection and renal failure. Professor Becker was born near Waterloo, Iowa, September 7, 1873. In one of his best pieces of writing, called in the first edition *The United States: An Experiment in Democracy*, he tells of his boyhood in a German-American farm community and reflects on the making of Americans. He went for a year to nearby Cornell College in Mt. Vernon, Iowa. Then he transferred to the University of Wisconsin just as Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles H. Haskins were rising to leadership. Once under Turner's influence, the shy, retiring Iowa boy had no other ambition but to study and write history. The urge in him to research, to write, to perfect his power of expression was always greater than his urge to teach. But to students with perceptive minds he was a great teacher. He did not want to

make converts or disciples or tell anybody what to do or how to think after any pattern except one of their own choosing. By his own emancipation he liberated the minds of others. His was a philosophy of freedom. "I have no faith," he once wrote, "in the philosophy of abolishing oppression by oppressing oppressors. I have no faith in the infallibility of any man, or of any group of men, or of the doctrines or dogmas of any man or group of men, except in so far as they can stand the test of free criticism and analysis. I agree with Pascal that 'thought makes the dignity of man'; and I believe therefore that all the great and permanently valuable achievements of civilization have been won by the free play of intelligence in opposition to, or in spite of, the pressure of mass emotion and the effort of organized authority to enforce conformity in conduct and opinion." His graduate work was done partly at Wisconsin and partly at Columbia, where he pursued both American and European history. His doctorate was taken at Wisconsin in 1907. During his academic career he published more in American history but taught chiefly European history with a special interest in eighteenth century thought and the French Revolution. It was in this area that he stimulated the interest of his graduate students, if one may speak in connection with Becker of anything so narrowing as an area. He would have objected to being labeled as any kind of historian, but it is true that whether he wrote of Europe or America he wrote about ideas and thinkers and trends of thought. Each topic he touched seemed under the magic of his pen to become clear and comprehensible and worth while. He seemed in person and in print above the turmoil of the conflicts, past or present, that stirred other men. Sometimes he seemed a twentieth century philosophe. To Justice O. W. Holmes's question as to what he thought of the human race, Becker replied drily, "Mr. Justice, I wish them well." But the seeming aloofness fell away when things he felt vital were at stake. The reader of his essays in the *Yale Review* published as *New Liberties for Old* can see that plainly, for successive essays show his deepening sense of the peril threatening everything he held worth while in his own land and in the world's civilization. Professor Becker taught in Pennsylvania State College, in Dartmouth, for fourteen years in Kansas University, briefly in the University of Minnesota, and then in Cornell University. On his retirement he took on the task of writing the history of Cornell, of which one volume appeared before his death. Many honors came to him, including membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and in the American Philosophical Society. He was President of the American Historical Association in 1931 and the recipient of honorary degrees from several great universities. His wife, a son in the armed services, and a grandson survive him.

Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, Oriental Institute professor of Oriental history at the University of Chicago, died on April 11 at the age of sixty-five after a protracted illness. His health had been failing for some time, but he remained active to January 30, when he fell and broke his thigh. Professor Olmstead covered a

remarkably broad field in works both of detailed research and of interpretation. He had prepared himself for this not only by study but also through extensive travels in the countries he described. His special field was the ancient Near East from the earliest times to the rise of Mohammedanism, though his interests went beyond this both in time and space. An example is the article, "History, Ancient World, and the Bible," in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* for January, 1943 (II, 1-34). His chief books are *History of Assyria* (1923), *History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest* (1931), and *Jesus in the Light of History* (1942). His *History of Persia* is soon to be published. In addition there were many specialized studies and articles. Several of these dealt with problems of the history of the Near East in Hellenistic and Roman times. Professor Olmstead was known personally to a large group of students and scholars through his teaching, informal contact, and his activity in learned societies. Before coming to Chicago in 1929 he had served at the universities of Missouri and Illinois. He also repeatedly served at other institutions during summers. He was very active in the American Oriental Society and had served as president both of it and of its Western branch. He was almost equally active in the American Historical Association, attended its meetings regularly, and frequently appeared on programs. At the time of his death, he had not finished all the major tasks he had set himself, but, even so, the impact of the works completed will long be felt.

Clifton Rumery Hall, a member of the department of history of Princeton University for thirty-five years, died in the Princeton Hospital on April 19 after a short illness. He was sixty years old. Professor Hall was interested primarily in American social history since the Civil War. He wrote little, but he was one of the great teachers of his generation. Long before the slogan of integration became popular, he had pointed out to his students the need for intensive study of economic and social history, of American art and literature, in order to understand American politics. Thousands of students remember his course in American Democracy as one of the most stimulating experiences of their undergraduate career. Professor Hall was born in Danvers, Massachusetts, and graduated from Amherst College in 1906. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1914. He was not married and left no close relatives.

The Canadian membership of the Association is diminished by the death on April 3 of Professor Eric Edward Boothroyd, professor emeritus of history in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Province of Quebec. Professor Boothroyd was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took honors in history and later his master's degree. He began his teaching at a lycée in Normandy but soon came to Bishop's, where he was a popular teacher and devoted worker with his students and for the institution. He retired in June, 1944, after thirty-eight years' service as head of the department of history and since 1927 vice-principal. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1927.

William A. Oldfather, head of the classical department in the University of Illinois, lost his life by drowning on May 26. Professor Oldfather was a member of this Association and had contributed reviews recently to this journal.

Joseph R. Hayden, head of the department of political science in the University of Michigan and recently vice-governor of the Philippines, died suddenly in Washington on May 19. He was the author of *The Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817* (1920) and a volume, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (1942), which will long stand as definitive for the era that ended with the Japanese invasion.

Miss Frances Morehouse, associate professor of history emeritus in Hunter College, died March 21 in Montevideo, Minnesota. Miss Morehouse held both bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Illinois. She received the doctor of philosophy from the University of Manchester, England. Her teaching career covered service in the Illinois State Normal, the University of Minnesota, Teachers College (Columbia), the University of Manchester, and in Hunter College from 1926 until her retirement in 1942. She was at one time president of the Middle States Association of Teachers of History. Her keen mind, her vivid personality, and her broad culture made Miss Morehouse an excellent teacher and a most gracious friend and companion. Her texts in the fields of history and social science for secondary schools were often revised and reissued. She also wrote a life of Jesse W. Fell, the Illinois educator.

Anthony C. J. Davidonis, a member of this Association and for the past three years instructor in history in Princeton University, died April 21. Dr. Davidonis was born April 22, 1915, in Ansonia, Connecticut. He received both his undergraduate and graduate degrees from Yale University.

It is with regret that we record the death by his own hand on April 8 of Mr. Leon Fraser, a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Historical Association and a financier and public servant of international standing. At the time of his death he was president of the First National Bank of New York after two years as chairman of the board of the Bank of International Settlements. Mr. Fraser was a graduate of Columbia, where he also earned his master's and doctor's degrees. He was admitted to the bar and at one time was an instructor in political science in his alma mater. His untimely death at the age of fifty-six closed a brilliant and varied career.

John D. Hicks, Morrison professor of history in the University of California, has been appointed dean of the graduate division in that institution succeeding the late Charles B. Lipman.

Hans Kohn of the department of history of Smith College will deliver in the week of July 16 the five lectures on the Norman Wait Harris Foundation

at Northwestern University on representative thinkers of nineteenth century nationalism.

A. T. Volwiler is visiting professor of history this summer at Washington University in St. Louis.

W. Turrentine Jackson of Iowa State College and Anatole Mazour of the University of Nevada are visiting instructors at the University of Wyoming summer session. Professor Mazour has been invited to Stanford University as visiting associate professor for the academic year 1945-46.

W. T. Laprade, professor of European history and chairman of the department of history at Duke University, has been appointed managing editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* to succeed the late Henry R. Dwire.

Oscar Halecki, director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, has recently been appointed professor of Slavonic history at the University of Montreal. Dr. Halecki will hold his new post in addition to his work as professor of history at Fordham University and as director of the Polish Institute.

Donald G. Barnes of Western Reserve University and A. A. Lobanov of the University of Southern California are members of the University of Michigan summer session staff for 1945. In September Professor Lobanov will become a regular member of the staff to take charge of the work in Slavic history. Professor Albert Hyma, who has been on leave of absence during the past year, will return to his regular duties at the beginning of the fall term.

Arthur E. Bestor, jr., has been promoted to associate professor of history in Stanford University.

George Bauerlein, jr., resigned as assistant professor of history at North Carolina State College, effective March 1, in order to enter business in Alabama.

Winston B. Thorson has been given a permanent appointment as assistant professor of history at the State College of Washington.

Colton Storm, curator of maps at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, has been appointed curator of manuscripts at that library following the resignation of Howard H. Peckham, who has gone to the Indiana Historical Bureau. Mr. Storm will continue to have charge of maps for a time.

Paul M. Angle, formerly secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, has been appointed director and secretary of the Chicago Historical Society to succeed the late Dr. L. Hubbard Shattuck.

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